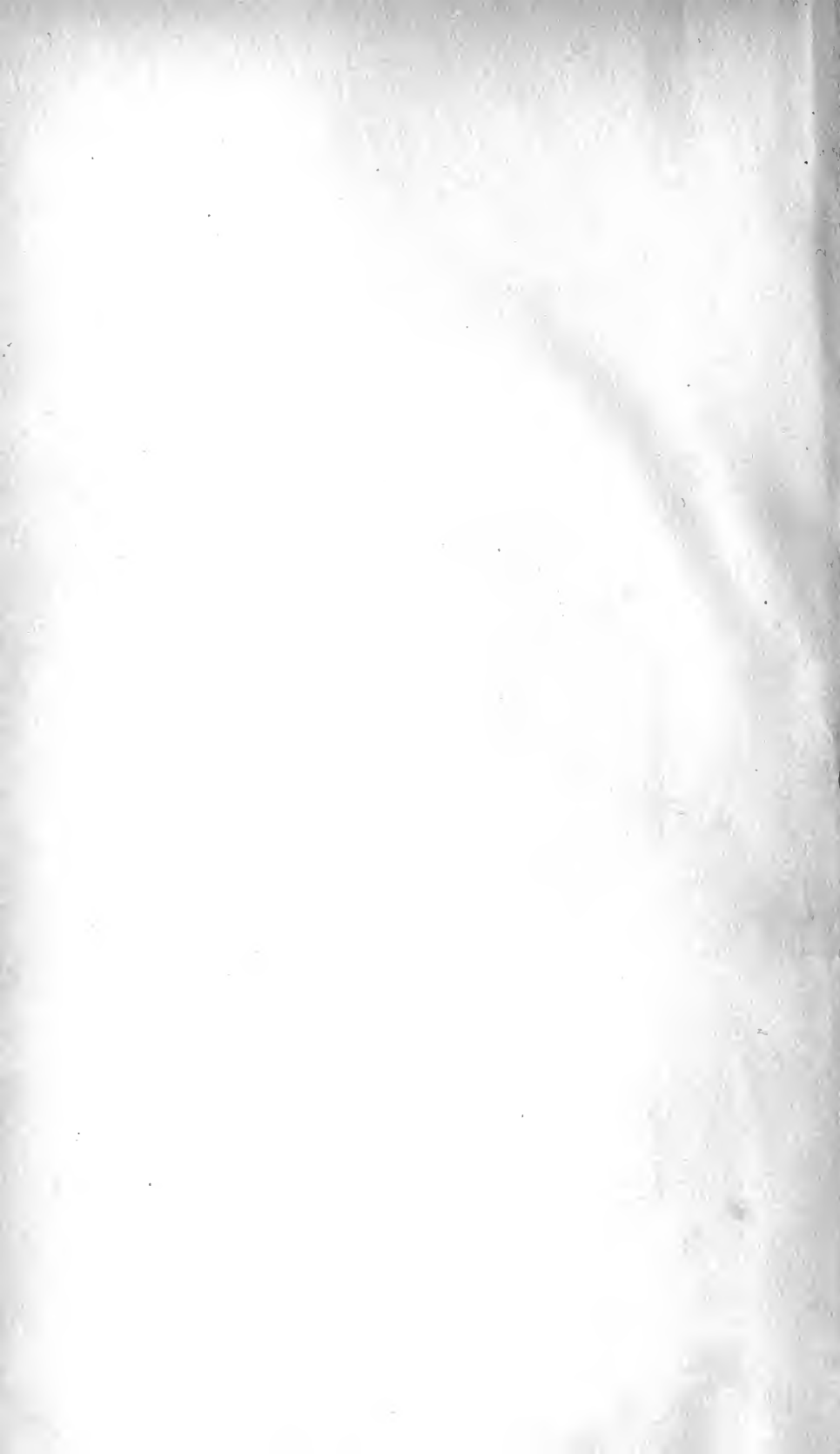


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1

*The Yoga-sūtras of Patañjali as illustrated by the Comment entitled The Jewel's Lustre or Maṇiprabhā.*¹ —
Translated by JAMES HAUGHTON WOODS, Professor of
Philosophy in Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

Book First: Concentration.

I praise Him unalloyed by hindrance or any such thing, Hari, the Primal Man,—the Enjoyer of the primary-substance, Sītā,—Him who is the Lord of Yoga and the Giver of Yoga. Bowing down devoutly to Patañjali the Author of the Sūtras, and to the Silent Sage Vyāsa, the Author of the Comment, I shall set forth an Exposition upon the Yoga called the Jewel's Lustre and, so far as my mind permits, worthy to be esteemed.

In this [sūtra], as every one knows, the Exalted Patañjali, to assist the activity of the learned, tells what is to be taught by the book.

¹ The title of the book is an allusion to the passage in the Comment on Yoga-sūtra i. 36 (p. 82², Calc. ed.). Here the mind becomes stable in intent contemplation and unconcerned with its transitory and particular conditions. It is illumined by insight into its universal qualities. "It becomes like a ray of the sun or the moon or of a planet or a gem. Having attained to a feeling of its self, it becomes waveless like the Great Sea, calmed, endless, with a sense of nothing but itself." The pervasive sense of personality is further described in this book at i. 36 (p. 19³ of the Benares text) and again at iii. 32 (p. 63³).

The date of the book is not far from 1592 A. D. For in the colophon of the Maṇiprabhā we read that the author Rāmānanda-sarasvatī was the disciple of Govinānanda-sarasvatī. Rāmānanda-sarasvatī dedicated another of his works the Bhāṣya-ratnaprabhā to the same master (Hall: Contribution towards an Index to the Bibliography of the Philosophical Systems, p. 89—90). Another disciple of Govinānanda named Nārāyaṇa-sarasvatī wrote a book in the year 4693 of the Kali-yuga, corresponding to 1592 A. D. Accordingly the date of Rāmānanda, author of the Maṇiprabhā, would not be far from that same year.

¹ JAOS 34.

1. Now the exposition of yoga [is to be made].

The word <Now> indicates a beginning; that is, the authoritative book on yoga is begun.—Although an authoritative book was made by Hiranyagarbha, still since that was deemed too extended, an authoritative work conforming to that [book] is begun. This he makes clear by the word <exposition>.—1. In this sūtra the word <yoga> stands for what is to be taught in the authoritative book.—2. It is evident that any one who wishes to understand is competent [to begin the book].—3. Whereas the outcome of yoga is to be Isolation.—4. The association together of these [three] as required. These may be regarded as the four introductory-reasons (*anubandha*).—In this system yoga is said to be of two kinds, that conscious [of an object] and that not conscious [of an object]. This [yoga] moreover is a condition of the mind-stuff in so far as the fluctuations are properties of the mind-stuff. Accordingly the yoga which is the restriction of these [fluctuations] is also a condition of that [mind-stuff]. Of this mind-stuff there are five stages, the restless, the infatuated, the distracted, the single-in-intent, and the restricted. Restless [mind-stuff] is excessively changeable by the force of *rajas* [and is the mind-stuff] of *daityas*. Infatuated [mind-stuff] contains sleep and similar states [and is the mind-stuff] of *rakṣasas*. Distracted [mind-stuff] is distinguished from restless and other [mind-stuffs and is the mind-stuff] of gods and similar beings. Its distinguishing characteristic is that its excessively changeable mind-stuff is occasionally steady. Of these [three], in the case of the restless and infatuated [mind-stuffs] there is not even a trace of yoga. Whereas in case of the distracted mind-stuff, the occasional yoga, which is consumed by the fire of increasing distraction and becomes unpoised and fruitless, cannot properly be called yoga. But in the mind-stuff focussed-in-intent, with a predominance of *sattva* and stable in respect of one object, the restriction of the fluctuations of *rajas* and *tamas*, which is distinguished by its *sattva*, becomes [yoga] conscious [of an object]. In as much as it is indirectly experienced by either verbal-communication or inference, it becomes, when its intended-object is known, directly-experienced; as a result of the direct-experience undifferentiated-consciousness and the other hindrances dwindle away; after this there is a burning of both merit and evil; as the result of this there is a change into the

yoga not conscious [of an object], which is the restriction even of its fluctuations of *sattva* in the restricted mind-stuff which is subliminal-impressions only and nothing more. Accordingly the Author of the Comment says «But that [yoga] which, when the mind is single-in-intent, illumines a distinct and real object, and causes the hindrances to dwindle, slackens the bonds of karma, and sets before it as a goal the restriction [of all fluctuations] is called that in which there is consciousness of an object (*saṁprajñātā*)».

The characteristic-mark common to the two kinds of yoga he now describes.

2. *Yoga is the restriction of the fluctuations of the mind-stuff.*

In other words <yoga> is the restriction of the *rajas* and *tamas* fluctuations of the mind-stuff. There is therefore no defect in the extension-of-the-term to [yoga] conscious [of an object] also, which has its existence in its fluctuation of *sattva*. The objecters might ask 'Why does a mind-stuff which is a unit have the distracted stage and various other stages?' In reply we say it is because the mind-stuff is, in essence, of three aspects (*guṇa*). For the mind-stuff, because it is predisposed to thinking and pleasure and the like, and because it has activity and other properties, and because it undergoes apathy and poverty and other conditions, has the aspects of *sattva* and *rajas* and *tamas*. This being so, when *rajas* and *tamas* are both a little less than *sattva*, but reciprocally equal to each other, then because of the *sattva* [the mind-stuff] inclines to contemplation; and afterwards, when this [*sattva*] is shut off by *tamas*, under the influence of the *rajas*, it becomes lustful of lordly-power and devoted to objects of sense [and so becomes again] distracted. But when *tamas* predominates, the mind-stuff is infatuated, and then undergoes what is the opposite of happiness and of right-living and of thinking and of passionlessness and of power. And the opposite of thinking in this case is error and sleep. But when *rajas* predominates, the mind-stuff is restless. These [last] two, the restless and the infatuated, are common to all [states of the mind-stuff]. But it is the restless [mind-stuff which] especially appertains to those who are not yogins. Now there are four [classes of] yogins, the Prathamakalpikas and the Madhubhūmikas and the Prajñājyotis and the Atikrāntabhāvanīyas. But later the characteristic-mark of these will

be told. If however *sattva* predominates and [the mind-stuff] is free from *tamas* and contains some *rajas*, [the mind-stuff] is single-in-intent. And the mind-stuff of the two middle [classes of] yogins who attain to yoga conscious of an object becomes full of right-living and thinking and passionlessness and power. But now when the stain of *rajas* and *tamas* is washed away and the *sattva* is pure, the mind-stuff accomplishes the discriminative discernment and accomplishes the so-called Rain-Cloud of [knowable] Things, the contemplation of the Self and nothing more. This is designated by contemplators the highest elevation. «The Energy of Thought is immutable and does not unite [with objects] and objects are only shown to it; it is undefiled and unending.» Since this is determined and because (*sat*) the mind-stuff frees itself from attachment even to the discriminative discernment, which belongs with its *sattva* aspect, [the mind-stuff] restricts this [discriminative discernment] and finally becomes subliminal-impressious and nothing more. This is the mind-stuff of the fourth [class of] yogins. And this is the concentration not concious [of an object]. Because [as yet] nothing very definite has been made known with regard to this [concentration], nothing more need now be said. The quotation beginning «The Energy of Thought» and ending with the word «unending» is from the Comment. In this quotation the words «does not unite with objects» refers to the Self when he has entered the thinking-substance¹ or some other [form of the primary-substance] and does not go elsewhere, just as a serpent when he has entered his hole [remains there]. The words «objects are only shown to it» refer to that [Energy of Thought] which has its objects shown to it by the thinking-substance. The word «undefiled» means without pleasure or pain or infatuation.

If now the Self, whose nature is that the fluctuations of thinking-substance [are shown to him], restricts [these] fluctuations, how can he become self-stable (*sthiti*)? In reply to this he says

¹ The comparison of the mind to a cave in which the Self is concealed is common. See for example the Comment on Yoga-sūtra iv. 22: «That cave in which the eternal Brahman lies concealed is not an under-world nor mountain-chasm nor dismal pit nor caverns of the sea, but in some fluctuation of the thinking-substance when not distinguished from himself.» The similarity to Plato's figure of the Cave, Republic Book VII, is obvious.

3. *Then the Knower [that is, the Self] abides in himself.*

When all the fluctuations, peaceful and cruel and infatuated, of the mind-stuff are restricted, then the Knower, whose essence is consciousness, is established in his own natural form. Just so the crystal [gem] has [its own natural color] when the flower [next it] is removed. The point is that the Self's own nature is intelligence and nothing more and is not fluctuations.

The doubt is raised whether then in the emergent state, the Self lapses from his own nature. In reply he says

4. *At other times it takes the same form as the fluctuations [of mind-stuff].*

The fluctuations, whether in the tranquil or other states, which are at other times than the restriction, [that is] during the emergence. It takes the same form as these. As a result of the Self's failure to discriminate [himself] from his thinking-substance which contains fluctuations, he makes the error of identifying himself with the fluctuations so that he thinks 'I am tranquil or I am pained or I am infatuated'. Hence he does not lapse from his own nature. For when one falls into the error of regarding the crystal [gem] as red, the crystal does not itself lapse from its own nature which is white. This is the point. Thus in restriction there is release; in emergence there is bondage. This is the import of the two sūtras.

He now tells the number of the fluctuations which are to be destroyed.

5. *The fluctuations are of five kinds hindered or unhindered.*

In the Rājavārttika it is said "The Author of the Sūtras desirous of explaining the restrictions of the fluctuations of mind-stuff—after explaining by a pair of sūtras that mind-stuff of which during restriction there is release and during emergence there is bondage, and after explaining the fluctuations by the words beginning [i. 5] with «The fluctuations»—explains restriction by the rest of the Book [First] beginning [i. 12] with "By means of practice and passionlessness." The termination *tayap[—tayyala]* has the meaning of having parts. The word fluctuation refers to fluctuations in general. Because fluctuations in general are many, inasmuch as there are different

mind-stuffs belonging to Chāitra or Māitra on to others, the word <fluctuations> is used in the plural. In other words, fluctuation in general have five particular cases, sources-of-valid-ideas and the rest, which are described in the next sūtra. Those are of five kinds (*pañcatayyah*), the parts of which are five. He describes the distinction between them for the purpose of rejecting some and accepting others by saying <hindered or unhindered>. The causes of the hindrances, passion and aversion for example, are <hindered> and result in bondage. For every creature after having done a deed with passion, it may be, for intended-objects known by the source-of-a-valid-idea or by some other [fluctuation] is bound by pleasure or in some other way. The <unhindered> are destructive of the hindrances and result in release. These latter, occupied with the difference between *sattva* and the Self and arising under the influence of practice and passionlessness in the midst of the stream of hindered fluctuations, restrict the stream of hindered fluctuations by restriction of the hindered subliminal-impressions through the agency of self-effected unhindered subliminal impressions which have grown strong by repeated practice; and [in turn] they themselves are restricted by higher passionlessness. As a result of this the mind-stuff which is nothing but subliminal-impressions dissolves and release comes to pass. This is the point.

He specifies the five fluctuations.

6. *Sources-of-valid-ideas, misconceptions, predicate-relations, sleep, and memory.*

Other than these there is no fluctuation. This is the result of the sūtra of announcement.

Of these [five] he analyzes the fluctuation of the source-of-valid-ideas.

7. *The sources-of-valid-ideas are perception and inference and verbal-communication.*

The point is that there are three sources-of-valid-ideas. In this case the common characteristic-mark is the causation of valid-ideas. A valid-idea, moreover, is an illumination by the Self which pervades an unknown object and which is reflected

in a fluctuation. The instrument for this is a fluctuation. This being so, by means of a relation with a sense-organ, the mind-stuff, when there is a relation to any such thing as a water-jar, undergoes a fluctuation, which is chiefly concerned with the specification of a particular phenomenalized form in an intended-object which is essentially both general and particular,—this is source-of-valid-ideas from perception. That reflection of the conscious self upon the fluctuation which has the form of the conscious object acquires also, by means of the fluctuation, the form of the intended-object. Thus when an object not immediately presented is known in its general form by concentration, there exists the fluctuation of the particular, and that is knowable [by yogins] as having a perceptive validity. In inference and verbal testimony, requiring as they do, the the-major-premiss (*vyāpti*) and the grasping of a connected-meaning (*saṃgati*), there is, as regards the generic idea of fieriness, for example, only the presentation of the generic idea by the grasping of this [the major premiss and the connected-meaning]. Of these two, when one has grasped the major-premiss, inference is the fluctuation which specifies in general the characteristic-property (*avachēdaka*) of the thing to be proved by the syllogistic-mark (*līṅga*) which functions (*vṛtti*) in the minor-term (*pakṣa*). Verbal-communication is a fluctuation of the [mind-stuff of the] hearer having for its province that intended-object, whether seen or inferred by a trustworthy person, which [fluctuation] is produced from the words used by that [trustworthy person]. It will be declared that the Veda is composed by the trustworthy Içvara.

Misconception is characterized.

8. *Misconception is an erroneous notion which does not remain in the proper form of that [in respects of which the misconception is entertained].*

This amounts to saying that it, has no basis (*pratiṣṭhā*) upon its own object which has the form of this or that. This is the opposite of a contradiction; [it is an assertion]. The predicate-relation is also the opposite of a contradiction and has no basis in the form of this or that. So the characterization is too wide. So remove this he uses the words <erroneous notion>. So that (*tena*) in respect of its own object [miscon-

ception] is possessed of a contradiction, admitted by all, which does away with [all] the business of life which it might itself produce. And you cannot say that a similar contradiction applies to the predicate-relation. For although certain pandits have an idea that there is contradiction in the predicate-relation, still the business-of-life goes on as before. Because doubt, moreover, is just about to be characterized, the characterization is not [after all] too wide. This is the point. It will be said that the five hindrances are cases (*bheda*) of this same misconception.

The predicate-relation is characterized.

9. *The predicate-relation is [a notion] devoid of any corresponding perceptible object and follows upon knowledge conveyed by words.*

That fluctuation which is called a predicate-relation does necessarily arise after one hears assertions, it might be for example, about a man's horns. This predicate-relation having no real object is not the source-of-a-valid-idea. It is not a misconception because it necessarily arises even when [you are aware] that there is a contradiction and because it is the source of [ordinary] business-of-life. Thus for instance when it is said [by some philosophers] that "The true nature of the Self is intelligence (*cāitanya*)", although it is certain that there is an identity, yet the predicate-relation is between the Self and intelligence as different. Non-existence apart from existence is nothing at all. Although you are certain of this, still the Self is defined as having non-existence of all attributes, and this is a predicate-relation between subject and predicate. Similarly when, for example, one speaks of Rahu's head, predicate-relations must be instanced.

Sleep is characterized.

10. *Sleep is a fluctuation [of mind-stuff] supported by the cause (pratyaya, that is tamas,) of the [transcendent] negation [of the waking and the dreaming fluctuations].*

It proceeds to (*pratyayate*), [that is] goes to an effect. In this sense it is a cause (*pratyaya*) [that is] a reason. It is

the reason why the waking and dreaming fluctuations cease. That fluctuation the support, [that is] object of which is [this] *tamas* is sleep. There is an express mention of the word <fluctuation,> although it is continued from [sūtra i. 5], in order to exclude the theory that sleep is cessation of thinking. So then a man [just after] awakening has the memory which leads him to say 'I slept well'. This has for its object the *tamas*, which is auxiliary to the *sattva* of his thinking-substance, and leads us to postulate an experience of that [*tamas*]. The memory which leads [him] to say 'I have slept poorly' has *tamas* and *rajas* for its object, and leads us to postulate an experience of them. The memory which leads [him] to say 'I have slept in deep stupor' has *tamas* only for its object and leads us to postulate an experience of that [*tamas* only]. And it is this experience, which is a property of the thinking-substance, that is sleep. This [sleep] although it resembles the fluctuation which is single-in-intent, must yet be restricted by one who desires yoga, because it partakes of *tamas*. This is the point.

11. Memory is not-adding surreptitiously to the perceived object.

For the experience of a valid idea is the father of a memory; that which concerns this [experience] is [also] related to the memory; just as in ordinary life the wealth of the father belongs to the son. But the memory is concerned with the original experience. The taking of this property of another is surreptitious adding, [that is] stealing. And so with regard to the perceived object this same not-adding surreptitiously is not grasping after more. In other words, memory would be the grasping of what was perceived and nothing more. Thus an experience is an illumination on the part of the Self which rests upon a fluctuation and which illumines itself. Accordingly memory, as a result of a subliminal-impression produced by this experience, is also concerned with the experience. An objector [who denies that memory is caused by experience] asks, 'Does not a man in dream remember the assumption of the form of an elephant such as he never experienced [in waking]?' The reply is, no, because this [memory] partakes of misconception [instead of experience].

The method for restricting these fluctuations is described.

12. The restriction of them is by practice and passionlessness.

Every living-creature has by nature a fluctuation of mind-stuff which is a river moving on to the level of objects and which flows towards the sea of the round-of-existence. This being so, by passionlessness with regard to an object the flowing of this [river] is broken and by practice in the discrimination between *sattva* and the Self the opposite flowing of this river is brought to pass. For if [a man] were not to repeat [this discrimination between the *sattva* and the Self] then the mind-stuff, which is naturally deliquescent and distracted, when once the distraction is broken by passionlessness, would fall into sleep. Therefore both practice and passionlessness, because there is a distinction of use in the repression of the deliquescence and of the distraction, are required to act together for the restriction, which is the effect to be accomplished.

The nature of practice is described.

13. Practice is the [repeated] exertion that [the mind-stuff] shall have permanence in its [natural] state.

<Permanence> means a singleness-of-intent on the part of the mind-stuff which has no fluctuation of *rajas* or of *tamas*. <In its natural state> would mean in one of these two. <Practice> is the following up of the continued exertion which has as its object this, the abstentions and restraints and so on, which are means of effecting this result.

The objector says that practice, blunted by hostile subliminal-impressions from fluctuations of *rajas* and *tamas* extremely powerful from time without beginning, is not capable of permanence. In reply to this he says

14. But this [practice] becomes confirmed when it has been cultivated for a long time and uninterruptedly and with earnest attention.

The word <But> is intended to remove a doubt. This practice cultivated for a long time with earnest attention, in the form of self-castigation and chastity and science and belief, and with earnest attention acquires confirmed subliminal-

impressions. And it is not overpowered by the subliminal-impressions of emergence. On the contrary it becomes capable of permanence. The Sacred Word [Praṇa Up. i. 10] "But on the Northern [Path] by self-castigation and continence and belief and science having sought the Ātman" shows what earnest attention is.

The nature of passionlessness is described.

15. *Passionlessness is the consciousness of being master on the part of one who has rid himself of thirst for objects either seen or revealed.*

There are four forms of consciousness 1. the *Yatamāna*, 2. the *Vyatireka*, 3. the *Ekendriya*, 4. the *Vaṇikāra*. 1. The *Yatamāna* form of passionless consciousness is an effort to bring to completion the stains, resident in the mind-stuff full of passion and of other [hindrances], which are drawing the mental-processes to objects-of-sense. 2. Then the determination which separates a certain number of stains already come to completion from those which are coming to completion is the *Vyatireka* form of passionless consciousness. 3. Next the abiding in the central-organ of all those that are come to completion and are incapable of drawing the mental-processes is the *Ekendriya* form of passionless consciousness. 4. [For objects] "seen" means for women, or food and drink. Revelation is Veda; that which is revealed is heard, [that is] revealed after it has been uttered by the spiritual-guide. Things as so defined are revealed. The passionlessness which is the <consciousness of being master> (*vaṇikāra*) is the distinguishing perception (*apekṣā-buddhi*) on the part of <one who has rid himself of thirst>—as a result of immediately-presenting [to his mind] by practice such flaws as evanescence and anguish or the capacity-of-being-excelled and envy—of thirst for objects whether divine or not-divine, such for instance as heaven.

The lower passionlessness having been declared he now describes the higher passionlessness.

16. *This [passionlessness] is the highest when discernment of the Self results in thirstlessness for the aspects (guṇa) [and not merely for objects].*

The earlier passionlessness is the cause of the later. Accordingly as a result of presenting-immediately [to his mind],

by practice, the kind of contemplation called the Rain-Cloud of [knowable] Things, there is that discernment of the Self which is understood from the verbal-communication of the spiritual guide. When once now there is the passionlessness called Mastery, as a result of seeing the flaws in objects after the mind-stuff not yet quite pure has followed up the aids to yoga which are to be described, the mind-stuff from which the stains of *tamas* and *rajas* have been completely dispelled and which is finally *sattva* and nothing more, becomes absolutely undisturbed-calm. This same undisturbed-calm, the condition of the quite purified mind-stuff, the final limit of the Rain-Cloud of [knowable] Things, has [gradually] become the result of this same [Rain-Cloud].—The higher passionlessness is the thirstlessness for aspects [and not merely for objects]. This is called by expects in Release the immediate-experience of the cause of release. At the rising of this [passionlessness] the yogin, all of whose hindrances have dwindled away and whose latent-deposit of karma with residuum has been washed away, is indifferent even to the discriminative discernment which he has accomplished and reflects thus, 'That which was to be accomplished has been accomplished; that which was sought has been found'. That mind-stuff which immediately succeeds this and which is reduced to subliminal-impressions not conscious of objects and to nothing more is the higher passionlessness. The lower passionlessness, on the other hand, is a condition of the mind-stuff which has ridden itself of *tamas* and which has a trace of the stain of *rajas*. In consequence of which there where [bodies] are resolved into primary-matter pass through an experience of power. In accordance with which it has been said, "As a result of passionlessness there is resolution into primary-matter".

Having thus discussed practice and passionlessness, the Author [of the Sūtras] in discussing what is to be effected by them points out first of all that [concentration] conscious of an object is of four kinds.

17. [*Concentration becomes*] conscious [*of an object*] by assuming forms either of deliberation or of reflection or of joy or of the feeling-of-personality.

Just as in ordinary life a novice bowman pierces first only a gross mark and afterwards a minute mark, so the yogin,

when a novice, by contemplation has direct-experience only of something coarse such as a *ṣālagrāma* stone. This immediate-experience of the coarse [object] the cause is deliberation (*vitarka*). Of this coarse [object] the cause is subtle, consisting of the subtle-elements and other [imperceptible things]; the immediate-experience of this subtle by contemplation is <reflection>. Sense-organs are coarse; and because they illumine they have the *sattva* form; the immediate-experience of these by contemplation is <joy>. The cause of these [sense-organs] is the thinking-substance; the sense-of-personality is because [the thinking-substance] has become one with the knower, [that is] the Self; the immediate-experience of this [sense-of-personality] by contemplation is said to be the <sense-of-personality>. And of these [four], the coarse is an object-to-be-known; the sense-organs are processes-of-knowing; the so-called sense-of-personality is the knower. The full completion of contemplation with regard to these [three], knower and process-of-knowing and object-to-be-known, is yoga <conscious [of an object]>. And this [kind of yoga] <by assuming> the four forms of deliberation or of reflection or of joy or of the feeling-of-personality is said to be [concentration] with deliberation or with reflection or with joy or with the feeling-of-personality. With regard to these [four kinds] the yoga with the coarse [object] has [at the same time] a coarse and a subtle and a joyous and a personal object, just as the perception of an earthen-jar has [at the same time] the clay [of which the jar is made] as its object; the yoga with the subtle [object] has three kinds of objects; the other two kinds have respectively two and one objects. This is the distinction mentioned by the Author of the Comment. In these cases, just as the perception of the clay does not have the earthen-jar as its object, so we must suppose that the [three kinds of] yoga, with reference to subtle and other objects, do not have the coarse object or the other objects [in their respective order]. In the Gloss of Bhoja, however, after describing the [concentration-]with-deliberation as referring to the sense-organs; and after describing the [concentration-]with-reflection as referring to the [five] fine substances (*Tanmātra*); [the author] describes the [concentration-]with-joy as referring to the personality-substance [and] the [concentration-]with-the-feeling-of-personality as referring to the Great Entity, [the thinking

substance]. In that [book] 1. the personality-substance is the inner-organ which apprehends as its object the percept "I"; 2. the feeling-of-personality is the inner-organ turned inwards and merged in the Great Entity, which is being and nothing more, and [so] flashes forth the sense of being and nothing more. This would be the distinction between these [last] two cases. The apprehender is the Self.

He now describes the [concentration] conscious [of an object] and the method [of attaining it].

18. The other concentration [which is unconscious of an object] consists of subliminal-impressions only, [after objects have merged] and follows upon that practice which produces the cessation [of fluctuations].

This [concentration] is that which <follows upon> [that is] has as its method the <practice> of that higher passionlessness which <produces> [that is] is the cause of that <cessation> [that is] the absence of fluctuations. By this word [<produces>] the method [of attainment] has been described. <The other> is that [unconscious of an object] which <consists of subliminal-impressions only>. For the higher passionlessness after having overpowered even the subliminal-impressions of [concentration] conscious [of an object] leaves only its own subliminal-impressions as a remainder. This is concentration without seed. Because there is nothing upon which it depends, since it has no seed of karma.

Now this [concentration] is of two kinds: it is produced either by the worldly method or by the [spiritual] method. Of these two the first is to be rejected by those who aim at liberation; and this [first] he describes.

19. [Concentration unconscious of an object] caused by existence-in-the-world is that to which the discarnate and those [whose bodies] are resolved into primary-matter attain.

In any one of the evolved-effects from among the elements and organs, which are not-self, there is an idea (*bhāvanā*) of the self. To this extent those who, after the dissolution of the body, are resolved into elements and organs and are without the six-sheathed body are <discarnate>. Those who are resolved into unphenomenalized-matter or the Great [Thinking-

substance] or the personality-substance or the five fine-substances, in so far they have an idea of the self with regard to these as evolving-causes, are called <those [whose bodies] are resolved into primary-matter>. Because the mind-stuff of these consists of subliminal-impressions only and nothing more, their [concentration] is not conscious [of an object]. But this [concentration] is <caused by existence-in-the-world>. Because in it creatures are caused, [that is] born, it is undifferentiated-consciousness (*avidyā*), [that is] <existence-in-the-world>; and the production, [that is] the cause of it, is the idea of the not-self as being the self. Due to undifferentiated-consciousness, this yoga gives results that are perishable. As says the Vāyu [Purāṇa], "Ten Manu-periods the devotees of sense-organs remain here; a full hundred the worshippers of elements; those who identify themselves with illusions of personality remain without anxiety a thousand [Manu-periods]; those who identify themselves with thinking-substances without anxiety, for ten thousand; those who contemplate upon unphenomenalized [primary-matter] stay for a full hundred thousand; but after attaining the Self who is out of relation with qualities there is no limit of time". The mind-stuff of those who have no discriminative insight, although it be absorbed, rises up and falls into the round-of-rebirths, just as a sleeping mind-stuff would do.

Now he says what the second topic is.

20. *[Concentration not conscious of an object,] which follows upon faith and energy and mindfulness and concentration and insight is the one to which the others [the yogins] attain.*

The Self's range of action is the <faith> that is full of *sattva*; this produces <energy> [that is] effort; this by the successive steps of abstentions and observances and the rest [leads to] <mindfulness> [that is] contemplation; [and] this to <concentration>; and this to <insight> [that is] practice, conscious [of its object], in the discernment of the Self's range of action. As a result of this higher passionlessness <the others>, the yogins who are searching for release, gain [the yoga] not conscious [of an object].

The methods begin with faith and end with insight. When preceded by these this [concentration] is produced by the

[spiritual] method. These methods, moreover, in the case of living beings, under the compulsion of earlier subliminal-impressions, are gentle and moderate and vehement, of three kinds. And accordingly the yogins are three, the followers of the gentle, of the moderate, and of the vehement method. Among these three the follower of the gentle method is of three kinds, [that is] with gentle intensity, with moderate intensity, and with keen intensity. Likewise in the case of the other two [methods] there are three kinds [of intensities]. And thus there are nine [kinds of] yogins. These gain perfections slowly [or] more slowly, quickly [or] more quickly by reason of the gradation of method. Because perfection comes more quickly to some of these he says,

21. [Concentration] is near for the keenly intense.

For those yogins whose intensity, [that is] whose passionlessness is keen and whose methods are vehement, concentration not conscious [of an object] is near. And from this comes release.

22. There is a distinction even from this [near concentration] by reason of gentleness and moderation and vehemence.

In the case also of keen intensity <by reason of gentleness and moderation and vehemence> there is, as compared with the concentration that is near, for the yogin of gently keen intensity [and] as compared with [the concentration] that is nearer, for [the yogin] of moderately keen intensity, an acquisition of concentration that is nearest, belonging to [the yogin] whose intensity is vehemently keen. Thus there is a distinction.

23. Or [concentration is attained] by devotion to the Içvara.

<By devotion> either mental or verbal or corporeal, by a special kind of adoration <to the Içvara> the attainment of concentration is most near. The word <Or> indicates that [the yogin] who uses the method of devotion has a choice in so far as he may use the methods previously described. For the Içvara, turned towards [him] by the devotion, without regard to anything other than the devotion, favors him by saying 'Let this that he desires be his'. This is the point.

He discusses the nature of the Iṣvara.

24. *Untouched by hindrances, karma, fruition, or latent-deposits [of karma], the Iṣvara is a special kind of Self.*

Undifferentiated-consciousness (*avidyā*) and the rest are the five <hindrances>. Right and wrong living are <karma>. The result of there two is <fruition>. The subliminal-impressions which correspond to the result are the <latent-impressions>. For (by derivation) they are latent (*āçerate*) in the central-organ. Just as in a man the subliminal-impressions [tending] to the eating of sticks in a birth as elephant intensify themselves (for otherwise life would be impossible). A Self in the round-of-rebirth is touched by hindrances and so on resident in his mind-stuff, inasmuch as he is an enjoyer so long as he does not discriminate himself from mind-stuff. Whereas the Self which is out of relation to these even in [all] the three times is the Iṣvara. The word <special> which expresses the absence of relation with the three times serves as the distinction between [the Self] and released souls. Because in time past they were in relation with the three bonds, when resolved into primary-matter they have a bond to primary-matter; when resolved into evolved-forms [of primary-matter] either into elements or organs, as discarnate beings they have a bond to evolved-forms; in other's, gods or men or so on, there is the bond to the South [the Way of the Fathers]. Because the fruition of karma depends upon the [particular kind of] mind-stuff. This is the difference. An objector asks 'If the highest power of the Self has the faculty of thinking and of action, how can you say that it is immutable'. The answer is that the Iṣvara has a mind-stuff perfect from time-without-beginning and of pure *sattva* in its essence and originating from the primary-cause and with unexcelled faculties of thinking and of action. For He, the Exalted, with the desire to rescue living-beings from the sea of the round-of rebirth assumes this mind-stuff, for without this it is not possible to exercise thinking or instruction in right-living or compassion upon adorers. And one should not ask how a desire could arise before He had assumed mind-stuff. For the stream of creations and dissolutions is, like [the succession of] seed and sprout, from time without beginning. When there is a dissolution of all effects, then the Exalted resolves 'In time to come, in order to show favor to

the world, this mind-stuff must be assumed'. Because (*sat*) the mind-stuff tinged by this resolve becomes merged in the primary-cause, at the beginning of a creation it becomes intense. And in such wise the *Içvara* shows favor. Thus [our contention] is without flaw. If an objector asks what the authority is for the existence (*sattva*) of such a mind-stuff, the reply is in such utterances of the Veda [*Çvet. Up. vi. 8*] as this "And He the *Içvara* of all is self-inherent thinking and power and action". Thus the order¹ would be. The Veda was composed by an *Içvara* distinguished for his unexcelled thinking and power. Consequently it is authoritative; this is the brief statement.

Thus because the Veda is authoritative, an all-knower, the *Içvara* is proved. He gives also an inferential-proof that He is all-knowing.

25. In Him [the Içvara] the germ of the all-knower it at its utmost excellence.

Thinking such as ours must be inherently-connected with that which is at its utmost excellence, because it admits of degrees. Whatever admits of degrees, is always connected with the utmost excellence, which is of the same kind with it, just as the dimension of a water-pot is connected with the dimension of the all-pervasive [atmosphere]. This <knowledge> which has been proved to be of the <utmost excellence> has a <germ> [that is] an implication of the all-knower; <In Him>, in whom knowledge is of the utmost excellence, it is known as having the quality of all-knower. This all-knower [thus] established in generic form has various designations, established by revelation (*Çruti*), such as *Çiva* or *Vişṇu* or *Nārāyaṇa* or *Maheçvara*. And thus it is said in the *Vāyu-Purāṇa* [xii. 32] "Omniscience, Contentment, Limitless Knowledge, Freedom, Ever-unthwarted Energy, Infinite Energy—these are called by the knowers of the sacred-ordinance the six parts of the all-pervasive *Maheçvara*. Knowledge, Passionlessness, Preeminence, Self-control,

¹ The order would be 1. A dissolution, 2. Merging of effects, 3. Resolve in the *Içvara*'s mind-stuff, 4. Tinging of this mind-stuff, 5. Merging in the primary-cause, 6. Intensification of the impression in the mind-stuff at the beginning of the new creation.

Truth, Patience, Perseverance, Creative Energy, Right Knowledge of Self, and Competency to rule the creation abide eternally in Çankara". Similarly in the Mahābhārata "By praising Viṣṇu, who is without beginning or end, the great Lord of all the world, the Ruler of the World, he would forever pass beyond all pain" and in similar passages.

He describes the difference between this Exalted One and Brahma with the rest [of the gods].

26. Teacher of the Primal [Sages] also, forasmuch as [with Him] there is no limitation of time.

<Of the Primal [Sages]> [that is] of those limited by time who arise at the beginning of the creation. The <Teacher> [that is] the Içvara. Why is this? <Forasmuch as [with Him] there is no limitation of time> [that is] because he has no boundary at the beginning. And in this sense the revelation (Çruti) [Çvet. Up. vi. 18] "To Him who first made Brahma and who sent forth the Vedas" and in similar passages.

Having thus discussed the Içvara, in order to tell what devotion to Him is, he tells his secret name.

27. The word-expressing Him is the Mystic-Syllable.

The sūtra is easy. An objector says 'The expressiveness of a words is its so-called denotative significance, the relation between the word and its object. Is this significance made by the conventional-usage, or is it revealed [by the conventional-usage]? It is not the first [alternative; that is, the faculty is made by the usage]. Because this would involve that the Içvara, who [would] be quite independent [of the past], would fit together the word and the intended-object, which would be different from the conventional-usage. Nor is it the second [alternative, that is, the significance is revealed by the usage]. Because [if the usage of the Içvara is there] it is superfluous for a father to make for his sons the conventional-usage of the word 'sun' or of other words. For there is no significance (çakti) which could be revealed [merely] by the conventional-usage of the father (tatra). And if there is nothing to be revealed [that is, a çakti], then a revealer [that is, a saṁketa] would be of no use. Accordingly this conventional-usage

[mentioned in the sūtra] would be useless.' If this is objected, the reply would be this.

The significance remains ¹ all the time; and is only revealed by the conventional-usage. Just as the relation between father and son which remains all the time is revealed by the statement 'This is my son'. Likewise the Içvara makes us know by the conventional-usage the significance, of this or that word for this or that intended-object, which is always permanent, and which in any word, such as 'cow', is reduced at the time of a dissolution to [the condition of] the primary-cause and is intensified again together with its significance at the time of a creation. Whereas the subliminal-impressions of living-beings are broken. But the conventional-usage of a father, for instance, living today causes the significance to appear. Yet there are some who say that all words have significance for all intended-objects. So [the conclusion is that] the conventional-usage of the father or of others is also a revealer; but the words 'cow' or other words are restricted by the Içvara to a particular intended-object in order to give a fixity to the objects-intended by the Veda. So they say. Thus it is proved that even in all cases the Vedic relation between word and intended-object is permanent (*nitya*) in so far as it fixes what is expressed.

Having thus described the expressive-word he tells of the devotion.

28. *Its repetition and reflection on its meaning [should be made].*

The Comment of this is written «The repetition on the Mystic Syllable (*praṇava*) and reflection upon the Içvara who is to be denoted by the Mystic Syllable. Then in the case of this yogin who thus repeats the Mystic Syllable and reflects on its meaning his mind attains to singleness-of-intent. And so it has been said [VP. vi. 7. 33f.]

“Through study let him practise yoga
Through yoga let him meditate on study.
By perfectness in study and in yoga
Supreme soul shines forth clearly.”

¹ This is of course the point missed by the objector.

For this devotion to the Iṣvara the acquisition of concentration as the result is the nearest [method]; this has been previously [i. 22] stated. Now he tells of another result which corresponds with this.

29. *From this [devotion] comes the knowledge of him who thinks in an inverse way, also the removal of obstacles.*

A self is inverted (*pratyañc*) in the sense that it represents (*añcati*), that is, understands in a reversed (*pratīpam*), that is, opposite way [to the ordinary man whose mind-stuff flows out and is modified by objects]. This word describes the difference from the Iṣvara or else something other than the thinking-substance. This <thinking> is inverted; its <knowledge> [that is] its direct experience comes <from this> devotion. And besides there is <also the removal of obstacles>. The objector asks 'How can there be a direct experience of one's self coming from a devotion to the Iṣvara who is different from one's self. Because the practice and the thinking resulting from it have a perception (*darṣana*) of some one object such as the fourth-primary-note'. The reply is this. Just as the Iṣvara is unaffected [by objects] and consists of intellect (*cit*) and is absolutely unchanged and is without hindrance or any such thing, just so is the soul (*jīva*) on account of its similarity [to the Iṣvara]. The contemplation of the Iṣvara by virtue of His favor is the cause of the direct-experience of the soul as such. Thus there is no flaw in the argument.

He tells of the obstacles.

30. *Sickness, languor, doubt, heedlessness, listlessness, worldliness, erroneous perception, failure to attain any stage, and instability in the stage [when attained]—these distractions of the mind-stuff are the obstacles.*

<These distractions of the mind-stuff> which distract the mind-stuff, [that is] cause it to lapse from yoga, are the nine obstacles [that is] obstructions of yoga. Of these [nine] <sickness> is a disorder of the wind or bile or phlegm or of the organs which secrete food. <Languor> is an incapacity for action on the part of the mind-stuff although it is attracted. <Doubt> is familiar enough. <Heedlessness> is a failure to follow up the aids to yoga. <Listlessness> is a lack of effort

due to heaviness of body. <Worldliness> is a greed for objects-of-sense. <Erroneous perception> is a misconception which sees only one alternative of a dilemma. <Failure to attain any stage> is a failure to gain any stage of concentration. The Honeyed (*madhumatī*) and the other stages of concentration will be described. <Failure to attain any stage> so-called, is a lack of steadiness on the part of the mind-stuff in the stage which has been attained. For the mind-stuff when established in the earlier stage should produce the next stage. Lack of steadiness is accordingly a defect.

These distractions not only destroy yoga, but also give pain and so on.

31. *Pain, despondency, unsteadiness of the body, inspiration, and expiration are accompaniments of the distractions.*

<Pain> produced by disease is corporeal, produced by love and so on is mental; both of these two proceed from self; produced by tigers and so on it proceeds from living creatures; produced by the baleful influence of planets or something of the kind it proceeds from the gods. <Unsteadiness of the body> is the state of one unsteady in body, a trembling of the limbs. <Inspiration> is breathing involuntarily which makes the outer wind enter within; it is opposed to emission (*recaka*) which is [voluntary], an aid to concentration. Similarly <expiration> is the out-going of the abdominal wind involuntarily; it is opposed to inhalation. These arise in the distracted mind-stuff together with the distractions.

He draws the discussion to a close by saying that these cease to be as a result of devotion to the Içvara.

32. *To check them [let there be] practice upon a single entity.*

To destroy the distractions <practice> [that is] contemplation should be performed upon a single entity [that is] upon the Içvara. On this point, with regard to the question of the Momentary (*kṣāṇika*) theory which asks whether, if the mind-stuff is durable (*sthāyin*), its focussed state may be attained, the author of the Comment proves that by, for instance, recognizing 'This is I', this mind-stuff is found to be one and implicated in many objects and durable.

He tells of the methods for removing the taints of the mind-stuff that is tainted with envy and similar [vices] by bringing it into touch (*āyoga*) with yoga.

33. By the cultivation of friendliness towards happiness and compassion towards pain and joy towards merit and indifference towards demerit [the yogin should attain] the undisturbed-calm of the mind-stuff.

He should cultivate <friendliness> [that is, friendship] towards living beings who are in happiness; towards those who are in pain, <compassion> [that is] sympathy; towards those whose lives are meritorious, <joy> [that is] gladness; towards those whose lives are evil, who are called demeritorious, <indifference>. By this cultivation an <undisturbed-calm> of the mind-stuff is gained. As a result of the cultivations, as described in order with reference to happiness and the rest, the external-aspect (*dharma*) [of the mind-stuff] which is full of *sattva* is produced. As a result of destroying jealousy, the desire to injure, envy, and hatred, the taints of the mind, with regards to these [classes of persons] are destroyed; and by virtue of the bright external-aspect the mind-stuff becomes undisturbedly calm. And when it has become undisturbedly calm, by methods to be described [it becomes] focussed and gains the stable state. This is the outcome of the argument.

Now after the cultivation of friendliness and the other [sentiments] he describes the methods for keeping the mind-stuff which is [in the state of] undisturbed-calm in the stable state.

34. Or [the yogin should attain the undisturbed-calm of the mind-stuff] by expulsion and retention of breath.

<Expulsion> is emission; there is <retention> of the emitted air outside. By using there to the best of one's power the mind-stuff gains stability upon one point-of-direction. If the breath is subdued, there is a subdued of the mind-stuff, because the two are not separate. After the restraint of the breath has caused all evil to cease, the mind-stuff becomes steady with regard to the cessation of evil. The word <or> expresses an option with regard to the other means which are to be described, but not with regard to the cultivation of friendli-

ness and the others. Because it must be supposed that the cultivation of these [latter] is connected [with them] inasmuch as they act as accessories to all the [other] aids.

He describes the other aids.

35. *Or by a process connected with an object the central-organ [comes into] the relation of stability.*

By constraining the mind-stuff upon the tip of the nose he has a direct experience of super-normal odors; by constraint upon the tip of the tongue he has the consciousness of super-normal taste; upon the palate, the consciousness of color; upon the middle of the tongue, the consciousness of touch; upon the root of the tongue, the consciousness of sound. These consciousnesses, processes connected with objects such as odors, when quickly produced, having produced confidence, bring about a relation of stability between the central-organ and the *Içvara* or a similar object, which are very subtle things. When any point specially laid down by the authoritative-books is found to be in experience, then the yogin¹ passes on towards constraint in faith with regard even to something very subtle.

36. *Or a griefless, luminous [process brings the central-organ into a relation of stability].*

After he has contemplated by emission (*recaka*) [of breath] the eight-petalled lotus of the heart, as a result of constraint upon the vein, situated with mouth upward in the pericarp of this [lotus], and called *Suṣumnā*, consciousness of the central-organ follows. This central-organ assumes in many ways the forms of those rays which belong to the sun or moon or planets or gems. This [pure] light of the *sattva* is the central-organ. The cause of this [central-organ] is the personality-substance, waveless like the Great Sea and pervasive. As a result of constraint upon the light as such which belongs to this personality-substance, consciousness arises. This is that two-fold consciousness. The central-organ or the so-called personality-substance, when having a luminous object, is called <luminous>; it is <griefless> [that is] without pain; [this] process when it is produced is the cause of the central-organ's stability.

¹ Reading *yogī*.

37. *Or the mind-stuff has as its object one [whose mind-stuff] is freed from passion.*

The mind-stuff of the yogin which is fixedly attentive to that mind-stuff as its object which is <freed from passion>, one [that is] belonging to Vyāsa or to Ćuka or to such as they.

38. *Or the mind-stuff [is influenced] by thinking derived in dream or in sleep.*

The word <thinking> refers to something to be thought. While worshipping in dream the very beautiful embodiment of the Exalted One he should attentively fix the mind-stuff on that alone. In deep sleep he should attend fixedly to the pleasure therein. In such wise, supported by the object thought in dream or in sleep, his mind-stuff gains stability.

39. *Or [the mind-stuff gains the stable position] by contemplating upon that object which he desires.*

What need of saying more? Let him contemplate upon whatever [divinity] he desires. [The mind-stuff] having gained stability there, gains stability in other cases also. The analysis [of the compound] is: <by contemplating> upon <that object which he desires> [that is] by not passing outside his desires.

The objector asks 'If it be true that stability of the mind-stuff is produced, what is there to make this known?'

40. *His mastery extends from the smallest atom to the Supreme Greatness.*

<Mastery> [that is] freedom from obstruction <extends> to the <smallest atom> and belongs to <it (asya)> [that is] to the mind-stuff which enters into a subtile object. Likewise there is freedom from obstruction, which extends to the Supreme Greatness, [that is] to space, belonging to the mind-stuff which enters a coarse object. Having known by this supreme mastery that the mind-stuff has gained stability, he desists from following up the means of stability.

Thus the means for the stability of the mind-stuff having been described; and the mastery which makes this known having

been described; what now is the object of the mind-stuff which has gained stability; and of what does it consist? In reply to this he recites the answer.

41. The mind-stuff from which, as from a noble gem, the fluctuations have dwindled away reaches the balanced-state which rests in the knower or the processes-of-knowing or the object-for-knowledge, and which is colored by them.

Just as <a noble> [that is] high-class and quite pure crystal <gem> when colored by an hibiscus or some other flower, by the disappearance of its own color gains a red on some other kind of color, so as a result of practice and passionlessness the gem of the mind-stuff from which fluctuations of *rajas* and *tamas* have dwindled away, by giving up its own nature is affected—in so far as it is an object-to-be-known which is in essence a coarse or fine element, or in so far as it is the processes-of-knowing [that is] the organs-of-sense, or the knower [that is] the Self, the so-called feeling-of-personality previously [i. 17] described—and acquires that [yoga] in accordance with the kind of object into which it is changed (*āpatti*). By assuming forms either of deliberation or of reflection or of joy or of the feeling-of-personality previously [i. 17] described it is to be understood as being of four kinds, as having four objects. In this sūtra by following the order of the objects intended (after breaking [the order of] the reading [of the sūtra]) the mind-stuff, when affected by 1. the object-for-knowledge, 2. the processes-of-knowing, and 3. the knower, <rests in> these by giving up its own nature and assuming a complete change. This is the way of explaining [the sūtra] because mind-stuff is affected by the knower in the order of the coarse and [then of] the subtle. The word <rests in> should be taken as a separate word. Although it has no declination, we should understand it to be the genitive singular and then connect *kṣīṇavṛtter* with *tatsthasya*. Or else, *tatstham* and *tadañjanam* are two coordinate [members of the compound] and the ending —*tū* is added to denote an abstract noun.¹ That is to say,

¹ In the first case the translation would be <the mind-stuff from which fluctuations have dwindled away>. In the second case it would be 'because of the dwindling of the fluctuations the mind-stuff gains the balanced state'.

after the dwindling of the fluctuations as a result of this [state, the *bhāva*] there is the balanced state.

This same balanced state, the so-called conscious [yoga], however, is of four kinds, with deliberation, and super-deliberative (*nirvitarika*), with reflection, and super-reflective. Of these [four], he describes the [yoga] with deliberation.

42. Of these [balanced-states] that with deliberation is mixed with predicate-relations between words and things and ideas.

<Of these> [that is] from among these balanced-states, this is the balanced-state with deliberation. To explain. If we say 'cow', three things appear undistinguished [in consciousness]. This being so, when we think of 'cow' as a word, there is one predicate-relation. For this predicate-relation has as its object the word which has not been distinguished from the thing and from the idea which have been derived from [the word] 'cow'. Similarly the thing 'cow' is another predicate-relation. In this case, the predicate-relation has as its object the thing which has not been distinguished from the word and from the idea which have been derived from [the thing] 'cow'. Likewise there is another predicate-relation the idea 'cow'; but this refers to the idea which has not been distinguished from the word and from the thing which have been derived from the [idea] 'cow'. These same are predicate-relations because they refer to a false kind of failure to distinction. Thus such statements as 'the water-jar is a piece of cloth' are to be understood as predicate-relations. In this [system], just as, in so far as there is a failure to distinguish [things] from words and ideas, the direct-experience (produced by the concentration of the yogin's mind-stuff concentrated upon some coarse object in predicate-relation, a cow, for instance) grasps even an imaginary thing, so this concentrated insight <mixed> with predicate-relations of words and things and ideas becomes like them, because it is of the same quality as the predicate-relations. In other words this mixed [balanced-state] is the balanced-state with deliberation.

He describes the super-deliberative [balanced-state].

43. *When the memory is quite purified, [that balanced-state] which seems empty of itself, and which appears as the object only, is the super-deliberative [balanced-state].*

The significant conventional-usage of words such as 'cow' is commonly understood with regard to things in predicate-relations only. By remembering this [conventional-usage] there is a memory which pertains to words. And only a predicate-relation inferred from some other thing arises. And so a balanced-state with deliberation arises the origin of which is a predicate-relation consisting in an action of hearing or of inferring with regard to a thing heard or inferred. <When the memory is quite purified> [that is] when the memory of the conventional-usage is given up because the mind-stuff which aims at the thing intended and nothing more is fixed upon the thing-intended only. After giving up the predicate-relation which is the effect of this, the concentrated insight, <seeming empty of itself> [that is] of its own condition of knower which consists in insight, because it <appears at the object only>, appears only as that object-for-knowledge which consists in a thing out of predicate-relations. In other words it is the super-deliberative balanced-state. In it there is a direct-experience with deliberation, which is a lower kind of perception because it has predicate-relations. But the super-deliberative is higher because its object is a true object. And this true object is to be understood as being a whole such as a cow or a water-jar. With regard to the doubt as to the Buddhist theory which states that in the case of this [real object] there is no whole over and above the group of atoms [of which it is composed], there is [a whole], inasmuch as if it is sure that one single water-jar is of a certain size (*mahān*), there is nothing to contradict the experience. And this [whole] in our system is a mutation of atoms which consist of subtile elements, And this [mutation, which is a whole] is identical, yet it has a difference in unity with its material cause [the atoms]. This is proved in the Comment.

44. *By this same [balanced-state] the reflective and the super-reflective [balanced-states] which have subtile objects have been explained [in respect of the giving up of predicate-relations].*

That balanced-state with reference to those objects which have been particularized by a multitude of properties belonging

to their own peculiar causes or effects or place or time, and which are in predicate-relations in so far as the objects have not been distinguished from the ideas or the words which express them,—[objects] which are subtle, arranged as consisting of elements and as being evolved-effects of the five fine substances (*tanmātra*), that is, the atoms, which are adapted to serve as material cause for coarse mutations such as water-jars—this [balanced-state] is said to be <with reflection>. That balanced-state with regard to the same atoms when they are the things themselves and nothing more, empty of all attributes is super-deliberative (*nirvicāra*). This now consisting of the real thing and nothing more is the concentrated insight and appears as if empty of itself. And in so far as the deliberative and the super-deliberative [balanced-states] are explained as referring to something coarse, the reflective and the super-reflective are explained as having subtle objects.

The objector asks 'Does the balanced-state with regard to the object-to-be-known end with the atoms?' The answer is, No.

45. *The subtle object also terminates in unresoluble [primary matter].*

<The subtle object> of this balanced-state terminates in the unresoluble primary cause. To explain. The atom of earth is produced from the fine substance smell, to which the other fine substances are subordinate. But [the atom] of water, after the fine substance smell has been excluded, is from the fine substance of taste, to which the other fine substances are subordinate. Whereas [the atom] of fire, after the pair smell and taste have been excluded, [is produced] from the fine substance of color, to which the other two are subordinate. But [the atom] of water [is produced] from the previously rejected fine substance of touch, and has subordinate to it the fine substance of sound. Whereas the atom of air is produced from the single fine substance of sound only. This is the procedure. Accordingly the five fine substances are the material causes for the evolved-effects, the atoms, and are [with respect to them] subtle. And as compared with them the personality-substance is subtle. And as compared with it the Great [thinking substance is subtle]. And as compared with the

Great, the primary-cause [is subtle]. For this does not become resolved, therefore it is called unresoluble [primary matter]. Higher than this there is nothing subtle as material cause, because the Self is not the material cause for the *sattva*. For the Self because it has experience and liberation as its purposes is nothing but efficient cause for the creation, which has the purposes of the Self as its efficient cause. Therefore it is proved that the balanced-state with regard to a subtle object-for-knowledge terminates in the primary-cause.

Thus the four balanced-states with regard to a coarse and a subtle object-for-knowledge have been described. He now brings to a conclusion the discussion of the fact that they are conscious.

46. *These same are the seeded concentration.*

And in so far as there is the distinction between predicate and non-predicate relation in the case of processes-of-knowing and of the knower, there are four balanced-states 1. with joy and 2. joy and nothing more, 3. with the feeling-of-personality and 4. the feeling of personality in conformity with the rule described. Thus <these same>, the eight balanced-states are <the seeded concentration> [that is, concentration] conscious [of an object]. So long as there is no discriminative discernment, because there is the seed of bondage, the state of having seed must be recognized.

Here he describes the supremacy of the super-reflective balanced-state in respect of its result.

47. *When clearness of the super-reflective [balanced-state] arises, then the yogin gains the inner undisturbed-calm.*

The *sattva* of the thinking-substance from which the taints of *rajas* and *tamas* have been removed has a flow of pure fluctuations stable in quality; its range is to the subtle object-for-knowledge which ends in the primary-cause; and this is the <clearness> of the super-reflective balanced-state. In this. Taking in his grasp, in the order of reality, the whole assemblage of entities from the atom to the primary-cause he abides in his own self, <he gains the inner undisturbed-calm.>

He tells the technical name approved by yogins for this undisturbed-calm.

48. In this [clearness of the mind-stuff] the insight is truth-bearing.

In him (*tasya*) the super-reflective insight, which arises produced by concentration when this clearness has arisen, becomes the consciousness called <truth-bearing.> Because the etymology is that it bears truth [that is] unpredicated reality. He tells how the object of this is distinguished from false sources-of-knowledge.

49. This has a different object than the insight of oral-communication or of inference, inasmuch as it refers to the particular.

The significance of any word such as 'cow' is in the common characteristic of the genus 'cow', not in the particular individuals. For these are innumerable and it is impossible to know them. Similarly the concomitance also gives you only the common characteristic of fieriness. Hence a generic thing is the object of the insight in oral-communication and in inference. So in ordinary life after one has a knowledge of words and of a middle term (*līṅga*), one knows cow in general and fire in general and not any particular individuality. This is everyone's own experience. Although sense-perception has some particular cow or piece of cloth as its object, still a subtle or hidden or remote particular is the peculiar object of concentrated insight. And if the concentrated insight has power-to-apprehend (*prasantī*) subtle and other things, enlightened by oral-communication or by inference, you should not ask whether it can have within its range particulars which are beyond the range of oral-communication and inference which are its own origin. For the thinking-substance has of itself the power of knowing all things. For the *sattva* of the thinking-substance, which is in essence light, although it has capacity to know all intended-objects, yet if obscured by *tamas* has little as its object as compared with ordinary-proof. But when its cover of *tamas* has gone away, by reason of the concentration, enlightening on all sides, it passes beyond ordinary proof, then because of the endlessness¹ of light what can there be which is not within its range? Therefore concentrated insight because particular intended objects are within its range has one object and

¹ Reading *prakāṣānantyāt*.

ordinary proof has another object. This has been said [MBh xii. 530] 'As a man standing on a crag sees persons on the ground below, so a man of insight having risen to the pinnacle¹ of insight, himself free from pain, sees all creatures in pain, [below].' The word 'creatures' means those who have no concentration, those who are slaves of ordinary proof.

The objector says 'If the concentrated insight is overpowered by very powerful subliminal-impressions from the experience of sounds and other [perceptible] objects, it does not gain stability'. In reply to this he says.

50. The subliminal-impression produced by this [super-reflective balanced-state] is hostile to other subliminal-impressions.

<The subliminal-impression> produced by the super-reflective concentration is <hostile> that is <inhibitory> to emergent subliminal-impressions. The emergent subliminal-impression because it is not in contact with [one of] the entities is inhibited by the subliminal-impression of the [concentrated] insight which is in contact with an entity. When these [emergent subliminal-impressions] are inhibited, emergent presented ideas do not arise. Whereas the concentrated insight does arise. From this there is a subliminal-impression over and over again. So because the subliminal-impressions from concentration accumulate, when the hindrances are completely dwindled away, the mind-stuff becomes disgusted with experience and turns towards the Self; having accomplished the discriminative discernment, its task done, it becomes resolved [into its primary cause], because its predominance is finished. For the movement of the mind-stuff terminates at the time of the [discriminative] discernment.

The objector asks 'If the mind-stuff which is full of subliminal-impressions from consciously concentrated insight accomplishes in succession the insights of this [concentration], how can it accomplish seedless concentration?' In reply to this he says.

¹ The change of one vowel-quantily makes this word mean undisturbed-calm.

51. When this [subliminal-impression] also is restricted, since all is restricted, [the yogin gains] seedless concentration.

After the discernment of the Self [and] in so far as there is an accumulation of subliminal-impressions of the higher passionlessness, <this> subliminal-impression from the consciously concentrated insight, and the insight itself as implied by the word <also> <is restricted.> Because all the stream of insights and of subliminal-impressions from them is restricted. For the mind-stuff has nothing to do inasmuch as its predominance is ended, according to the rule "When there is no cause there is no effect" and the seedless concentration comes to pass. This has been said. "Preparing his consciousness in a three-fold manner by the Sacred Tradition and by inference and by eagerness for practice in contemplation he gains the highest yoga". In other words, by the Veda, by reasoning, by the higher passionlessness [that is] eagerness for the so-called Rain-Cloud of [knowable] Things [that is] practice in the contemplation of the Self and nothing more, by directly experiencing the Self, he gains the seedless yoga. In course of time, when there is an accumulation of subliminal-impressions of restriction, which are seedless, the mind-stuff resolves itself into its primary matter since there is no reason for it [to remain]. Because the reason for the stability of the mind-stuff is its predominance characterized by something to be done. For the mind-stuff which has the discriminative discernment and which has finished its experience has nothing to be done. Therefore it is proved that the Self, when the mind-stuff is dissolved, is grounded in nothing but itself, isolated, released.

Book Second: Means of attainment.

In the previous Book after stating what yoga is and after having described its characteristic-mark and explained the fluctuations and made known practice and passionlessness as methods for restricting them; and after describing certain methods for steadying the mind-stuff, the two kinds of yoga with the subdivisions was made known. In this book assuming that practice and passionlessness have been established as means for purifying the mind-stuff, he first describes the yoga of action which is the reason for the purity of this [mind-stuff].

1. *The yoga of action is self-castigation and study and devotion to the Içvara.*

In this Book the means of attainment of the yoga described in the previous book are described. This is the connection of these two Books. Continence, service of the spiritual guide, speaking truth, stock-stillness (*kāṣṭha-māuna*) and silence of countenance (*ākāra-māuna*), duties appropriate to one's stage of life, endurance of extremes, measured food, and the like—this is <self-castigation.> <Study> is the repetition of purifying formulas, such as the Mystic Syllable or [the verses to] the Exalted Rudra, or the Hymn to the Puruṣa [R.V. x. 90] or the reading of books on release. The offering of actions, done without attachment to the result, to the Supreme Teacher, the Içvara is <devotion to the Içvara>. These are the yoga which consists in action because they are means of attaining yoga.

He describes the result of the yoga of action.

2. *For the cultivation of concentration and the attenuation of the hindrances.*

When the hindrances are dense, concentration is not perfected. Accordingly the yoga of action attenuates the hindrances and cultivates concentration. Attenuation is the occasional appearance of hindrances which [otherwise] appear at all times. Cultivation is the bringing about of concentration. <For> this is that whose result is this. By the yoga of action having obtained an opportunity in the intervals of the hindrances, concentration brings the discriminative discernment to pass and burns the hindrances together with the subconscious impressions. This is the point.

Now of what sort are the hindrances and how many are they? In reply to this he says.

3. *Undifferentiated-consciousness (avidyā) and the feeling of personality and passion and hatred and the will-to-live are the five hindrances.*

They hinder, [that is] in that they give an impulse to karma and its results they give pain to the Self. So they are called <hindrances.> And they are five.

With regard to these [five], in so far as the four are the effects of undifferentiated-consciousness, he says that they have undifferentiated-consciousness as their essence.

4. *Undifferentiated-consciousness is the field for the others whether they be dormant or attenuated or intercepted or sustained.*

<Of the others> beginning with the feeling-of-personality <undifferentiated-consciousness is the field> [that is] the propagative soil. He describes the different subdivisions of these by saying <dormant.> Dormant or attenuated or intercepted or sustained—of these. Of these [four], the hindrances which belong to yogins who are discarnate or whose [bodies] are resolved into the primary-matter are dormant, because they remain unburned, in potential form, so long as there is no discriminative discernment. Accordingly at the end they appear again.—Attenuated hindrances belong to active yogins.—Intercepted belong to those who are attached to objects and become sustained. Just as Chāitra's anger is intercepted towards the woman for whom he feels a passion, and his passion is sustained, so passion is intercepted for that person towards whom one's anger is sustained. In time it becomes sustained and hinders man and beast. These hindrances have their root in undifferentiated-consciousness. When this ceases, as a result of the Self becoming perceptibly perceived, they cease, just as the hindrances of one who is liberated during life [cease]. When one can say that they have dwindled away, then this would be regarded as a fifth state of the hindrances.

Of these [five] he describes the nature of undifferentiated-consciousness.

5. *The recognition of the permanent in the impermanent, of the pure in the impure, of pleasure in pain, of self in the non-self is undifferentiated-consciousness (avidyā).*

That is, the thought of a thing with reference to what is not that thing. If one thinks that the gods are deathless as the result of the error of [finding] the permanent in the impermanent one performs sacrifice for the sake of a divinity and is bound. Similarly as a result of finding purity in impurity, in the body of a woman one is bound. This is said by the Exalted Divine Vyāsa 'Because purification must be applied, the learned know

that the body is, because of its [first] abode, of its seed, of its sustenance, of its exudations, and of its decease, impure.' Its <abode> is the mother's belly full of excrement and urine. Its <seed> is semen and blood. Its <sustenance> is secretions and the like from mutations of food. Its <exudations> are the issue of filth from all the doors [of the body]. Its <decease> is death. If so, even the body of the Brahmin is endlessly impure. It needs [constant] purification, [that is] by bathing, anointing, and the like purity is attained. — Likewise there is the error of [finding] pleasure in enjoyment which has the pain of mutation [iii. 15]. — There is the recognition of the self in what is non-self, for instance, the thinking-substance. In other words, <undifferentiated-consciousness> is contrary to the consciousness of reality. Although there are undifferentiated-consciousnesses of the mother-of-pearl and of the silver and so on, still this undifferentiated-consciousness of just four kinds is the root of bondage. This is the point.

6. *The feeling-of-personality is a fusion, as it appears to be, of the power of seeing and of the power of the sight.*

The power of seeing is the Self. The sight¹ in the sense that it is seen; the thinking-substance is the power of this. The word <power> has the meaning of predisposition. An identity [that is] oneness of essence has been accomplished by undifferentiated-consciousness between the enjoyer and the power of being enjoyed which are predisposed [to each other] but absolutely discriminate, the seer and the thing to be seen. By the words <as it appears to be> he indicates that an error with regard to identity has been made when one thinks 'I am.' In other words this is <the feeling-of-personality.> "This is the knot of the heart" as those² who hold the theory of the Brahman say.

He explains that passion is the effect of the feeling-of-personality.

7. *Passion is that which dwells upon pleasure.*

When there is an experience of pleasure, that longing which there is in memory for another pleasure of the same kind or

¹ According to the Vārttika *darṣana* means organ-of-sight (*karaṇa*).

² Compare Muṇḍ. Up. ii. 2. 8. and Kaṭha Up. vi. 15.

for the means of attaining it is <passion.> [This passion] dwells upon pleasure [that is] makes it its object; so it is said to < dwell upon pleasure.>

8. *Hatred is that which dwells upon pain.*

That anger which is in the memory of him who felt the pain towards pain and the means of pain is <hatred.>

9. *Sweeping on [by the force of] its own nature the will-to-live (abhiniveṣa) exists in this form even in the wise.*

That fear of death in a creature just born, whether [he is to be] a wise man or a fool, is the will-to-live. Just as fear exists in the fool when he wishes 'May I always be,' so it exists [that is] is found <even in the wise.> It <sweeps on [by the force of] its own nature> in the sense that it flows [that is] flows onward by its own nature which is an attachment to a subconscious-impression produced by an experience of the pain of death more than once in previous births. By means of this fear the Comment shows incidentally that the soul is over and above the body. For even in a child just born the fear of death is found and this could not be explained unless there were a memory of previous death. These five, moreover, undifferentiated-consciousness and the rest are called (Gāuḍapāda's Bhāṣya on Sāṃkhya Kārikā xlviii) "Gloom, infatuation, great infatuation, darkness, blind darkness." Of these [five], 1. gloom is undifferentiated-consciousness, the thought of self in what are non-selves, in the unphenomenalized [primary matter] or in the Great [thinking-substance] or in the personality-substance or in the five substances. 2. Infatuation is the identification with atomization or some other of the eight powers so that one thinks 'I am atomic [or] I am of great size.' 3. Great infatuation is passion for sounds or other of the ten [perceptible] objects in so far as there is this distinction between what is super-normal and what is not-super-normal. 4. Darkness is hatred towards the eighteen obstructions, in case there is failure to gain the ten objects which are the causes of these [powers], if for any cause there be obstruction to the [ten] powers. 5. Blind darkness is the fear of the destruction of these same eighteen things desired. And in this sense the Sāṃkhya Kārikā [xlviii] "The distinctions of gloom are eightfold and also those of infatuation;

great infatuation is tenfold; darkness is eighteenfold and so is blind darkness."

And these hindrances are of two kinds. The subtle which consist of subliminal-impressions burned by the discernment of the Self; the coarse, attenuated by the yoga of action and by the purification which consists in the cultivation of friendliness and so on [i. 33]. Of these [two], he describes the method of rejecting the subtle [hindrances].

10. These [hindrances when they are subtle] are to be rejected by inverse propagation.

The mind-stuff having performed its task is dissolved into the feeling-of-personality, its own evolving-cause. <These> hindrances <are to be rejected> by <inverse propagation.> In other words as a result of the destruction of the whole there is a destruction of the external-aspects of this [whole].

He describes the means of rejecting the coarse [hindrances].

11. The fluctuations of these should be rejected by means of contemplation.

Those fluctuations of the hindrances, which are coarse, thinned by the yoga of action, being pleasure and pain and infatuation are to be rejected only by contemplation. Just as in ordinary life a spot of very coarse matter upon a piece of cloth is first cleansed by washing. Afterwards it is thinned by contact with alkali on something of the kind. But the latent-impression of the spot is destroyed only by the destruction of the piece of cloth. Similarly extremely dense hindrances become thinned by the yoga of action. But when thinned, they are attenuated by contemplation. Yet subtle [hindrances] are destroyed only by the destruction of the mind-stuff. This is the point.

After the hindrances have been discredited, the objector asks 'How is it that they are hindrances?' In reply he says they are called hindrances because they are bonds, in so far as they are the root of karma and of its effects.

12. *The latent-deposit of karma has its root in the hindrances and may be felt either in a birth seen or in a birth unseen.*

In this [sūtra], by the three words in order, the cause and the nature and the effect of karma are described. That in which all Selves in the round-of-rebirth are latent is a latent-deposit of karmas, a subliminal-impression consisting of right and wrong-action. Because the root of it is the hindrances, love and anger and the rest, it is said to <have its root in the hindrances.> And it is of two kinds <to be felt in a birth seen and to be felt in a birth not seen.> And the first [kind] is to be experienced in the very same body by which the karma was made (*kṛta*); this is the birth seen. Just as Nandiçvara, when only a lad, with a human body offered adoration to the Içvara with keen intensity both by incantations and self-castigation and concentration, and instantly gained birth as a divinity and a long length-of-life and supernormal experiences. Likewise Vishvamitra gained the birth and the length-of-life. In like manner contempt shown to illustrious personages who have remained worthy of trust in the terrible calamities which they have undergone is instantly rewarded. Just as Nahuṣa because of contempt shown to the great sage [Agastya] instantly became a serpent. The second [kind], however, is the <latent-deposit of karma> which is the cause of heaven or hell or whatever it may be to be experienced in another birth.

This [latent-deposit of karma] does not occur when the hindrances have dwindled away. He describes this distinction.

13. *So long as the root exists, there will be fruition from it, birth and length-of-life and kind-of-experience.*

So long as <the root> which consists in the hindrances exists, there is <fruition> [that is] a result from the karma. For a man who has no hindrance does not enjoy. Since one who has no passion has no sensation of pleasure in any result arising in karma. For one who is not dejected does not lament. Therefore the seed of karma in hindrances burned by the fire of discriminative discernment, like rice which has no husk, does not generate a fruit. This fruition is of three kinds. <Birth> is being born as a divinity or as something or other; <length-of-life> is connected with the body and the breath for a long

time; <kind-of-experience> is the enjoyment of objects of sense by sense organs. Of these [three], kind-of-experience is primary; birth and length-of-life are supplementary to it. Because in this one body one feels different kinds-of-experience, many karmas bring the time of death to the full realization and originate a single birth. So the latent-deposit of karma is said to be one which has [its limit] in one existence. This is to be understood as having a multiplicity of results, in one case as birth, in another as length-of-life, in another as kind-of-experience; in another as two [of these], in another as three of these. This is said by the Exalted [Bhag. Git. iv. 17] 'Mysterious are the ways of karma.' The details way he looked up in the Comment.

In order now to indicate that birth and the others are to be rejected, he describes their result.

14. These [fruitions] have joy or extreme anguish as results in accordance with the quality of their causes whether merit or demerit.

<These> [that is] birth and length-of-life and kind-of-experience. Those that have a meritorious cause result in pleasure. Demerit is evil; those [fruitions] that have this as a cause result in pain. But [Vācaspati-]mīṣra says¹ that the kind-of-experience is the feeling of pleasure or pain; pleasure and pain are the results of that [kind of experience] because this [kind of experience] is a kind of action,² just as the village is [the result] of walking. So he says.

The objector says 'Suppose that these [karmas] which result in pain are to be rejected; but how is it that those which result in pleasure are to be rejected.' In reply to this he says.

15. By reason of the pains due to mutations, to anxiety, and to subliminal-impressions, and by reason of the opposition of the fluctuations of the aspects, to the discriminating all is pain.

<Mutation> is a change of state. <Anxiety> is present. <Subliminal-impressions> are past. These same are pains; by

¹ See iii. 35, p. 245¹¹ and compare *bhogaḥ sukhaduḥkha-sākṣātkāraḥ* ii. 13, p. 126⁸ (Calc. ed.).

² That is, it is something to be accomplished not something ready-made.

reason of these. This is the analysis [of the compound]. To explain. The fire of passion increases as a result of the enjoyment of the pleasure in objects. In case it increases, when a man does not get what he desires, pain necessarily will come. There is aversion towards that which lessens [enjoyment]. As a result of this, because there is an increase of evil due to passion and aversion, there is pain. And if [enjoyment] does not lessen, there is disease and also evil. From this there is pain. Thus enjoyment has the painfulness of mutations. So at the time of the enjoyment of pleasure there is pain because of the fear of the loss of the objects. And as a result of the hatred for the destroyer there is anxiety. Thus enjoyment has the painfulness of anxiety. In this way when the enjoyment of pleasure is destroyed there is a subliminal-impression. In so far as there is this memory, when there is passion, because of the accumulation of merit and demerit, there is the experience of pleasure and of pain, there is a subliminal-impression again. Thus the uninterrupted-succession of pain is endless. If there were no subliminal-impression when enjoyment is destroyed, then there would be no uninterrupted-succession of pain. But because there is the subliminal-impression there is the painfulness of the subliminal-impression. These pains deject the discriminating yogin who is [sensitive] as the eye-ball; but not [ordinary people] busy in action, whose mind-stuffs are hard. Just as even a thread of wool of delicate structure dejects the eye-ball, but not any other part of the body. Accordingly to the discriminating every means of enjoyment without exception, like food mixed with poison, is surely pain by connection with <pains due to mutations, to anxiety, and to subliminal-impressions> <and by reason of the opposition of the fluctuations of the aspects.> In other words, there is opposition [that is] the reciprocal relation of causing and of being made to disappear, in the case of the fluctuations, pleasure and pain and infatuation, which belong to the aspects, *sattva* and *rajas* and *tamas*, which are mutated as mind-stuff. Because of this. For the mind-stuff is unstable. Whatever fluctuation of the aspects there is in this mind-stuff which appears when right-living becomes intensified, this same, because wrong-living is intensified, when once right-living has appeared, disappears again. The fluctuation of pleasure, which really by its very nature partakes of pain, manifests its natur-

ally painful nature, because it is a mutation of *sattva* mixed with *rajas*, the nature of which is pain. But in its own time [of being experience], the painfulness of this [fluctuation of pleasure] is not clear, because, at that time, the *sattva* [aspect] is predominant. [But when] the *sattva* [aspect] disappears by reason of the *rajas*, then it becomes clear. Thus it is that pleasure and pain are differently named. In this way the fact that pleasure infatuates is explained. Consequently it is proved that the whole world, in essence a mutation of aspects, is to be rejected as having in its essence an infatuation as to pain.

Just as in a book of medicine there are four divisions 1. Disease 2. Cause of the disease 3. Health 4. Cause of this [Health], so in this book too he shows that what is to be rejected is to be particularized and divided into four 1. What is to be Rejected 2. Cause of what is to be Rejected 3. Release 4. Cause of this [Release].

16. That which is to be rejected is pain yet to come.

Because past pain has passed away in experience and because present pain is dwindling in the very experience itself, it is <pain yet to come> that <is to be rejected.>

He describes the cause of the rejection.

17. The cause of that which is to be rejected is the correlation of the Seer and the object-for-sight.

The <Seer> consisting in intelligence is the Self who has a vision which is his own image lying on the thinking-substance. The <object-for-sight> is the *sattva* of the thinking-substance. The <correlation> is the relation of property and proprietor. For the *sattva* of the thinking-substance, mutated into the form of the various sounds and other [perceptible] substances, by the agency of the organs or in some other way, by changing into the image of the intelligence is seen as not different from the Self; giving its aid like a loadstone merely by being near and making the Self look towards the experience and the liberation which abide within him, it becomes the property of the Self the proprietor. This same is the correlation, formed by the the undifferentiated-consciousness which consists in the

the error which does not [see] the difference; and, constantly subject to the ends of the Self, is the cause of the pain which is to be rejected.

He amplifies [the description] of the object-for-sight.

18. *The object-for-sight with its disposition to light and to activity and to inertia, consisting of elements and organs, exists for the purpose of the experience and of the liberation [of the Self].*

The *sattva* has the disposition to light. The *rajas* has the disposition to activity. Inertia is an impediment to light and to activity; the *tamas* has this disposition. Thus while there is relation of castigated and castigator between the *sattva* and the *rajas*, infatuation is found in the Self because he looks upon them as belonging to him (*mamatayā*). These same three aspects, cooperating with their own effects of this kind or that, undiscriminated, objects-of-experience, to be put aside by the discriminating, causing each other to disappear, in the relation of whole and part to each other, having differences knowable by characteristic effects of pleasure and light and lightness and of pain and activity and incitement and of infatuation and obstruction and heaviness, with the difference between them hard to know inasmuch as they are not separated from each other, denoted by the word primary cause,—[these aspects] <consist of elements and organs.> The elements are the coarser fine substances; the organs are the ten organs of perception and of action, the thinking-substance and the personality-substance and the central-organ, which are the three inner organs. This is the object-for-sight, the mutation of which consists of, [that is] is not different from, [elements and organs]. It is <for the purpose of the experience and the liberation [of the Self]> [that is] its purpose is experience and release.

He shows what the mutation of these aspects is when one separates them.

19. *The divisions of the aspects are the particularized and the unparticularized [forms] and resolvable [primary matter] and unresolvable [primary matter].*

Sixteen evolved-forms are <particularized> in the sense that they are made particular [that is] singled out. Five coarse

elements, air and wind and fire and water and earth, ten organs of sense and of action, and the central-organ — these sixteen are evolved-forms only and not evolving-causes of other entities. The evolving-causes of these evolved-forms are evolved-forms of the thinking-substance, the six unparticularized, the five fine substances and the personality substance. According to the Sāṅkhya the five fine-substances are from the personality-substance. According to the Yoga the fine substances are offspring of the thinking-substance produced after the personality-substance. Of these the five fine-substances, sound and touch and color and taste and smell as they are called, are the evolving-causes of the coarse elements. The personality-substance, in both aspects of the *sattva* and the *rajas*, is the evolving-cause of the organ of sense and of action of the central-organ. The Great Entity is a fine-substance and it is <resoluble> in the sense that it is reduced to a resolution [into primary matter]. And the word *mātra* makes clear its characteristic-difference from the particularized and the unparticularized. For it is in essence unpredicated determinations and it is the first effect of the primary-cause which consists in the state of equipoise. The four divisions of the aspects are mutations. It is to be supposed that the aspects are supplementary to the intelligence.

Thus having discussed the object-for-sight he discusses the Seer.

20. *The Seer, who is seeing and nothing more, although undefiled [by aspects], looks upon the presented-idea.*

<The Seer> is the Self. <Who is seeing and nothing more> [that is] who is intelligence and nothing more, not having properties such as perception. Accordingly, although <undefiled> [that is] immutable, he beholds the presented-idea in conformity with a fluctuation of the thinking-substance. Thus he <looks upon the presented-idea.> In other words as a result of not discriminating the thinking-substance from himself, by becoming one with the fluctuations he looks upon the sounds and other [perceptible] things. This has been said [i. 4] 'At other times it takes the same form as the fluctuations [of mind-stuff].'

Having thus described the object-for-sight and the Seer he tells which is subordinate and which is principal.

21. *The being of the object-for-sight exists only for the sake of it [the Self].*

The nature of the <object-for-sight> [that is] the object of experience is only for the sake of the Seer, not for its own sake, because it is unintelligent.

The objector says 'Then, when once the purpose of the Seer is completed, because it would have nothing to do, the primary-cause would not be an object-for-sight; it would be without functional activity; and so no world-of-change would now be apperceived.' In reply to this he says

22. *Though it has ceased [to be seen] in the case of one whose purpose is fulfilled, it has not ceased to be, since it is common to others besides him.*

The primary-cause is one; the Selves are endless [in number]. This is the settled rule, in accordance with the passage of the Sacred Word [Qvet. Up. iv. 5] 'The one she-goat.' In this case that Self with reference to whom the primary-cause has fulfilled its experience and liberation is <one whose purpose is fulfilled> because he is master, just as a master is said to have won a victory by a victory which has been won by a servant. Similarly, with reference to that Self who has accomplished his purpose and is free, this object-for-sight, although it has ceased to be [that is] reduced to non-sight, still it has not ceased to be, because it is common to other Selves. What he means to say is this. Because the purpose of the Self has stages yet to come, it is the cause of activity on the part of the primary-cause. In this case, although the primary-cause is not active with reference to [a Self] who has fulfilled its purpose, with reference to one whose purpose is not fulfilled, in the form of the Great [thinking substance] and the rest, activity does take place. And so if one [Self] has freedom, it does not follow that all have freedom.

Thus having explained the object-for-sight and the Seer he discusses the cause of what is to be rejected [that is] the correlation.

23. *The cause of the recognition of the nature of the power of the property and of the proprietor is the correlation.*

The <property> is the object-for-sight; its <power,> inasmuch as it is inert, is its capacity for being seen. But the <proprietor> is the Self; his power, inasmuch as he is intelligent, is his capacity as Seer, which merely consists in being himself. These two powers, whose nature is that they should be property and proprietor, have experience, that is to say, a recognition of the peculiar nature of the thinking-substance as the object-for-sight in the form of various sounds and other [perceptible] things. The recognition of the peculiar nature of the proprietor is liberation. The cause of this [recognition] is the <correlation> the so-called relation of property and proprietor. The same is called the relation of Seer and object-for-sight [and] the relation of experiencer and object-of-experience. When this is not, there is no recognition of the nature of the Seer and the object-for-sight; when it is, there is this [recognition]. This correlation is knowable only in [its] effect. This is pointed out.

Having thus described the nature and the effect of the correlation he tells of its cause.

24. *The cause of it is undifferentiated-consciousness (avidyā).*

In other words the cause of the correlation is a subconsci-imp-ression from erroneous knowledge. When any one thinks 'I' the presented idea which does not distinguish between the Seer and the object-for-sight is an error. A mind-stuff permeated (*vāsita*) by subconsci-imp-ressions of this [error] is resolved at a dissolution and passes over into the condition of the primary-cause; at the time of a creation, in the case of each Self, it comes forth as the *sattva* aspect only. By means of this correlation there is bondage for the undiscriminating and release for the discriminating. For [they are] together with that undifferentiated-consciousness, in the mind-stuff, which is diversified with subconscious-imp-ressions from time without beginning. Upon the human victim¹ perforated like a fish-net and rejecting the pain received, which has been applied by his own karma, and receiving [the pain] rejected, who conforms

¹ This simile is derived from the Bhāṣya on ii. 13 and 15.

himself to the idea 'I' and to the idea 'mine',—upon him, born again and again, the triple anguishes, from both kind of causes both inner and outer, sweep down.

Having thus shown the consistency between, that which is to be rejected and its cause, he traces the derivation of the release, which is the rejection of that which is to be rejected.

25. Because this [undifferentiated-consciousness] does not exist, there is no correlation; this is the rejection, the Isolation of the Seer.

Because this [undifferentiated-consciousness] does not exist, after it has been destroyed by consciousness, the cause, the pain to be rejected, which is the correlation of the thinking-substance and the Self, does not exist [that is] is quite destroyed. This <Isolation> of the <Seer> [that is] of the permanently freed is itself the rejection.

After describing freedom he tells of its cause.

26. The method of the rejection is unwavering discriminating discernment.

The <discernment> is the sense of <discriminating> [that is] distinguishing between the Seer and the object-for-sight. Wavering is false sensation. In the first place we know that discriminating insight arises in a general way from verbal-communication. This does not put an end to undifferentiated-consciousness, which is from time without beginning, because there is no immediate experience. But when it is established by reasoning and is incessantly practised by a mind-stuff free from passion and directed towards the Self, then springing from the final perfection of contemplation and containing the reflection of the intelligence and consisting of immediate experience, it utterly destroys false sensation together with the subconscious-impressions. Being now <unwavering> by reason of the restriction which follows the higher passionlessness, it is [now] the method of release which is nothing but subliminal-impressions and which has performed its task, when once its end has begun, by virtue of the final cessation; and this is the rejection of future pain.

He tells of the greatness due to knowledge in the case of one freed while living, whose discriminating discernment is stable.

27. *For him insight advancing in stages to the highest is sevenfold.*

Those are advancing to the highest [that is] are in the final (*carama*) [stage], whose highest, [that is] whose end, is excellent as a result. That insight whose stage, [that is] whose state, has advanced to the highest is <advancing in stages to the highest.> Following after the wise man's steady and unwavering discernment of himself, in so far as other presented-ideas have disappeared, there are seven kinds, [that is] seven stages, that are final. 1. All that is to be known is known. Other than this there is nothing to be known. This is one [insight]. Because it destroys all desire to know, this insight has advanced to the highest. For this¹ insight is impossible in one who does not know himself, because, as a result of this, although the insight, which terminates in the primary-cause, is established by the concentration which is based upon this, yet in so far as the desire to know the self persists (*sattvena*) the insight of this [persisting desire] is not final. Thus the last states are to be regarded as advancing in stages to the highest. 2. All the causes of bondage which were to be rejected have been rejected, there is nothing to be rejected by me. This is the second [insight]. 3. By the attainment of Isolation all that was to be attained has been attained; other than this there is nothing to be attained by me. This is the third [insight]. 4. By the accomplishment of discriminative discernment all that was to be done has been done; there is nothing to be done. This is the fourth [insight]. These four are the so-called final releases of action.—The so-called final releases of the mind-stuff are three. That is to say, 5. the *sattva* of my thinking-substance has performed its task. This is one [insight]. 6. The aspects (*guṇa*) also, in the form of the thinking-substance and the rest, like rocks fallen from the top of the mountain peak, without support, of their own accord, incline towards dissolution in their fall and come to final rest; lacking a motive they do not spring up again. This is the second

¹ Reading *iyam anātmañāsya*.

[insight of the released mind-stuff]. 7. Similarly one who has passed beyond the aspects (*guṇa*) and who remains in himself and nothing more and whose sole essence is intelligence—this would be the third state of insight of the released mind-stuff. In other words the seven stages of insight advancing to the highest should be regarded as having as their results 1. the desire to know 2. the desire to reject 3. the desire to attain 4. the desire to act 5. the end of grief 6. the end of fear 7. the end of predicate-relations.

Now he tells of the means of attaining insight.

28. After the dwindling of impurity as a result of following up the aids to yoga, there is an illumination of thinking, up to the discriminative discernment.

As a result of following up the aids to yoga and also yoga [itself], when there is a dwindling of impurity consisting in the karma from hindrances, there is an illumination [that is] a purification of thinking, up to the unpredicated discriminative discernment. The point is that the means of attaining insight is by the purity due to following up of yoga together with its aids.

How many are the aids to yoga? In reply he says.

29. The eight aids are abstentions and observances and postures and regulations of breath and withdrawal of the senses and fixed-attention and contemplation and concentration.

Abstentions are mentioned first because they have results in connection with the others. Afterwards in respect of the abstentions come the observances. As being concerned with the purity which depends upon both these two kinds, the postures and the others, each the cause of the next, are afterwards mentioned.

He describes in particular these [aids] which are to be accepted by yogins.

30. Abstentions are abstinence from injury, from falsehood, from theft, from incontinence, and from acceptance of gifts.

Of these, 1. abstinence from injury is of course abstinence from oppression by mind or voice or body of any creature at

any time. This right-living is of the best white [karma]. The rest beginning with the observances are for the purpose of purifying this. And in this sense it has been said 'Surely this same brahmin in proportion as he desires to take upon himself many courses of action, in this proportion refraining from heedlessly giving injuries, fulfills [the abstention] of abstinence from injury in the full character of its spotlessness.' 2. Truth is the telling of the facts as they are, for the good of others. 3. Theft is taking the possessions of others by force or by stealth; when there is none of this, there is abstinence from theft, the absence of desire for the wealth of another. 4. Abstinence from incontinence is the constraint of the organ of generation. The renunciation of gazing at women and of talking with them or of touching them or of listening to them or of meditating upon them is an aid to this. 5. Abstinence from property is the non-acceptance of the means of enjoyment over and above the nourishment of the body. These five abstentions have a share in aiding, in so far as they reject injury and lying and stealing and contact with women and property which are foes to yoga.

31. The Great Course of conduct is [abstinence from injury] unqualified by species or place or time or exigency and [covering] all [these] classes.

A <species> such as the class of cows or of brahmins. A <place> such as some sacred-spot. A <time> such as the fourteenth day which has been determined upon. An <exigency> would be, for instance, some such time as a brāhmanic eating which has not been settled. In these cases the resolution never to kill a cow or a brahmin would be abstinence from injury as limited by species. The resolution not to kill any one at a sacred place or on the fourteenth day would be [abstinence from injury] limited by place and by time. The resolution not to kill excepting, at the unfixed-time (*samaya*) of eating, for the sake of gods and brahmins would be [abstinence from injury] limited by an unfixed-time. The resolution to kill no animal whatsoever at any time for any body's sake would be abstinence from killing undetermined by all four, species and the rest. Abstinence from injury has many varieties. In the same way one should consider truth and the rest as being unparticularized.

He describes the observances.

32. *The observances are cleanliness and contentment and self-castigation and study and devotion to the Iṣvara.*

<Cleanliness> accomplished by earth or water or the like and by sacrificial food purified by cow's urine or fire or something of the kind is outer. Inner cleanliness is the absence in the mind-stuff of taints such as jealousy because of the cultivation of friendliness and the rest [i. 33]. <Contentment> is happiness caused by nothing more than the sustenance of the present life. <Self-castigation> is the bearing of extremes according to circumstances and mortifications and the like. <Study> is practice of the Mystic Syllable and of similar [exercises]. "Whatever I do, whether auspicious or inauspicious, whether consciously or unconsciously, all is committed to Thee. Moved by Thee I do [it all]. Whatever my movement be at any time in act or mind or speech let it be as an adoration of Keṣava and also in birth after birth yet to come." Thus devotion to the Iṣvara is the offering up of all actions to the Supreme Teacher.

33. *If there be inhibition by perverse considerations, there should be cultivation of the opposites.*

When it happens that there is inhibition of these abstentions and observances by resolutions to kill [qualified] by perverse considerations such as 'I will kill him who hurts [me]; I will also lie; I will take other's property,' a brahmin intent upon abstentions and the other [aids] should cultivate [in his mind] the opposites. 'Baked upon the pitiless coals of the round-of-rebirths I take refuge in the duties of yoga, such as the abstentions, by giving protection to every living creature. If now, giving up abstinence from injury and the rest, I betake myself to those [abstentions] already given up, then I shall [he doing something] like the doings of a dog. For just as a dog eats that which is vomited so I shall be taking again that which I have given up.' Thus he should cultivate the opposites of the perverse considerations.

At this point describing in succession in the five words the 'nature', the 'varieties', the 'causes', the 'different subdivisions', and the 'results' of the perverse considerations, he makes clear what the cultivation of the opposites is.

34. Because perverse considerations, such as injuries, whether done or caused to be done or approved, whether ensuing upon greed or anger or infatuation, whether mild or moderate or vehement, find their unending fruition in pain and in lack of thinking,—there should be a cultivation of their opposites.

Perverse considerations, such as injuries, are so called because they are considered. This describes their nature. Of these injuries there are three kinds 1. done voluntarily 2. caused to be done, because some one has said 'do it' and 3. approved, as when one says 'good, good'. Of these [three], each one is again three-fold, due to difference of cause 1. by greed, as for meat or for a skin 2. by anger, as when one thinks he is hurt by a man 3. by infatuation, as when one thinks 'I shall be doing a meritorious act.' Thus there are nine kinds of injuries. Once more greed and anger and infatuation are each of three kinds; and injury and the rest, as being caused by these, in so far as they are mild or moderate or vehement, are also mild or moderate or vehement and likewise are done or caused to be done or approved. Thus since each of the injuries and the rest are nine-fold, there are twenty-seven varieties. And, as being mild or moderate or vehement, each one [of there] is three-fold: mildly mild, moderately mild, keenly mild, mildly moderate, moderately moderate, keenly moderate, mildly keen, moderately keen, keenly keen. In this way greed is of nine kinds. Likewise anger and infatuation. Caused by these [nine kinds], injuries when done are of twenty-seven varieties. Similary when caused to be done or approved; thus there are eighty-one varieties of injuries. In the same way, this is applicable to lying and to the rest. Perverse considerations are of such a nature. Pain, for example, that of hell, and lack of thinking, for example, the state of motionless things and the state consisting of error and doubt, give endless results. Accordingly it is clear that there must be cultivation of the opposites without any perverse considerations. What is pointed out is this: Perverse considerations are to be rejected as being this calculation of hatred. When they are rejected, the ten abstentions and observances are perfected without obstruction. When these are [in turn] perfected, there is Isolation by virtue of the mind-stuff's purity. The upshot of it all is that after this yoga is perfected.

Now he shows in order the subordinate results of the ten [abstentions and observances] which are the indications of their perfections.

35. *As soon as he is grounded in abstinence from injury, his presence begets a suspension of enmity.*

When abstinence from injury is perfected, even the snake and mongoose, enemies by nature, suspend their enmity in the presence of the best of silent sages who abstains from injury.

36. *As soon as he is grounded in abstinence from falsehood, actions and results depend upon him.*

<As soon as he is grounded in abstinence from falsehood,> actions both of right-living and wrong-living and the results of these, for example, heaven, both abide [in him]. He is one who gives them merely by uttering a word. This is his state or condition. Just as a man becomes right-living in response to this saying 'Be thou right-living,' [and just as a man attains heaven] merely because he says 'Attain thou heaven,' so also he becomes wrong-living.

37. *As soon as he is grounded in abstinence from theft, all kinds of jewels approach him.*

When he is established in abstinence from stealing, he obtains possession by a mere wish of all kinds of supernormal jewels.

38. *As soon as he is grounded in abstinence from incontinence he acquires vigor.*

For abstinence from incontinence is a restriction of vigor; when this is perfected his power becomes unsurpassed. As a result of which, atomization and the other [powers] present themselves. His teaching bears fruit in his pupils instantly.¹

39. *As soon as he is grounded in abstinence from property, illumination upon the conditions of birth.*

When one who is disposed to abstain from property, is steady in this [abstinence], he has a thorough illumination,

¹ Reading *ciṣyeṣūpadegaḥ*.

caused by his desire to know, of the conditions [that is] the different kinds of past, present, and future births. In what does this consist? In the desire to know the body which is opposed to property, in that one asks what its modes are, what its causes are, what its results are, what its end is. Then [there is illumination as to] the connection of effect and cause, the birth of the Self who is [really] unborn; the different kinds of men and gods and animals, that there are caused by karma from hindrances, that they have pain only as their fruit; that the end is the illumination as to the real nature of the Self. Thus having come to this conclusion from the verbal-communication of the master, he is freed from the body and experiences the highest degree of abstinence from property.

The perfections of the abstentions have been described; the perfections of the observances are now described.

40. As a result of cleanliness there is a disgust at one's own body and absence of intercourse with others.

One who is perfected in outer cleanliness does not see [any] purity in his own body and is disgusted at it. This body is essentially impure; no pride should be taken in it. One who sees its defects—so that he thinks ‘I who am intent on purity have a body that does not become pure, how much more the body of another intoxicated [by the round of rebirths]’—has no intercourse with others’ bodies.

Thus having described the perfection of outer cleanliness, he tells of the perfection of inner cleanliness.

41. Purity of sattva, gentleness, singleness-of-intent, subjugation of the senses, and predisposition for the seeing of the Self.

The words [ii. 40] <as a result of cleanliness> are to be continued. And the words ‘there is’ are to be supplied. Purity of the *sattva* of the thinking-substance is the fading out of such taints as jealousy, the taints of *rajas* and *tamas*. After this there is an effulgence of the *sattva*. Consequently there is steadiness. And from this comes subjugation of the outer senses. As a result of this, there follows fitness for the discernment of the Self.

42. *As a result of contentment there is the acquisition of superlative pleasure.*

When there is perfection¹ in the dwindling away of desire, he who has ridden himself of appetite necessarily gains an experience of an incomparable pleasure due to the effulgence of his purified sattva. And in this sense in the Song of Yayāti in the² Mahābhārata "The pleasures of appetite in ordinary life and the supreme supernormal pleasure are both not to be compared with a sixteenth part of the pleasure of dwindled desire."

43. *From self-castigation, as a result of the dwindling of impurity, there arises perfection in the organs of the body.*

After the evil from hindrances has dwindled by reason of one's own right-living or of mortifications and lunar fasts or something of the kind, there arises a perfection of the body, a perfection of the organs in grasping objects that are distant or subtle.

44. *As a result of study there is communion with the chosen divinity.*

As a result of repetition of the chosen incantation or of something of the kind, conversation and the like are perfected with one's own chosen divinity.

45. *As a result of devotion to the Iṣvara arises the perfection of concentration.*

Only by devotion of all one's inner being is there perfection of yoga. And one should not say that if this is so, the seven aids which begin with the abstentions are useless. Because it is conceded that there is a choice whether there be a perfection of yoga by the aids or by the devotion. This was said [i. 23] "Or by devotion to the Iṣvara." Nor [should one say] that the aids are fruitless as regards devotion. Because it is possible that the abstentions and the rest would aid the devotion also. There is nothing contradictory in saying that these [aids] are useful in both ways, both for devotion and for yoga,

¹ Reading *siddhān*.

² In the Pātañjala-Rahasyam this passage is attributed to the Viṣṇu Purāṇa.

just as curds are an aid in both ways, both [to invigorate] the organs [of man] and also for sacrifice. And you should also not say 'What is the use of devotion, if eight aids are necessary, for they themselves would give the perfection.' Perfection of yoga is remote, if your means-of-approach lack faith; perfection of yoga is very near, if [your means-of-approach] shower down the nectar of devotion. Thus the choice [between devotion and the eight aids] can be properly explained because they are both methods-of-attaining the results, which are yoga at a distant time and yoga directly (*acira*). This devotion to the *Içvara*, moreover, has a different object from the yoga of the inner self. So it is proper to speak of it as an external aid. Thus there is no flaw [in the argument].

Having thus discussed abstentions and observances together with the perfections, he tells what the nature of posture is.

46. Posture should be steady and easy.

The meaning is that the posture which is motionless and which confers ease is an aid to yoga. A posture in the sense that one is posed. It is two-fold, external and bodily. Of these two, that is external such as is covered by a slab or a black antelope skin or by sacrificial grass; that is bodily such as the lotus or the mystic diagram. This is the distinction. Of these the lotus-posture is familiar enough.—One should put the left foot contracted between the left shin and thigh and the right between the left shin and thigh; this would be the mystic diagram.—Having made a hollow of the two soles of his feet near the scrotum, one should place the hollow of his hands above the hollow [of the soles of his feet]. This would be regarded as the decent-posture.

He tells of the method of steadying the postures.

47. By relaxation of effort or by a balanced-state with regard to Ananta.

Instinctive effort, because it moves, destroys the posture. By the cessation of it the posture is perfected; so that there is no shaking of the limbs. By a balanced-state of the mind-stuff <with regard to Ananta> [that is] upon the Chief of Serpents, who holds the globe of the world upon his thous-

and very steadfast hoods, there is no throbbing of pain in the posture in so far as there is no consciousness of the body.

He tells of a characteristic of perfection in this [posture].

48. *Thereafter he is unassailed by extremes.*

After the subjugation of the postures one is not beaten by cold or heat or by other [extremes].

He now tells of the restraint of breath to be effected by the postures.

49. *This done, restraint of the breath, the cutting off of the flow of inspiration and expiration [follows].*

When there is steadiness of posture, restraint of the breath is the inner and outer cutting off of the flow of the external and the abdominal winds.

Having described the general characteristic [of restraint of breath] he analyzes restraint of breath as the thing to be characterized.

50. *External, internal, or suppressed in fluctuation; appearing in place, time, and number; spun-out and subtile.*

Restraint of the breath is of four kinds, external in fluctuation, internal in fluctuation, suppressed in fluctuation, and the fourth. Of these, the retention, outside only, of the abdominal wind which has gone out by reason of an emission, is <external> in fluctuation and it is an emission (*recaḥ*). By a filling in of outer wind, the holding within of [the air] which has gone within is <internal> in fluctuation and it is an inhalation (*pūraka*). The cutting off of the flow by an effort which is nothing other than a retention of the breath without an effort of emission or of inhalation is <suppressed> in fluctuation and it is suspension (*kumbhaka*). This is not an emission because it remains within. Nor is it an inhalation because it is subtile in that it contracts the breath in the body like a drop of water put on the surface of a boiling-hot stone. For an inhalation is [a breathing], that in coarse and restricted within, which fills the body, Therefore without any practice in emission or inhalation, by a single effort and no more, the

subtile breath called suspension, in so far as it is motionless like water in a jar, because it remains in the body is proven to be a suspension, a third [restraint of breath]. This mutation is three-fold, appearing as spun-out and subtile in place, time, and number. With regard to these, the <place> [that is] the object of the emission is measured by a span, a *vitasti* [from extended thumb to tip of little finger], or a hand or something similar; and is inferred, from the motion in a windless place of a blade of grass or of cotton, as being external. The place of inhalation, however, is internal and is inferred by means of touch, which resembles the touch of ants [moving on the body]; it extend from the sole of the foot to the head. <Time> is to be known by counting moments. <Number> is to be known by counting *mātrā*. A *mātrā* is that time which is distinguished by a snap of the fingers after having touched thrice with one's hand one's own knee.¹ This [*mātrā*] occupies the same time as the inspiration and expiration of a man in ordinary health. In this case it is evident that [the restraint] is spun-out by a series of practices of twenty-six *mātrās* [in length]. The restriction of breath is <spun-out> when a large amount of place or time is covered. Just as a clever man sees it is spun-out, so because the breath is evidently subtile the spun-out [restraint] itself appears to be subtile.

He shows what the fourth restraint of breath is.

51. *The fourth [restraint of breath] transcends the external and internal objects.*

The outer place [that is] object has been described. And the inner object is, for instance, the heart or the navel. The transcending of these two is the complete apprehension of these with the subtile sight. The first stage of this <fourth,> is the [restraint] suppressed in fluctuation. And one should not question whether this might be included under suspension (*kumbhaka*). Because of [this] difference in quality: that the suspension is only when there is no ascertainment of outer and inner objects which have been subjugated by the practice of emission and of inhalation and it [the suspension] is suppressed in fluctuation by a single effort only; [whereas] the

¹ Or it may be that one should touch each knee and snap one's fingers.

fourth is to be obtained after a deal of effort, and it is the suspended fluctuation that has as its antecedent the ascertainment of those [outer and inner objects].

Now he tells of the result which is the cause of its being regarded an aid to yoga.

52. As a result of this the obscuration of light dwindles away.

As a result of practice in restraint of breath the covering, which consists in evil from hindrances, of the *sattva*, whose disposition is light, belonging to the thinking-substance, <dwindles away.> 'This is said by the omniscient Manu [vi. 72] "One should burn up defects by restraint of breath."

53. The central-organ becomes fit for fixed-attentions also.

Furthermore as a result of restraint of breath, when the obscuration dwindles away, the central-organ becomes fit for fixed-attentions upon subtile points.

The mind-stuff which is purified with the abstentions and the rest which have been described withdraws its senses. After assuming this he gives the characteristic-mark of this [withdrawal].

54. The withdrawal of the senses is as it were the imitation of the mind-stuff itself on the part of the organs, by disjoining themselves from their objects.

When the pure mind-stuff is disjoined from its own objects, the sounds and other [perceptible] things, when, in other words, it is close to reality by having not joined itself to objects as a result of passionlessness, the organs, the eye and the others, imitate the nature of the mind-stuff [that is] they get close to reality by disjoining themselves from their objects. This is withdrawal of the organs. According to the derivation of the word [the withdrawal of the organs] is that in which the organs are withdrawn (*āhriyante*) from the objects which are obstructive (*prātilomyena*). The words <as it were> are used to denote (*dyotana*) those organs whose power extends (*gūra*) to objects are not close to reality, as is the mind-stuff. Just as when the king-bee mounts up the bees mount up after him and when he stands still they stand still after him, so the

organs in conformity with the mind-stuff are restricted merely by the restriction of the mind-stuff and not by any effort other than that. This is the import [of the sūtrā].

He tells of the result of the withdrawal of the senses which is the cause of yoga.

55. As a result of this [withdrawal] there is complete mastery of the senses.

[A man has] enjoyment at his will of objects which are not forbidden, without being dependent on them. Mastery of the senses is that knowledge of sounds and other [perceptible] things, in the absence of passion and aversion, which does not produce pleasure and pain. This [mastery] is not the highest because it is connected with the snake's poison (*viṣa*) of objects (*viśaya*). But the opinion of Jāigīṣavya is this: That mastery which is the absolute refusal (*apratipatti*), on the part of the women, who are the organs to deal with objects, that is to say, the objects of sense, although [these latter] are being carried near to themselves [the objects] by the objects—[a refusal] because they are true to their husbands, who are the realities,—just as the Lady Sītā did not accept Rāvaṇa the basest of demons, although brought near to him—this is the higher mastery of the senses, the result of the withdrawal of the senses.

Book third: Supernormal Powers.

Having thus in the Second Book discussed the yoga of action as a means of attaining yoga by attenuation of the hindrances, and having told of the fruitions of the karma from the hindrances in detail, and having shown that pain is the reason for rejecting them, and having made that-which-is-to-be-rejected and its reasons harmonious with release and its reasons, he discussed the five outer aids of yoga, beginning with the abstentions, together with their subordinate results. Now while speaking of the three inner aids beginning with fixed-attention, [which together form] the so-called constraint, he will describe the supernormal powers to be attained by constraint as being causes, by means of belief, of putting that yoga into action which results in Isolation. So

beginning the book which comes next he characterizes fixed-attention.

1. Fixed-attention (dhāraṇā) is the binding of the mind-stuff to a place.

That binding [that is] steadying of the mind-stuff to a place, such as the navel or the heart or the tip of the nose, is fixed-attention. This is said in the Vishnu Purāṇa [vi. 7, 45] "Having subdued his breath by restraint of breath and his organs by withdrawal of the senses he should make a localization of the mind-stuff upon some auspicious support. The form of the Exalted is incarnate and leaves one without desire of any [other] support. That should be understood to be fixed-attention when the mind is fixed upon this form. That incarnate form of Hari on which one should ponder—let that be heard by you, O Ruler of Men. A fixed-attention without location¹ is impossible. His face is calm; his eye like the lovely lotus petal; his cheek is beautiful; the expanse of his broad forehead is resplendent [with the light of thought]; his pleasing ornament of ear-rings is placed even with the lobes of his ear; his neck is [marked with lines] like a shell of the sea; his great, broad chest is marked with the Qrivatsa; his belly has a deep navel and broken folds; he has eight long arms or [as Vishnu] four arms; his thighs and legs are well-formed; his excellent lotus-feet are evenly placed. Upon him who has become Brahma with stainless yellow garment let [the yogin] ponder."

He characterizes contemplation which is to be attained by fixed-attention.

2. Contemplation (dhyāna) is intentness upon the presented-idea within that [place].

While the fixed-attention requires an effort to avoid dissimilar fluctuations, which is the intentness upon the presented-ideas [that is] the fluctuations in the same [space], contemplation without requiring an effort has a single object. On this same point this was said by Keçidhvaja to Khāṇḍikajanaka [Vishnu Purāṇa vi. 7. 89] "A continuous series

¹ Reading *anādhara*.

of focussed states upon the idea of his form regardless of anything else, that, O King, is contemplation. It is brought to pass by the six first aids."

He characterizes concentration.

3. *Concentration is the same [concentration] appearing as the object only, and, as it were, emptied of itself.*

Concentration is a contemplation which consists in a flow of extremely clear fluctuations of mind-stuff, and which appears to be the object only. He speaks of an object [to which the rule of Paṇini iv. 1. 15 applies which states that compounds ending] in *mātra* [take *i* after the suffix]. <Seeming to be emptied of itself.> The word <seeming> denotes the existence of the contemplation. Just as a gem of pure crystal appears as a flower only, not in its own form,—so [this contemplation] is like that. Fixed-attention is interrupted by dissimilar fluctuations; contemplation is not interrupted; from among the throbbings forth of object and act and agent of contemplation, concentration trobs forth as the object and nothing more. This same inasmuch as it spans a long time is the so-called conscious yoga. Yoga not conscious [of an object] has no throbbing in the object to be contemplated.

He states that the technical term, constraint, makes an easy term when used for fixed-attention and contemplation and concentration, three at once.

4. *Constraint (samyama) is the three, [previous aids] in one.*

The three having one object receive the technical name of constraint.

He tells what is the result of constraint.

5. *As a result of mastering this [constraint] there follows the shining forth of insight.*

As a result of mastering [that is] as a result of steadiness, a shining forth [that is] a spotlessness of the insight which has mastered the concentration arises. It has emptied itself of

error and doubt and it throbs forth with the reality of the object to be contemplated.

He gives the answer to the question 'But where is the result of the constraint which has been commanded?'

6. *Its application in by stages.*

The stages have been described as coarse or fine or the others, the deliberative and superdeliberative, the reflective and superreflective and so on. Constraint has its application to these. After mastering by constraint the previous stage, [the yogin] should desire to master the next stage to that. For unless the coarse have been directly experienced, the subtle cannot be directly experienced. This is the point.

The objector asks 'In the First Book five aids from among all [the aids] to yoga were discussed; here three are discussed; what is the reason for this?' In reply to this he says—

7. *The three are direct aids in comparison with the previous [five].*

The five [aids] beginning with abstentions are indirect (*bahir*) aids to conscious concentration, because they remove (*nivṛtti-dvārā*) the taints, of mind-stuff and body and breathing and organs, which are obstacles [to yoga]. But the three [aids] beginning with fixed-attention, are called <direct aids> in so far as they have the same object as the principal end (*aṅgin*), because they are immediately useful [to that principal end]. Hence these [three] are direct aids in comparison with <the previous> five. And with this in mind (*iti krtvā*) he has defined them here in order to speak of [their] application to each stage in order.

8. *Even these [three] are indirect aids to the seedless [concentration].*

Even the three [aids] beginning with fixed-attention are <indirect aids> to [concentration] not conscious [of an object]. Because, inasmuch as the principal end is without an object [and] inasmuch as the three have an object, they have not the same object. Accordingly, when there is a restriction of the three, which are emergent, by the higher passionlessness, which

is the undisturbed - calm of insight, which [in turn] is the complete fruition of conscious concentration, because even the conscious concentration is restricted, [the concentration] becomes seedless. Because it gives its aid through a succession of efforts it is an indirect aid.

Desirous now of describing the supernormal powers which result from constraint, he points out that mutations are the things aimed at by constraint.

9. When there is a disappearance of the subliminal-impression of emergence and an appearance of the subliminal-impression of restriction, the mutation of restriction is inseparably connected with mind-stuff in its period of restriction.

Emergence is conscious [concentration]. Restriction is the higher passionlessness by which this [conscious concentration] is restricted. This being so, when there is a disappearance of an emergent subliminal-impression and an appearance of a restricted impression, then the mind-stuff passes into the period [that is] the time of the unconscious [concentration], which has restricted subliminal-impressions. That inseparable connection of the disappearing and the appearing subliminal-impressions with the substance (*dharmitvena*) on the part of this mind-stuff, in its restricted period, because it is ever unstable by reason of the three aspects of the substance, and because it is thus disposed to mutation—this is the so-called restricted mutation. When the fluctuation of conscious concentration and its subliminal-impression have disappeared because of the fluctuation which consists in the higher passionlessness, because only the subliminal-impression of the higher passionlessness is clearly manifested, there [arises] the seedless <mutation of restriction.>

He tells of the steadiness of restriction when once the emergent subliminal-impressions have disappeared entirely.

10. There is a peaceful flowing [of mind-stuff] by reason of subliminal-impressions.

The mind-stuff which has cast off all the stain of emergent subliminal-impressions, because of the accumulation of restricted subliminal-impressions, comes to have a peaceful flowing of a

succession of restricted subliminal-impressions and of nothing more. The objector says 'Then at that time also [the mind-stuff] is unstable.' True. Still such a series of mutations is called steady [by us]. This is the point.

Having thus described the seedless state he tells of the mutation of conscious [concentration].

11. The mutation of concentration is the dwindling of dispersiveness and the uprisal of focussedness of mind-stuff.

The mind-stuff's <dispersiveness> [that is] its having the form of many objects is a quality which consists in its distraction. <Focussedness> is a quality which is to be described. Their dwindling and uprisal [is a] disappearance and appearance, but not an annihilation of something that exists and the creation of something non-existent. These two are the mutation of concentration. The point is that the singleness of intent [that is] the steadiness that there is, when distraction has passed away by reason of practice—this is concentration.

12. The mind-stuff's focussed mutation occurs when the quiescent and the uprisen [states] are similar ideas [in respect of one object].

Quiescent is past; uprisen is present—these two are similar ideas in respect of one subject. When the mind-stuff has two fluctuations both of which have a single object, there is the so-called focussed mutation. This focussedness when multiplied by twelve becomes fixed-attention; fixed-attention multiplied by twelve [becomes] contemplation; contemplation multiplied by twelve [becomes] concentration; concentration multiplied by twelve [becomes] the so-called conscious yoga. Such is the difference.

He extends by analogy the argument with regard to the focussed states of the restricted concentration, which are mutations of the central-organ, to other topics also.

13. Thus have been explained mutations of external-aspect, of time-variation, and of intensity with respect to elements and to organs.

With regard to elements, such as earth, which are substances, and with regard to organs, such as the eye. Mutations

are of three kinds, the mutation of external-aspect, the mutation of time-variation, and the mutation of intensity. <Have been explained> <thus> [that is] by the explanation of the mutation of the central-organ. To explain: Just as when a piece of clay has one external-aspect which is a [wet] ball and this disappears and another of its external-aspects which is a water-jar appears, so in the case of mind-stuff, when its emergent state passes away and its restricted state grows intense,—this is itself a mutation of external-aspect.—The time-variation (*lakṣaṇa*) is so-called because it demarks (*lakṣayati*) [that is] separates itself from the external-aspect which consists of an effect. [The time-variation] is the three times, the future time-form, the present time-form, and the past time-form. Thus the three times are called three time-forms. In the case of these [three], the water-jar, which has these as its states (*dharma*), would have a future-state, its first time-form, a present-state, its second time-form, and a past-state, its third time-form. This is itself the mutation of time-variation. For the state which is future separates itself from the present and past states. The present and the other time-variations are also to be regarded in this same way.—Similarly the mutation of intensity must be regarded as belonging to the mutation of time-variation or to the external-aspect which is delimited by this [time-variation]. This mutation of intensity is as follows: That which will exist in a mundane-cycle yet-to-come is the most distant of those yet-to-come; that which will come into existence [at some future time] in this mundane-cycle is the more distant of those yet-to-come; that which will be tomorrow is yet-to-come; that which has occurred just now is the most present. So *mutatis mutandis* you must speak [in the other cases]. Likewise newness and oldness and so on are mutations of intensity. So the formula would be that all beings are incessantly in mutation except the power of intelligence (*citiṣakti*).

He points out what the substance is to which this three-fold mutation belongs.

14. *A substance has in succession quiescent, uprisen, and indeterminable external-aspects.*

Quiescent are past which have performed their functional-activity; uprisen are present which have entered upon their

functional-activity, for instance, fetching water; indeterminable are yet-to-come continuing in potential form, in substances, pieces of clay or what not. For these because of their subtilty cannot be attributed by an attribution which would distinguish them either from the substance or from other external-aspects. Consequently every effect, in so far as it is potential, is indeterminable and is to be counted as possible merely because of the existence of the cause. Thus every cause is essentially every effect. Because evidently plaitain sprouts spring up from seeds of cane that has been burned by the forest-fire. For it is impossible in this case that something non-existent should spring up, since everything springs up somewhere because of a multiplicity of factors which manifest it, such as place and time and predisposition. Such is the arrangement of cause and effect in the world. For those who are perfected in yoga, because place and so on is no obstacle, everything springs up from everything.—A substance which is in succession, [that is] which follows after these same quiescent and uprisen and indeterminable [mutations] ceaselessly rolling on like a water-wheel, <has> them <in succession.> Just as a substance is a whole-in-connection-with-its parts, for instance, a piece of clay with dust and [wet] ball and water-jar, or gold with neck-ornaments or something of the kind.

The objector asks 'What reason is there for a single substance, if there are many mutations?' In reply he says—

15. The order of the sequence is the reason for the order of the mutations.

In the case of clay a change in the order, which consists in an earlier and a later, of dust and round lump, of round lump and water-jar, of water-jar and pot-sherds is evidently a reason [that is] a means of making known a change, in the order of the mutations of one and the same clay, [that is] in the external-aspects [namely] the dust and the rest. Similarly it must be understood that the order of the time-forms yet-to-come, present, and past is the cause of the change of the mutation of the time-variation of the external-aspects. Likewise we may know of change in mutations of intensities, of newness or of oldness, by means of the sequence of imperceptible subtile mutations in the serial order of moments in a

water-jar or a grain of rice or of anything else. For one can see that grains of rice kept in a store-house, after a lapse of time, reach the intensity of dust merely by a touch of the hand. Because this intensity is not reached unless there be either a sequence of momentary mutations or unless there be fresh [grains]. Nor does it happen for no reason at all. Consequently a substance which is permanently in mutation has external-aspects which are different [from it]; the external-aspects have time-variations; these have intensities. This is established. Because the substance does not change, the theory of momentariness does not hold. So [our contention is] flawless. This being so, some mutations of the mind-stuff are perceptions, love and pleasure and what not. Others are accessible by verbal-communication or by inference, seven of them. This is said in the Comment «Restriction, right-living, subliminal-impressions, mutation, vitality, movement, and power are properties of mind-stuff excluded from sight.» In other words they are mediate experiences. Karma is preceded by merit and demerit. Because the mind-stuff has the three aspects (*guṇa*), its incessant mutation may be inferred. Vitality is the sustenance of breath and so on and is accessible [to our knowledge] by such indications as inspiration. Movement is an activity resident in the mind-stuff accessible [to our knowledge by inferences] from the movements of limbs. Power is the subtile form of effects [in the mind].

Thus external-aspects and the rest have been discussed as being objects of one who has excellence in constraint. From now up to the end of the book supernormal-powers are described in order that one may know the sense of mastery in respect of constraint upon this or that object.

16. *As a result of constraint upon the three mutations [there follows] the thinking of the past and of the future.*

For the *sattva* of the thinking-substance of itself by its own nature enlightens everything. When by constraint the obstacle from the taints of *rajas* and of *tamas* has ceased, without any source-of-valid-ideas it knows all. This is the settled rule. In this same substance there are certain external-aspects, certain time-forms, the future for instance, and certain intensities. <As a result of constraint upon the three mutations>

which consist of external-aspects and time-variations and intensities the yogin gains an immediate-experience of past and future things.

17. Word and thing and idea are confused because they are erroneously identified with each other. By constraint upon the distinctions between them [there arises] the [intuitive] knowledge of the cries of all living creatures.

Over and above the syllable-sounds, but capable of being phenomenalized by syllable-sounds, permanent, undivided is the word-prototype (*sphoṭa*).¹ It is of two kinds. If we say that 'c-o-w' is recognized as one word by the organ of hearing, we have then the prototype of the word. If we say that 'Fetch the cow' is recognized as one sentence, we have the prototype of the sentence. And there is no mental process which perceives unity in the several momentary syllable-sounds. To explain: The three syllable-sounds *g-āu-ḥ* are similar to the letter 'g', the letter 'āu', and the letter 'ḥ' which are found in the words *g-aṇa*, *ḥ-au-ra*, and *paya-ḥ* [respectively]; these are the manifestors of three word-prototypes which are different in kind. [They are similar] because [they are produced by] the same place of articulation. This has been said [Çikṣā, 13] "There are eight places of articulation [of syllable-sounds] chest, throat, head, root of the tongue, teeth, nose, lips, and palate." Thus for the consonants (*sparṣa*) the effort of the vocal organs [is said to be] in contact;¹ and for the sibilants and *h* [is said to be] full. In such cases the effort is evidently similar. The syllable-sounds 'g' and the others are produced by the organ of speech which is active in the eight places of articulation, when there is a contact between the eight places of articulation and the emitted breath impelled by a special effort. [These] syllables, in so far as they are all sounds, are objects knowable by the perception of the organ of hearing; and so they make manifest the word-prototype of the word 'cow' and at the same time they make manifest some indistinct [impression] which bears resemblances to the several word-prototypes of words like *gaṇa*. And this is possible because the several resemblances [for example, the word-prototype of *gaṇa* and other words] which appertain to

¹ Reading *sprṣṭaḥ* and see Çikṣā, 38.

any object [for example, *g* and other syllable-sounds] are comprised within (*samāropāt*) that one thing [for example, the word-prototype of the word 'cow'] which is [primarily] to be manifested by that object (that is, *g* and other syllable-sounds) which go to make up the word 'cow'. Again the three syllable-sounds beginning with *g*, uttered in succession, being gathered together as flashing in a single mental-process (*buddhi*) which rises in the organ of hearing that is accompanied by subliminal-impressions produced by the experience of those letters, manifests the word-prototype of the word *gāuḥ*. [This word-prototype,] is one individualized-form (*vyakti*), apart from any other word-prototype and although without parts, [is manifested] as having parts consisting in the similarity imposed upon it on account of its being identified with themselves [the syllable-sounds beginning with *g*]. [This word-prototype is manifested] as having an order and as being impermanent, although it is permanent and has no order. Just as a mirror that is soiled and irregular manifests a face that is unsoiled and regular as soiled and irregular, because similarity to the mirror is superimposed upon the face. Similarly the word-prototype when individualized by syllable-sounds conveys a meaning. Nor can an objector say, 'Let us suppose that syllable-sounds are indistinctly manifested, and let us suppose that they are distinctly manifested when brought together. What need is there for a word-prototype (*sphoṭa*)?' The reply is this. Because distinctness and indistinctness, which are one phase (*dharma*) of perceptive knowledge, do not apply to the category (*sthatva*) of mediately perceived objects. If we say 'one word' or 'one sentence' we have knowledge of the word-prototype, with a perception given by the ear. Thus distinctness or indistinctness belongs to this [word-prototype] and to nothing else. Why say more? We have already proved that people understand conventional-usage as regards this word [the *sphoṭa*] with reference to an intended-object which is mixed as being in a predicate-relation (*vikal-pita*) which does not distinguish [the object] from words and ideas. Accordingly the word 'cow' and the thing 'cow' and the idea 'cow', word and thing and idea, are erroneously identified with each other as being not different. So there is confusion well-known [to every one] from boys up to pandits. The distinction between these [word and thing and idea] is

well-known from authoritative books and from reasoning. The word may be manifested by syllable-sounds; the sentence may be manifested by words; and it conveys-sense (*bodhaka*) by the force (*vr̥tti*) of its expressive-power (*śakti*) and of its other forces [*lakṣaṇa* and *vyañjanā*]. Such is the entity of words. A thing is that which is expressed by a word as being a substance, a quality, an activity, a common characteristic, or the like and it may also be indirectly devoted. Such is the entity of a thing. A presented-idea, resident in the thinking-substance, producable by a word, having a thing as its object—such is the entity of an idea. So we are to understand that there is a distinction in all cases, as in the case of the word ‘cow.’ When there is constraint upon this distinction, there arises an [intuitive] knowledge of the cries of all creatures, of beasts and birds and so forth. In other words, he who exercises constraint knows that these [birds, for instance] utter this meaning.

18. As the result of direct-experience of subliminal-impressions there is the [intuitive] knowledge of previous births.

Arising from hindrances in experience and causing hindrances of memory; arising from karma and causing pleasure and pain—such are these subliminal-impressions, states of the mind-stuff, accumulated in successive previous births. By constraint upon these, both as known by verbal-communication and as inferred [but now] immediately-experienced, the yogin gains an immediate-experience of the succession of previous births of himself and of others in so far as they are causes of this. With regard to this there is a story of the Exalted Jāgiṣavya. As a result, you know, of the immediate-experience of subliminal-impressions by this most excellent of yogins, who had mastered his primary-substance and who immediately experiences his successive births in ten great mundane-cycles, in the bodies of gods and animals men and so on, a supernatural discriminative discernment appeared. Him the Exalted Āvaṭya asked ‘Exalted One! in ten great mundane-cycles hast thou experienced more of pleasure or of pain?’ Jāgiṣavya said ‘Whatever has been experienced by me as I came into life over and over again, whether among gods or men, all of it was pain.’ Āvaṭya said ‘Was even the mastery over the primary-substance by which supernatural enjoyments without

dwindling by a mere wish fell to your share—was this pain?’ He spake ‘It is true. As compared with the pleasure of the world, mastery of the primary-cause is incomparable; as compared with Isolation, it is the highest pain, in that the thread of longing, the maker of all pain, is not cut off. As a result of cutting this away there is the pleasure of Isolation undisturbedly-calm and incomparable.’ Such is the little tale found in the Comment. The objector asks ‘Since it is necessarily true that he in whom there is constraint has immediate-experience, how is it that there is knowledge of previous births resulting from subliminal-impressions?’ The reply is, True. As a result of constraint upon subliminal-impressions, together with their connections, it is consistent to have knowledge of a previous birth as being a connection. This is to be supposed.

He tells of another perfection.

19. *[As a result of constraint] upon a presented-idea there arises [intuitive] knowledge of the mind-stuff of another.*

By constraint upon the mind-stuff of another [the yogin] has immediate-experience of that [mind-stuff].

20. *But [the intuitive knowledge of the presented-idea of another] does not have that [idea] together with that upon which it depends [as its object], because that [on which it depends] is not in the field [of consciousness].*

Just as there is a knowledge of connections as a result of immediate-experience of subliminal-impressions, is there a knowledge of that on which [another’s knowledge] depends as a result of immediate-experience of another’s mind-stuff? He says, No. The mind-stuff of another and nothing more is immediately-experienced. The word *ca* has the sense of ‘but.’ <Together with that upon which it depends> [that is] together with its object; it is not however immediately-experienced. Because it is not known together with that upon which it depends. For constraint can be active only as regards that which is known by means of syllogistic marks and the like, and not with reference to that which is unknown. And so, —just as it is possible to know the connection of subliminal-impressions with a previous life on account of the very fact

(*liṅgena*) of there being a subliminal-impression and because of the Sacred Word "That which has been practised in a previous birth, whether ferocious or not ferocious, whether cruel or mild, that is consistent even to-day. Therefore that is pleasing to him,"—so it is not possible to know what another's mind-stuff is thinking of. [Why?] Because there is nothing to indicate it. But the mind-stuff itself of another man is easily known by such indications as joy or what not. If after having [intuitively] known another's mind and after having immediately-perceived it by constraint he devotes his own mind-stuff to finding out what it is upon which that man's [mind-stuff] now depends, then he can know that upon which [the mind-stuff of the other depends] with reference to that time [now past]. But such fluctuations as passion are immediately-perceived because the mind-stuffs are the same. Such is the distinction [between the emotions and objects].

He tells of another perfection.

21. As a result of constraint upon the external form of the body, when its power to be known is stopped, then as a consequence of the disjunction of light and of the eye there follows indiscernibility [of the yogin's body].

As a result of constraint practised upon the form of the body—that form which is the cause of knowledge by the eye—when the power which is favorable to knowing that form on the part of another's eye is stopped [that is] opposed, then when the form passes beyond the province of the knowledge obtained by the eye of another man, there follows the indiscernibility of the body of the yogin, [that is to say,] he is not the object of [the other's] eye, whenever he wills. In this way, by constraint upon his own sound or touch or taste or smell, perfection in not being known by the organ-of-hearing or of the other [organs] follows.

He tells of another supernormal power.

22. Karma is advancing and unadvancing; as a result of constraint upon this [two-fold karma] or upon the signs of death there arises an [intuitive] knowledge of the final end.

Karma done in previous births which exists now is of two kinds, advancing and unadvancing. That which is functionally

engaged in giving results and which is having rapid fruition is advancing. It is like a wet piece of cloth which dries quickly when spread out in a heated place. That which gives forth its results at a later time and is now without functional activity and has a long fruition is unadvancing. It is like a wet piece of cloth rolled up into a ball in an unheated place. When there is constraint upon this, as a result of his immediate-experience, the termination [that is] the so-called <final end> of his term-of-life, which is the fruition of this [karma], is known. The final end in the case of Prajāpati is the Great Dissolution; in the case of men death is the final end. This immediate-experience is such as this 'In that place and at that time my separation from the body will take place.' When there is immediate-experience of this, the yogin, for the sake of experiencing the fruition of it, instantly assumes many bodies and dies when he wills. In case he is experiencing it in this [life] there is a delay of death [for a period] of one [body].—Incidentally he says <or upon the signs of death.> Of these [three], the signs of death pertaining to one's self [would occur when, for instance, a man] who has stopped the openings of his ears with his hands does not hear the sound of the vital-spirits [in his own body]. [The signs-of-death] pertaining to other creatures [would occur] when one sees the hirelings of Yama or something of the kind. Those pertaining to the gods [would occur] when one sees heaven unexpectedly or whatever else. These three kinds of indications of dying are called signs-of-death (*ariṣṭa*) because they terrify like an enemy (*ari*). <Or> by these the yogin also has a knowledge of death.

23. *By constraint upon friendliness and other [sentiments] there arise powers of friendship.*

Previously [i. 33] constraint upon friendliness and compassion and joy has been prescribed. By this the powers [that is] energies of these arise. By these [powers] the yogin becomes the benefactor and friend of any kind of living being and the deliverer from pain and is not a partisan. Indifference, however, which is nothing but a state of impartiality is not any power of his because constraint is [upon the other three].

24. *[As a result of constraint] upon powers there arises power like that of an elephant.*

If there be cultivation of powers such as those of the elephant or of Hanuman or of Garuḍa, as a result of constraint these powers appear in the yogin. The mind-stuff of itself has capacity and so on for everything.

25. *As a result of casting the light of a process [of the central-organ] there arises the [intuitive] knowledge of the subtle, the concealed, and the obscure.*

The luminous process has been previously [i. 36] described. That light of the process which consists in an immediate-experience of illumination is a spot which is diffused forth everywhere, the untainted *sattva* of the thinking-substance. As a result of casting [that is] of throwing forth this [light] upon the subtle, such as an atom; or upon what might be concealed by something in a treasury, for example; or upon something obscure such as an elixir lying within [Mount] Meru, [intuitive] knowledge [that is] immediate experience arises. Just as one has knowledge of water-jars and such things by contact with the light of the sun.

Thus having described the [intuitive] knowledge by means of the light of the thinking-substance immediately-experienced by constraint, he tells of this [knowledge] by means of this [light] with regard to created things.

26. *As a result of constraint upon the sun there arises the [intuitive] knowledge of the cosmic spaces.*

As a result of constraint upon the disc of the sun shining brilliantly in the sky and wreathed with a thousand rays, the gate to which is through the *Suṣumnā*, the mind-stuff, not separate from the object-for-sight, immediately experiences the fourteen cosmic spaces.

27. *[As a result of constraint] upon the moon there arises [intuitive] knowledge of the arrangement of the stores.*

As a result of constraint upon the moon he immediately experiences the particular order of the asterisms. Because the sun does not cause the asterisms to appear, no knowledge of them arises from constraint upon it. This is the point.

28. *[As a result of constraint] upon the Zenith (dhruva) there arises [intuitive] knowledge of their movements.*

As a result of constraint upon the Zenith he knows the movements of these stars so that he may say 'That star goes with that planet by that path for so much time.'

Having thus described outer perfections he tells of perfections pertaining to one's self.

29. *[As a result of constraint] upon the cakra of the navel there arises [intuitive] knowledge of the arrangement of the body.*

As a result of constraint upon that *cakra* of the navel, which is in the midmost part of the body and has ten petals and lies above the *ādhāra* and the *līṅga cakra*, which have forty petals, he knows the constitution of the body. The disorders are three, wind, bile, and phlegm. The secretions are seven, skin, blood, flesh, sinew, bone, marrow, and semen. The arrangement of the body is such that the external in each case precedes.

30. *[As a result of constraint] upon the hollow of the throat there follows cessation of hunger and thirst.*

Below the thread of the tongue there is a region of the throat in the form of a hollow. By the collision of the breath and so on with this, hunger and thirst arise. As a result of constraint upon this, these two cease.

31. *[As a result of constraint] upon the tortoise-tube there follows motionlessness [of the mind-stuff].*

Below the hollow there is, within the chest, a tube, in shape a tortoise. As a result of constraint upon this the mind-stuff enters into it and gains motionlessness.

32. *[As a result of constraint] upon the radiance in the head [there follows] the sight of the Siddhas.*

As a result of constraint upon that aperture which is in the skull, the so-called opening of Brahma, and which—after there is a conjunction [of this light] with the *Suṣumnā* and after there is a conjunction with the jewel's lustre of the

mind-stuff resident in the heart—becomes resplendent as the radiance in the head,—[as a result of this] he beholds the Siddhas, although they are invisible.

33. *Or as a result of Vividness (prātibha) the [yogin discerns] all.*

For if constraint be made for the sake of the discriminative discernment, the Elevation (*prasaṅkhyāna*), the deliverer from the round-of-rebirths, there follows Vividness, an intuitive [knowledge] indicating the approach of the Elevation and arising from Vivid-light, which is reflective thinking and nothing more. <Or> by this the yogin knows <all.> Just as people see by the ray of dawn which indicates the rising of the sun. But in the Rājavārtika the Vivid-light is an [intuitive] knowledge arising instantly in accordance with the object produced by nothing but the central-organ without regard to any causes. As a result of constraint upon this, the Vividness, the deliverer, a prior state of discriminative discernment, dawns [in the mind-stuff]. By this the yogin knows all. So it is explained.

34. *[As a result of constraint] upon the heart there arises a consciousness of the mind-stuff.*

By constraint upon a station of the mind-stuff, the lotus of the heart with its face downwards, there is a consciousness of the mind-stuff together with its subconscious-impressions.

35. *Experience is a presented-idea which is undistinguished on the part of the sattva and of the Self, each absolutely uncommingled [in the presented-idea]. Since the sattva exists as object for another, the [intuitive] knowledge of the Self arises as the result of constraint upon itself as object.*

<That presented-idea which is undistinguished> on the part of the thinking-substance and the self, which are absolutely different in so far as they are object-of-experience and experiencer, is a mutation of the thinking-substance, a presented-idea of pleasure and of pain and of infatuation, undistinguished by the knowers of the reflection of the Self, [that is,] alike in quality to them, and attributive of pleasure and so on [to the Self] by means of the reflection—this is experience, resident in the thinking-substance because it is an object-for-sight. It exists for the sake of another, [that is,] it becomes subordinate

to the Self, the experiencer. The experience is for the sake of another; it consists in a presented-idea which is dependent upon the reflection of intelligence. Other than this is the essence of intelligence, which is the reflection; it exists for its own sake and is not subordinate to another. By constraint upon this the Self has an immediate-experience of the Self. And this object-for-sight resident in the thinking-substance is not able by the Self, who is self-lightening, to make the Self into an object. On the contrary, the knowledge of the Self is said to be empty of the forms of the not-self, because it knows the reflection of itself and nothing more. And in this sense there is the Sacred Word [Bṛhad Ar. Up. iv. 5. 15] "By whom, pray, should one discern the Discerner?"

Now when this constraint has immediately-experienced the Self he points out what are the previously existing perfections.

36. As a result of this, vivid organs of hearing and of touch and of sight and of taste and of smell are generated.

As a result of this constraint upon that which exists for its own sake, (the Vividness previously described,) the [intuitive] knowledge which is occupied with itself is generated by the central-organ and no other, aided by the Bright karma which arises from yoga. The organs for knowing supernormal sounds and touches and colors and tastes and smells, the organ of hearing and the skin and the eye and the tongue and the nose are generated in order, with the technical names of the organ of hearing and the organ of touch and the organ of sight and the organ of taste and the organ of smell. When the organ of hearing, which is the organ for knowing supernormal sounds, comes to the yogin, then the technical term <organ of hearing> is given to his organ of hearing (*śrotra*). Similarly the <organ of smell> is the technical name for his nose. And so in this way the ellipsis must be supplied.

The objector asks 'Has then this yogin accomplished his task?' In reply to this he says—

37. To concentration these [supernormal sensations] are obstacles; to emergence they are perfections (siddhi).

<These> [that is] Vividness and the like in the case of one devoted <to concentration,> the fruit of which is final bliss,

are obstacles, [that is,] impediments. Accordingly he who desires liberation overlooks them. For his task is not accomplished, even if he have ten thousand perfections, unless he have a complete enlightenment of self. This has been said by Śrī Krishna, the Supreme Teacher, [Bhag. Gītā xv. 20] "Having understood this he would be wise and would have accomplished his task, O Bhārata." But in the case of one devoted to emergence these [supernormal sensations] are perfections.

Having thus described the supernormal-powers of constraint as consisting in knowledge culminating in the vision of the self, he tells of them as consisting in action.

38. As a result of slackening the causes of bondage and as a result of the knowledge of the process, the mind-stuff penetrates into the body of another.

The mind-stuff which is disposed to pervade in all directions is fixed, [that is,] bound to its own body and to nothing else by contraction. The cause of this is right and wrong doing. By constraint upon these two a slackening arises. A process, [that is,] a collection of tubes (*nāḍī*) is that by means of which the mind-stuff proceeds. By constraint upon that also there is the knowledge so that one thinks 'By that tube [the mind-stuff] passes through.' Likewise there is a knowledge of the tubes which are the paths for the breaths and the organs. And so when the rope of bondage is destroyed, the mind-stuff which knows the path gains entrance to the body of another, whether it be dead or alive, just as one enters into one's own clothing or another's. The organs enter after the mind-stuff just as bees [enter after] the king-bee.

39. As a result of the subdual of the Udāna there is no adhesion to water, mud, thorns, or similar objects and [at death] there is the upward flight.

As every one knows there are two modes of action of the organs. One consists in the perception of external things and the like; the other is internal and consists of efforts [to preserve] the source of life and is common to all action. The effects of this [two-fold] mode of action are the five breaths (*prāṇa*). Of these [five] 1. *Prāṇa* extends from the tip of the

nose to the heart. 2. *Samāna* extends from the heart to the navel and [the derivation is] in the sense that it leads (*nayati*) the food equally [over the body]. 3. *Apāna* extends from the navel to the sole of the foot and [the derivation is] in the sense that it removes (*apanayati*) filth. 4. *Udāna* is a fluctuation from the tip of the nose to the head and is the cause of the upward flight. 5. *Vyāna* pervades all the body. Of these *Prāṇa* is the chief. As a result of the subdual of the *Udāna*, from among these, by constraint the yogin because of his lightness passes over ocean, mud, thorns, and other things without adhering to them. And at will he gains death.

40. *As a result of the subdual of the Samāna there arises a radiance.*

As a result of mastery of the *Samāna* which pervades the fire resident near the navel a radiance of flame arises, by which he appears radiant. Similarly by subduing the *Prāṇa* and the rest, it must be understood, that perfection in what can be done by this [fire is done] as [the yogin] wills.

41. *As a result of constraint upon the relation between the organ-of-hearing and the air there arises the supernormal organ-of-hearing.*

Although the organ-of-hearing is of the personality-substance, the relation between it and the air is that of container and contained. This is a partial statement [which applies to the other organs]. By constraint upon the relations between the eye and light, water and taste, nose and earth, supernormal organs with the technical names of the organ of hearing and the organ of touch and the organ of sight and the organ of taste and the organ of smell [iii. 36] arise, by which he instantly knows supernormal sounds and so forth.

42. *Either as the result of constraint upon the relation between the body and the ether or as the result of the balanced-state of lightness as of a cotton fibre there follows the passing through air.*

Having subdued the connection between these two, he becomes light in body by concentration upon the common characteristic of what is light or of what is cotton-fibre and

the like, first of all he walks upon water, then he walks upon spiders' threads, next upon sunbeams, thereafter he courses through air at will.

43. *The fluctuation outwardly unadjusted is the Great Discarnate; as a result of this the dwindling of the obscuration of light. As a result of constraint upon the coarse (sthūla), the attribute (svarūpa), the inherence (anvaya), and the purposiveness (arthavattva) there is a subdual of the elements.*

When the sense of being "I" is in the body, by resolving 'my central-organ shall be outside,' the central-organ gains a fluctuation outside the body. This is the adjusted fixed-attention that is called discarnate. When as a result of this there is a renunciation of the sense of being "I" in the body, the external fluctuation is gained by this very fact. This same is the unadjusted fixed-attention called Great Discarnate. <As a result of this> the mind-stuff which is essentially light has its obscuration due to karma resulting from hindrances and so forth dwindled away. As a result of this it gains the state of being the knower of all. 1. The coarse visible form of the five elements, an orderly arrangement of parts, containing the common characteristics of earthiness and so on, joined with sounds and the other [perceptible] things, with the five qualities successively reduced by one. Such is the first form. 2. Next would be the second form, the essential attribute having successively the characteristic-mark of hardness, liquidity, heat, impulsiveness, all-pervasiveness. Impulsiveness is, for instance, the wind's power of carrying [blades of] grass and the like. 3. Then the third form, the subtle cause of these, the atoms; of these the subtle causes are the five fine substances. 4. Next the fourth form of these, the three aspects. For these are common [to all] and are the <inherence> in the sense that they inhere in the causes of themselves (*sva*). 5. Then the fifth form of these elements is the purposiveness, the capacity for experience and liberation, which is based in the aspects, as it comes to them (*sveṣu*) from the inherence of the aspects. Thus by constraint upon the five kinds of causes of the effects of the elements in succession beginning with the coarse, the elements conform to the wish of the yogin, just as cows follow after their calves.

44 [45]¹. *As a result of this, atomization and the other perfections appear; there is perfection of body; and its external-aspects are unobstructed.*

As the result of this subdual of the elements, atomization and the rest of the eight perfections appear in the yogin. 1. Atomization is the similarity to an atom. 2. Magnification is pervasiveness. 3. Levitation is lightness like that of a ball of cotton. 4. Ponderation is heaviness like that of Meru. 5. Extension is the touching of the moon with a finger. 6. Efficacy is the obtaining of desire. 7. Mastery is the power to compel elements. 8. Sovereignty is the power to create elements. Such are the eight sovereign powers. Of these, those ending with Extension are perfected by constraint upon the coarse; Efficacy by constraint upon the essential-attribute; the remainder by constraint upon the cause. Such is the analysis.—<Perfection of body> is to be described. And by constraint upon the elements there is no obstruction to this body by qualities of the elements such as hardness. So that he penetrates within the rock; cold and heat and so on do not impede [him].

45 [46]. *Perfection of body is beauty, grace, power, and the hardness of the thunder-bolt.*

Beauty is what is pleasant to the eye; grace is charm of all the body; power is energy; hardness of the thunder-bolt is the condition of him in the structure of whose limbs there is hardness as of the thunder-bolt, familiar enough in the case of Hanuman.

He tells of another subdual of the elements which is a means of subduing organs.

46 [47]. *As a result of constraint upon the process-of-perception, the essential-attribute, the feeling-of-personality, the inherence, and the purposiveness there follows subdual of the organs.*

Sound, for instance the fourth note; touch, for instance cold; color, for instance yellow; taste, for instance sweet; smell, for instance perfume. The five fluctuations, which are effects, the

¹ Ācārya Rāmānanda Yati has chosen to combine sūtras 43 and 44 into one. Consequently the numbering of the sūtras is changed by one from iii. 44 to the end of Book Third.

processes-of-perception belonging to the organs, from the organ of hearing onwards, have the sounds and the rest, which are in essence a general and a particular, as their field of operation. This is the first form. Illuminateness is an essential-attribute, the second form. Personality-substance made of *sattva* and having the feeling-of-personality as its characteristic mark is the third cause of these [organs]. Inherence and purposiveness the fourth and fifth form have been explained [iii. 43]. By constraint upon these five kinds of organs he gains the subdual of the organs.

What is the result of this? In reply he says—

47 [48]. *As a result of this [there ensues on the part of the body] speed as great as that of the central-organ, action of instruments of perception disjunct [from the body], and the subdual of the primary-cause.*

<Speed as great as that of the central-organ> is the attainment of unsurpassed motion on the part of the body like that of the mind. <Action of instruments of perception disjunct [from the body]> is the modifiability¹ of organs which are quite distinct from the discarnate as regards knowledge of distant and external objects. The subdual of the primary-cause, [that is,] the inherence, the fourth kind [of element or organ] is the mastery of the whole world. Such are the perfections which arise as a result of the subdual of the organs. Those perfections beginning with atomization and ending with the subdual of the primary-cause are called in this book Honey-faced, because they taste like bits of honey. In other words they are Honey-faced because they are like honey. Or else, the Honey-faced are those the cause of which, [that is,] that towards which something goes, is immediately-experienced by means of the subdual of the elements and organs. This is the honey, that norm-bearing insight produced by yoga, which has as its object the things extending from the coarse to the primary-cause.

Thus perfection of knowledge and of action which result from constraint, which are the objects aimed at extending

¹ Or one might translate 'disjunct action.'

to discriminative discernment as leading directly to belief, have been set in order. He now tells of the perfections subordinate to discriminative discernment.

48 [49]. He who has nothing more than the discernment into the difference between the sattva and the Self is the commander of all forms of being and the perceiver of the whole.

When there is a subdual of the inner organ from which the stains of *rajas* and of *tamas* have been washed away by constraint upon that which is an end to itself as previously [iii. 35] described, there arises a discernment of the distinction between the *sattva* of the thinking-substance and the self in the case of the yogin who is established in the lower dispassion, called the consciousness of mastery, and who has nothing but this [discernment], and who is devoted to the repetition of that [discernment]. He becomes perfected in being commander, [that is,] regulator of all forms of being, and in being the knower of all things past and present and future. This is the so-called [i. 36] "griefless" perfection.

He now tells of the most important perfection, that of the discriminative discernment.

49 [50]. As a result of passionlessness even with regard to these [perfections] there follows, after the dwindling of the seeds of the defects, Isolation.

When this griefless state is perfected as a result of passionlessness, the higher passionlessness arises even with regard to the discriminative discernment, which is the cause of this [griefless perfection]. Then when there is a dwindling, [that is,] a total disappearance of the seed, [that is,] the subliminal-impression of error due to the defects, [that is,] the hindrances, now that the mind-stuff has nothing but subliminal-impressions of the higher passionlessness, the Self is perfected in being grounded in himself, [that is,] in <Isolation.> This is the perfection <consisting of subliminal-impressions only> as it is called [i. 18].

When obstacles to this arise, he tells what are the means of removing them.

50 [51]. In case of solicitations from those in high places, these should arouse no attachment or pride, for undesirable consequences recur.

Now there are four kinds of yogins 1. *Prathamakalpikas*, 2. *Madhubhūmikas*, 3. *Prajñājyotis* and 4. *Atikrāntabhāvanīyas*. Of these [four], 1. the first has merely begun in constraint and knows nothing of such things as the mind-stuff of another. 2. The second after gaining by conscious yoga the Honeyed stage of mind-stuff, the so-called norm-bearing insight [i. 48], desires to conquer the elements and organs which are immediately-experienced. By means of the subdual of these he is desirous of gaining successively the three stages previously described as Honey-faced and griefless and consisting of subliminal-impressions only. 3. But the third [yogin], unshakable by Mahendra and the other gods, because he has subdued elements and organs, after gaining two stages, inasmuch as he has the desire to perfect the two stages which begin with the griefless [stage], strives for the constraint upon that which is an end to itself. 4. The fourth, however, a high-souled exalted being, dispassionate towards the three stages ending with discernment which he has gained, fearless of obstacles, released while yet living, abides in the fourth stage. Of him the insight in seven stages advancing to the highest has been explained. Of these four in the case of the first yogin there is not fitness for solicitation by the gods. So, by elimination, it is the second yogin, the *Madhubhūmika* who is solicited, [that is,] invited by <those in high places,> [that is,] those who are masters of this or that high place, for instance, Mahendra. "Sir! will you sit here? Will you rest in this heavenly high place? This maiden might prove attractive. This enjoyment is supernormal. This elixir wards off age and death. This chariot goes as you will." When he is thus invited, an attachment, [that is,] a lust arises in him so that he feels with pride. 'How great is the power of this yoga of mine!' This should not be done. Rather let him reflect upon the defects in it thus 'Baked on the pitiless coals of the round-of-rebirths and mounted¹ upon the wheel of successive births and deaths, I have hardly found the lamp of yoga which dispels the darkness of the hindrances. And of this [lamp]

¹ Compare Mudrārākṣasa v. 5; vii. 12.

the lust-born gusts of sensual things are enemies. How could it be that I who have seen its light could be led astray by sensual things, a mere mirage, and throw myself as fuel into that same blaze of the round-of-rebirths as it flares up again? Fare ye well! Sensual things [deceitful] as dreams and to be craved by wile folk.' His purpose thus determined let him cultivate concentration. If attached, he falls from his position. Thinking of himself in pride as having done all, he is not perfected in yoga. Accordingly because one whose yoga is broken is involved again in the round-of-rebirths, which is not desired, not being attached and not being proud are the means of throwing off the obstacles to Isolation.

The [intuitive] knowledge of discrimination, the deliverer, which results when the Self has been mirrored in the thinking-substance has been previously described. He tells of another method for this.

51 [52]. As a result of constraint upon moments and their sequence [there arises the intuitive] knowledge proceeding from discrimination.

An indivisible fragment of time is the true moment. Other [divisions] such as hours and so on are fragments of time, consisting of collections of moments, are not true [moments]. For a collection of moments has no existence in reality. By constraint upon the moments, expressed thus 'Of these, this moment comes before that; this comes after that' and upon their sequence, [that is.] upon an antecedent and a consequent, he gains an immediate-experience, a discrimination, of extremely subtile things. And from that an [intuitive] knowledge, which is in essence an immediate-knowledge of things, beginning with the sky and ending with man, in one instant arises.

This [intuitive] knowledge arising from constraint upon moments and having everything for its object he will describe later. Now he tells of the particular object, a subtile thing, of this [constraint].

52 [53]. As a result of this there arises the deeper knowledge of two equivalent things which cannot be distinguished in species, in characteristic-mark, or in place.

A distinction is a determination. For in ordinary life there are three means of determining the differences between objects.

Of these, the idea of the difference between the cow and the gayal, which are similar as regards place and characteristic-mark, is [the difference] by species. The idea of the difference between two cows which are similar as regards place and species, is [the difference] by characteristic-mark. The determination of the difference between two myrobalans, which are similar in species and characteristic-mark, is the result of such a difference in place as being in front and behind. But when, in order to test the [intuitive] knowledge of the yogin, the myrobalan lying in the front place is put in the place of the myrobalan which was behind, and the myrobalan which was behind is removed, while the yogin is intent upon something else, then because it is impossible to determine change in species and so on in the case of the two myrobalans, which are similar in respect of the species of myrobalan and in the characteristic-marks such as changes of color and in place,—
 <as a result of this> the yogin gains the deeper knowledge of the change merely by the [intuitive] knowledge coming from constraint upon the moment. During those moments which are antecedent to that moment in which the myrobalan which was in front was put in the place of the myrobalan which was behind a series of previous mutations of being in front were produced in the myrobalan in front and not in the myrobalan behind. Because that [myrobalan behind] in those [earlier] moments was endowed with a series of mutations of being behind. And thus the yogin who knows the moments and their sequence, in knowing the uninterrupted-succession of this moment as compared with the moments of the series of the two, of the one in front and the one behind, each with its own mutation [in time], determines thus 'This one is now in front; previous to this it was behind, not in front.'

53 [54]. *The [intuitive] knowledge proceeding from discrimination is the Deliverer, has all things as its object, has all times for its object, in an inclusive whole of time without sequence (akrama).*

The knowing of the whole as a result of constraint upon this and that has been described. This [knowing of the whole] has for its objects merely the different varieties, just as when one says 'I had a dinner of all the different condiments produced in the kitchen,' the meaning conveyed is that he ate

all the varieties of condiments. Similarly again if one says 'I had a dinner of all the food served with all the condiments on the dishes,' the meaning conveyed is that he ate the whole as such and with its varieties. Likewise this discriminative knowledge proceeding from constraint upon the moments has all things as such as its object, has all times for its object, [that is,] has objects in all different varieties.—Because it penetrates into the reality of the Self, it rescues from the ocean of the round-of-rebirths. In this sense it has the technical name of <Deliverer.>—<In an inclusive whole of time> [that is] simultaneously it has the whole collection as its basis, like a myrobalan on the palm of your hand.

Thus having cleared up the limits of excellence in discriminative discernment, the results of supernormal powers in this or that, that is, the constraints, he approaches the question whether the immediate-experience of the difference between the *sattva* and the Self, in case there be such excellence in discriminative discernment or not, is sufficient for release.

54 [55]. *Isolation occurs when the purity of the sattva and of the Self is equal.*

There is <purity> [that is] absence of all fluctuations, when the thinking-substance has cast off all the stains of *rajas* and by virtue of discriminative discernment is nothing but subliminal-impressions. Then in the case of the Self also, who is permanently pure, there is purity, <that is,> absence of experience in predicate-relations. So when the purity of these two is equal, there is Isolation. But supernormal powers in this or that have been discussed for the sake of awakening faith. Isolation, however, as a result of nothing but the subliminal-impressions of the Self uncharacterized by the thinking-substance, is perfected, when undifferentiated-consciousness (*avidyā*) has ceased, as consisting in the non-awakening of future pain.

Book Fourth: Concentration.

I bow down to *Sitā* and *Rāma* who have that incomparable perfection consisting in Isolation and nothing more which belongs to those who are perfected in all the means of attainment.

In the First and Second Books yoga and the means of attaining it have been set forth. In the Third Book the three direct aids technically called constraint, the different mutations aimed at by constraint, and the perfections have been described. Of these [latter] certain perfections such as those of the past or of the future are aids to the yoga of Isolation by means of faith; others such as the subdual of the organs are immediate aids. The perfection in the discriminative knowledge called the Deliverer is discussed as a result of yoga. Now Isolation itself as being of primary importance is to be set forth. For this purpose the mind-stuff that is conducive to Isolation, the world beyond, the self over and above momentary mental-processes, the experiencer of the pleasures and so on which are evolved forms of the mind-stuff, and the Rain-Cloud of [knowable] Things are to be described. And incidentally other things are to be described. Thus the Fourth Book is begun. In it he wishes to describe that mind-stuff which is capable of Isolation from among the mind-stuffs that have been first perfected, and he says that there are five kinds of perfections previously described, because of the different causes.

1. Perfections proceed from birth or drugs or spells or self-castigation or concentration.

Perfection by birth is such as belongs to *yakṣas*, and is, for instance, passing through the air. In [personages] such as *Kapila*, moreover, this is innate. [Perfection] in the use of particular drugs is to be found in such as *Kapila*. In the case of certain persons there is perfection in atomization by the repetition of spells. Perfection by self-castigation is to be found in such as *Vishvamitra*. These four perfections are really produced by yoga practised in former births and manifested in this birth which serves as efficient cause. Accordingly, in so far as there is disappointment in the practice of yoga, a beginning [should be made] here, even if so perfection is not perceived, because of results to come in another birth. Perfections proceeding from concentration have been explained in the previous book.

The objector says 'By the might of his self-castigation *Nandīvara* is reported to have entered by means of the side-long

glance of the husband of the Blessed Gāurī into the mutation of a divine body. With regard to this, in the first place this human body cannot be the material cause of any divine body. Because if this [human body] be regarded as subsisting, it is impossible that it should be mutated into another [body]; if transitory (*naṣṭa*), it cannot be the cause of anything. Nor can you say that the parts only [of the human body] should be the material cause [of the divine body], because it is impossible that a cause which is nothing but a human body should produce an effect which is totally different from it.' To this objection he replies.

2. The mutation into another birth is the result of the filling in of the evolving-cause.

The evolving-causes beginning with the primary-cause and ending with [the element of] earth are real everywhere, because they fill in the parts of human or other bodies; by conforming to right-living, as the case may be, as efficient cause, they permeate the parts. Because of this it is right to speak of <the mutation into another birth.> Just as by the help of an evolving-cause a bit of flame pervades a vast area of grass and so on in a forest.

The objector asks 'Does the filling in of the evolving-cause require such efficient-causes as right-living or not. If this is not the case, then one would have to admit that the filling in would be in all [causes]. And you cannot [hold] the first [alternative]. Because if something such as right-living were to set things in motion, you would then be going against your own doctrine which holds that the purpose of the Self sets things in motion.' In reply to this he says—

3. The efficient cause gives no impulse to the evolving-causes, [but] the mutation follows when the barrier [to the evolving cause] is cut, as happens with the peasant.

For in the Sāmkhya, which does not hold the doctrine of the Īṣvara, only the purpose of the Self, which lies in the future, sets the evolving-causes in motion. But we who hold the doctrine of the Īṣvara maintain that the Īṣvara sets [the evolving-causes] in motion in so far as this [purpose of the Īṣvara] gives the thing aimed at. Thus the purpose of the

Self is said to set things in motion in so far as it is the thing aimed at. But the efficient cause does not set [the evolving-causes] in motion, because it is an effect of them. On the contrary, as a result of this efficient cause there is resistance to the barrier, [that is,] the obstacle. Because of right-living the evolving-causes for the rejection of wrong-living quite of themselves set in motion towards a mutation into a god, or whatever it may be. When there is an obstacle to merit because of the excess of evil [karma], mutation into an animal or something else occurs. Just as Nahuṣa was mutated into a snake.—The words <as happens with the peasant> refer to the peasant, [that is,] the ploughman who merely makes a cutting of the barrier to the water on some higher level; then the water quite of itself sets in motion into another meadow-plot.

The objector asks 'When the yogin at one time creates many bodies for the sake of enjoyment, then why are there mind-stuffs for these?' In reply he says.

4. *The created mind-stuffs may result from the sense of personality and from this alone.*

The mind-stuffs are created in the sense that they are created by the power of yoga. As a result of the filling in of evolving-causes which are subject to the yogin's will, just as a body is produced, [so mind-stuff] from the personality-substance as evolving-cause.

For because mind-stuffs refer constantly to different things, the yogin has not perfection in experience. Therefore he says

5. *When there is a variety of evolving-causes the mind-stuff which impels the many is one.*

From among the created mind-stuffs the yogin creates a mind-stuff which necessarily acts in the particular way which conforms to his own enjoyment; by the power of his yoga this mind-stuff becomes the guide of these [others] and in this way his enjoyment is arranged as planning for that [enjoyment].

Thus reasons have been given for the five kinds of perfected mind-stuffs as coming from birth or the other [sources]; from among these he selects the mind-stuff which is conducive to liberation.

6. *Of these [five perfections] that which proceeds from contemplation leaves no latent-deposit.*

Of these proceeding from birth and the other [four], that proceeding from concentration <leaves no latent-deposit,> [that is,] it has no subconscious-impressions from the hindrances and is fit for release.

He says that also the karma of the yogin, like the mind-stuff, has differences of quality.

7. *The yogin's karma is neither-white-nor-black; [the karma] of others is of three kinds.*

White karma is to be attained by voice and by central-organ and its sole result is pleasure; it is found among those who are disposed to study and self-castigation. Black karma has its sole result in pain; it is found among the base. White-and-black-[karma] has a mixed result in pleasure and in pain and it is to be affected by outer means; it is found among the devotees of the *soma* sacrifice. In these [three] cases, because it is connected with the crushing of ants and similar [creatures]—in so far as rice or other grains are destroyed—and with aid to others, such as the giving of fees, there is this karma of three kinds in the case of <others> [that is] those who are not yogins. But the karma of yogins [that is] of ascetics, because they have cast off the karma which is to be effected by outer means, is not white-nor-black. Because the hindrances have dwindled it is not black; because the result of the right-living is committed to the *Iqvara* without desiring any result it is not white karma. Consequently by means of the discriminative discernment into the purity of the mind-stuff the karma which is neither-white-nor-black has as its sole result release.

He tells incidentally of the manifestation of subconscious-impressions of karma.

8. *As a result of this there follows the manifestation of those subconscious-impressions only which correspond to the fruition of their [karma].*

As a result of this three-fold karma, just after the time of death, when there is a manifestation for giving the fruition which consists in birth, length of life, and kind of experience,

then there is a manifestation of the subconscious-impressions favorable to that [fruition] and not to opposed to it. If the mind-stuff reaches divinity there are subconscious-impressions of the human kind of enjoyment which become dormant, because in case they be manifested it is impossible that there should be the supernormal kind of enjoyment.

The objector asks 'How is it that the subconscious-impressions, produced from the enjoyment of these things in heaven during his birth as a god, become manifest again in another birth as a god after thousands of births as men and as tigers have intervened? Why is it that just those subconscious-impressions which belong to the immediately preceding birth are not manifested, like the subconscious-impressions of the previous day?' In reply to this he says—

9. There is uninterrupted-causal-relation [of subconscious-impressions] although remote in species or point of space or moment of time, by reason of the correspondence between memory and subliminal-impressions.

Although generally, in case of one who rises up after sleeping, the subconscious-impressions produced by the experience of the immediately preceding day are manifested because nothing intervenes, still in this never-beginning round-of-rebirths there are the subconscious-impressions, which have been heaped up in enjoyments, as a result of whatever karma there be in whatever birth. Although ten thousand lives and space and hundreds of mundane cycles may have intervened, these [impressions] manifested by that very karma or by that birth—when once a birth of that kind has been attained by a karma of the similar kind—are said to have an <uninterrupted-causal-relation.> In other words they become the cause of a kind of enjoyment through memory. The subconscious-impressions of the immediately preceding life, which was started by a different kind of karma, lie dormant because there is nothing that can manifest them. It is proper that [the subconscious-impressions], although there be interventions, should be manifested, because the karma and the birth exist which manifest them. Nor should you say 'Let the subconscious-impressions of the immediately preceding life be manifested by both [karma and birth], because there is nothing that intervenes; for so

there would be memory. Yet [this karma] is quite different [from that which precedes it].’ The reply is <by reason of the correspondence between memory and subliminal impressions.> The meaning is this. A subliminal-impression is that which remains as a potentiality, whether as act or knowledge or otherwise, and which contains passion and the other [qualities]; and this [impression] is the cause of memory of action which has the same object as itself.¹ A subliminal-impression of action comes into mutation as an action; a subliminal-impression of knowledge as memory; another subliminal-impression otherwise. In this manner, by reason of the correspondence between memory and subliminal-impressions, inasmuch as they are not distinct and have the same object, there is said to be a continuity between them, a relation of cause and effect, which cannot be between two disparates. For you cannot say that the fact that there is intervention can make the subliminal-impression produce a dissimilar effect. For if this were so, then immediately after the impression produced by the experience of a water-jar you could remember even that which is not experience.

To the Chārvāka who objects ‘These are no subconscious-impressions from births gone by’ he replies—

10. *These [subconscious-impressions], furthermore, have no beginning [that we can set in time] since desire is eternal.*

The meaning of the word <furthermore> is that these subconscious-impressions have not only an uninterrupted-causal-relation but also no beginning that we can set in time. Why is this? Because the craving ‘may I always be,’ which is the fear of death, is permanent, [that is to say,] one does not fail to find it in any living creature. The point of this is as follows. The fear of death inferred from the trembling, if from nothing else, forms the memory of the pain of the hatable object, because one never fails to find the two together. This [craving] forms the subconscious-impression; and this [impression forms] the experience of the pain which proceeds from death; this [experience] in that it cannot be made possible in this birth forms another birth. Thus it is established that

¹ That is to say, its object is not stolen away, as discussed in i. 11.

desire has no beginning. The objector asks 'If body is not the soul, who then is it that fears birth and death? [It cannot be] the soul because it is without beginning or end and as such is not¹ susceptible to fear.' We reply that [the fear belongs] to the mind-stuff. It is the attainment (*lābha*) by this same mind-stuff,—which is entangled² in beginningless desires, and which is all-pervading in that it is a product of the personality-substance,—of a fluctuation disposed to expansion or contraction according to [the sizes of] the different bodies; [this fluctuation] we call birth and the cessation of [this] fluctuation we call death. While this is happening there is pain. Thus all this round-of-rebirths belongs [to this mind-stuff].

The objector asks 'If the subconscious-impressions are from time-without-beginning, how is it that they can be cut off?' In reply to this he says—

11. *Since [these subconscious-impressions] are associated with cause and motive and mental substrate and stimulus, if these cease to be, then those [subconscious-impressions] cease to be.*

These are not, like the Self, without a beginning. But are effects only³ in a stream without a beginning. Consequently by cutting off their causes, it is possible to cut them off. To explain. The never-ending wheel of the round-of-rebirths ceaselessly rolls on. Undifferentiated-consciousness (*avidyā*) characterized by subliminal-impressions of delusion, each one succeeding another, is the cause of the feeling-of-personality expressed by 'I am.' And this feeling-of-personality is the cause of this error 'I am a man' or 'This dissatisfaction is mine.' This error is the cause of passion and hatred. Both of these, again, are the causes of right-living and of wrong-living by leading a man to punish another or by some such act. Both these [kinds of living are causes] of enjoyment.

¹ Reading with the India Office MS. 559^d and the MS. in the Deccan College Library (No. 619 of 1887—91) *antasyābhayaṭvād iti*.

² The *ā* is to be read *a* according to the two MSS. just cited. This adjective gives the motive for the creation. The next one *āhankārikatvena vibhūnas* meets the objection that the mind-stuff of an elephant must be many times greater in size than that of an ant.

³ Reading *eva*.

And this [enjoyment is the cause] of subconscious-impressions. And these again are the cause of delusion and the rest. In this case [then], the karmas from the hindrances are the causes of the subconscious-impressions; the body and the term of life and the kind of enjoyment are the result; the mind-stuff is the mental-substrate; sounds or other [perceptible] things are the physical-basis. Since [the impressions] are associated with these, if these are cut off by unwavering discriminate discernment produced by the yoga which is an aid to the yoga of action, then, because the causes have ceased to be, [these subconscious impressions] cease to be.

The objector asks 'If the subliminal-impressions are real, how can they cease to be?' In reply he says—

12. Past and future really exist [therefore subliminal-impressions do not cease to be]. For the different time-forms belong to the external-aspects.

There is no creation of what is not existent, nor destruction of what is existent. For according to the Word (Bhag. Gītā ii. 16] of the Supreme Içvara "No being is found which comes from what does not exist; no not-being is found which comes from what exists." And in accordance with the saying that the past and the future, like the present, are knowable by perception which says [Bhag. Gītā vii. 26] "Know, O Ārjuna, that I am all past and present and future things," nothing which does not exist can be knowable by perception. Therefore the totality of past and future external-aspects does exist in potential form in the substance. This (*yat*) yogins immediately experience by constraint upon the three mutations. And potters, for instance, after sketching in their minds make [the water-pot], when there is a substance, a whole-in-relation-to-all-its-parts, which is said to be permanent and unitary. The objector says 'Then the knowledge of the reality is useless, because one is bound by subconscious-impressions and so forth.' The reply is, No. For in the present time-form, because the future and the other time-forms belong to the external-aspects, the mind-stuff, diversified with subconscious-impressions of pain and what not and being dominant and disposed to numberless mutations, when changed into a state of being that is the object of experience, is said to be in bondage. When there

is knowledge of reality, the mind-stuff loses its dominance and enters into the past time-form, and although existent as primary-matter, yet because the purpose of the Self which was to be accomplished—and this is the seed for its rising again—has been accomplished, it does not return again.

It has been said that the past and the future as such do exist. If this is so, what are they as such? In reply to this he says—

13. These [time-forms] are phenomenalized [individuals] or subtle [generic forms] and their essence is the aspects (guṇa).

The <phenomenalized> belong to the present time-form; the <subtile> to the past and future time-forms. These time-forms begin with the Great Thinking-substance and end with such particularized things as water-jars; their essence is the aspects (guṇa) and they consist of *sattva* and *rajas* and *tamas*. All beings in so far as they are parts of the whole which is the aspects, whose essence is pleasure and pain and infatuation, because they are evolved from these, are as such precisely that. Just as water-jars, for example, are parts of the whole which is the clay and as such are that, because there is an identity in the form of identity in difference. In it the aspects (guṇa) are permanently in mutation. The Self is absolutely unchanged; all other beings are in mutation from moment to moment, fading out with the moments. This is said in the Comment. [by Vārṣaganya] “Constituents from their utmost height come not within the range of sight. But all within the range of sight a phantom seems and empty quite.” In other words, it fades away like a mirage.

The objector says ‘If the three aspects are in mutation, then the mutations one by one would have no unity. For it is plain that there is no one mutation of clay and of thread and of milk.’ In reply to this he says—

14. The existence of a thing is due to its singleness of mutation.

Even of many things there is evidently a single mutation. For example elephants or horses or the like thrown into a brackish place have a salt mutation; wick, oil, and fire have a mutation as lamp. Yet such things as clay, because they

are not in the relation of subordinate to principal, have no singleness of mutation. The aspects (*guṇa*), however, because they have a unity of mutation, in the relation [to them] of subordinate to principal, which is a real thing (*vastu*) whether it be the Great [thinking-substance] or some thing else may rightly be said to have a reality, which is a unity. Of these [aspects], in case the *sattva* is principal, there is from the three aspects a single mutation, the Great [thinking-substance]; from this, which is single, when the *rajas* prevails, there comes the personality-substance; [from it], when *tamas* prevails, the five fine substances, one by one, arise as unities. From the personality-substance which consists of *sattva* there come the sense-organs; from that which consists of *rajas* there come the organs of action; from [the personality-substance] of both kinds there comes the central-organ. Thus when the fine substance sound is principal, there is the air, a single mutation of the five fine substances. Similarly when the fine substances touch or color or taste or smell are successively principal, wind or fire or water or earth are one by one produced. On the other hand, there are many mutations from a single one, because of the diversity in the potential forms of the sub-conscious-impressions of many mutations. Enough of such details.

The objector says 'There is nothing over and above the mind-stuff which is in essence momentary mental-processes. Whatever is to be validly known, that is not distinct from mental-processes; just as a mental-process is [not distinct from a mental-process]. These things which are to be validly known are water-jars and such things. Hence with reference to whom is the discussion of the unity or plurality? For the mind-stuff itself is without beginning; when diversified by sub-conscious-impressions which are the same as the immediate (*samanantara*) cause it presents itself as substances and qualities.' To the Buddhist who talks thus he replies—

15. *Because while the physical-object is the same there is a difference of mind-stuffs, the [two are upon] distinct levels of existence.*

Of the two, [that is,] the mind-stuff and the physical-object the level is distinct, [that is,] the procedure is different. In

other words there is a difference between the mental-process and the physical-object. Why is this? Because while the physical-object is the same there is a difference of mind-stuffs. That mental-process with regard to the same woman is in the case of the husband a mental-process of pleasure; in the rival wives, a mental-process of pain; in the case of the lover, if he does not get her, infatuation, [that is,] despondency; in the case of him who has cast off love, a mental-process of indifference. Because the assertion 'What you have seen, that I have seen too' is uncontradicted by any one, one may say that there is one physical-object and several mental-processes. Thus there is a difference between them. Anything that is one is different from something that is many. Just as the mental-process blue is different from the mental-processes of yellows. And one physical-object is accordingly different from the several mental-processes, which have it as their field of operation. Nor is it proper to say that the object-of-a-valid-idea is identical with the valid-idea. Because if the unity were accepted, it would be opposed [to the usual ideas] of objects and of one who knows the object. And besides, if no intended-object existed, then [the different] mental-processes cannot possibly assume the forms of blue and yellow and so on. Nor can you say that a subconscious-impression of the nature of the object-of-the-valid-idea is the cause of the blueness or yellowness. Because that which is no more [a physical-object] cannot be the cause [of anything]. Nor can you [Patañjali] ask us [the Buddhists] 'How do you explain how there is a variety of mind-stuffs from one single intended-object.' For an intended-object is constituted of the three aspects (*guṇa*); and the *sattva* and *rajas* and *tamas* pertaining to the intended-object come up in spite of pressure (*samudrekāt*) on account of right-living or wrong-living or undifferentiated-consciousness. As a result of this [the *sattva* and so on] cause pleasure and pain and infatuation. And [fourthly] on account of the indifference the intended-object is the cause of the knowledge of the reality, because in this case the aspects are in equilibrium. Thus all is reasonable. Therefore we say that physical-objects do exist over and above mental-processes.

As regards that which somebody says 'We admit that there may be many intended-objects apart from mental-processes.

But that [object] being inert is to be known by a mental-process [and is therefore] vivid [by intelligence, that is,] it has no existence when not known'—he should be asked to tell us when [the object] is produced. If you [the Buddhist] say it is produced from mind-stuff, which is nothing but mental-processes, as knower, [two questions are to be asked]. Is the physical-object, the water-jar, the effect of the mind-stuff of the single Chāitra? Or is it the effect of many mind-stuffs belonging to Chāitra and to Māitra and to others? It is not the first. Accordingly he says—

16. And a thing is not dependent upon a single mind-stuff; [for then] it would be unproved, and then what would it be?

If the water-jar, which is a physical-object, were to be the effect of a single mind-stuff, then while that mind-stuff is absorbed in such things as cloth, would it be <unproved,> [that is,] would it be destroyed? [We say it would be destroyed.] Nor could you say that you accept this exclusion (*iṣṭāpattiḥ*). Because when that very same water-jar is seen again, there is a recognition that it is the same which is not falsified by anything; and because even when one mind-stuff is absorbed by one thing, then [this jar] is seen by another mind-stuff. Accordingly a thing is not dependent on one mind-stuff. Nor yet is it dependent on several mind-stuffs. Because 1. that which is presented-for-a-moment-without-substance (*prātibhāsika*) is invariably (*niyamāt*) dependent on one mind-stuff, like a dream; and because 2. the unacceptable conclusion would follow that new and different water-jars would be produced when a jar which was being seen by one is afterwards seen in relation to several minds. [He gives the reason for this.] Because there is a difference in the totality of causes [in the two cases]. Furthermore at the time when the belly is seen the back does not exist. Thus it would follow that even the belly would not exist. Therefore the thing is not presented-for-a-moment-without-substance, but is over and above the mind-stuff and independent of it. This is established.

The objector says 'According to the system the supernormal-powers of the mind-stuff would know everything at all times, because it is in relation to everything.' In reply to this he says—

17. *A thing is perceived or not perceived by virtue of its affecting [or not affecting] the mind-stuff.*

Although the organs and the mind-stuff, because they are products of the personality-substance, are all-pervading, still their relation when asleep in the personality-substance is not a cause of making objects flash [on the mind]. But [they are the cause of making objects flash] when they are phenomenalized by karma and when they have a body underlying them. And thus led by the organs the mind-stuff is affected by that object with regard to which the mind-stuff receives the flashing [on itself] which consists in the reflection of intelligence (*cit*) lying upon [the mind-stuff] itself. The Self lights up (*cetayati*) this object by means of the fluctuation which has the same form as that [object], by means of a reflection of the Self in the thinking-substance; and not any other [object]. Thus a thing is perceived or not perceived. Consequently the mind-stuff, in accordance as it is affected by this object [or not], sometimes perceives it and sometimes not. Thus the point is that it is in mutation because the object is [now] perceived and now [not] perceived.

‘If so, the self would be in mutation.’ In reply to this he says—

18. *Unintermittently the Master of that [mind-stuff] perceives the fluctuations of mind-stuff and thus the Self undergoes no mutations.*

Now the Self has the mind-stuff with all its fluctuations, distracted and infatuated and what not, as its object. If this [object, the mind-stuff,] were not to be known by the Self at the time when [the mind-stuff] itself exists (like the sounds and other [perceptible] things) which are objects of mind-stuff and [perceived] by the mind-stuff, then the Self would be in mutation like the mind-stuff. [Why so?] Because it would follow that this [Self] would be the perceiver only with reference to the mutations of the fluctuations when having this or that form. What then is the use of the two kinds of things in mutation? For the Self would not be other than the mind-stuff. But the mind-stuff’s fluctuations, perceived at their own time of existence, as objects for experience, and as having the form of sounds and other [perceptible] things, make known the

the immutability of the master, [that is,] the experiencer of that object-for-experience. For only because the witness undergoes no mutation are they by that very fact uninterruptedly perceived and not otherwise.

The objector says 'Suppose that the mind-stuff is momentary and has lumination in itself and lightens itself and its own object. What is the use of the witness?' In reply to this he says—

19. *It does not have light in itself since it is an object-for-sight.*

If one says 'I am happy; I am angry; my mind is at peace' just as one says 'The water-jar is beautiful,' one cannot say that the mind-stuff has light in itself, [that is,] has lumination in itself; because it is an object-for-sight. The point is this. What is this having lumination in itself? Surely not having the object and the act of lumination undistinguished from each other. Because it is impossible that there should be unity of an act and of the object of an act. For the going is not gone to, but a village. Nor can you say that the mind-stuff is not the object of the lumination which is different from itself, as the Self is. Because if I say 'My mind is angry,' the mind-stuff is an object of experience. Hence because it is an object-for-sight it must have a Seer over and above itself. And the mind-stuff cannot be momentary because there is the recognition that 'I am the same.'

Moreover—

20. *And there cannot be a cognition of both [thinking-substance and thing] at the same time.*

The momentary theory maintains that in the same moment a cognition of both kinds, of the mind-stuff and of the intelligence (*cāitanya*), is impossible. To explain. When I say 'I saw the banyan tree,' there is a remembering of the mind-stuff and of the intended-object producible from the experience of these two. In this moment of the mind-stuff how is there an experience of these two? Nor may you say that the mind-stuff is itself the experience of both the kinds. 1. If the object were produced by the mind-stuff, then at the moment when the object [is produced and dies] the mind-stuff does not exist. 2. And if it were not produced by this [mind-stuff],

it would be impossible that the intended-object should be perceived by this [mind-stuff], because there would be no production of it or of the identity of [object and mind-stuff], although the object might exist at the same time with it. 3. If you were to say that mind-stuff can be known out of relations, then you would have to admit that mind-stuff knows everything. For this is said by the Buddhists "The production of that which does not [correspond to] it and the identity of [object and mind-stuff] which does not hold is not known by this mind-stuff." It has been declared that the mind-stuff has neither an experience of itself, since it is an object-for-sight; nor has it the two kinds of experiences belonging to itself and to its object, since what is quite momentary has no functional-activity over and above that of production. For it has been said "Whatever is the being of a thing that is itself the action and the means-related-to-action." And there is no reason in saying that there is a distinction in effect resulting from a single thing when there is no distinction in functional-activity. Nor yet is it possible in sleep to make simultaneously the perception and the object to be perceived. Consequently in the witness alone there is the experience of the mind-stuff and of the intelligence. Thus the point is settled.

The objector says 'Granted that the mind-stuff is not an object-for-sight to itself; let it be seen by another mind-stuff. What use is there of a witness?' In reply to this he says—

21. If [one mind-stuff] were the object-of-sight for another, there would be an infinite regress from one thinking-substance to another thinking-substance as well as confusion of memory.

If a mind-stuff formed blue were the object-of-sight for another mind-stuff, then that mind-stuff formed as thinking-substance [would be the object] for another thinking-substance, and that too for another. Because an infinite regress would be formed. Nor could you say that objects-of-knowledge might consist of two or three, three or four, or five or six mind-stuffs and so be a complex of states. 1. Because if you are not sure that there is a mind-stuff which knows, you cannot be sure there is a mind-stuff which is the object known. 2. Because if there is doubt whether one sees the water-jar in the house or not; and if you are negatively sure that one

does not see it, then it follows that, in so far as you are not sure of seeing the object, the failure of the mind-stuff as perception is not the reason why you are not sure of the object. If there is an experience by numberless mind-stuffs one after another there would be also confusion of memory of the numberless mind-stuffs. Because as the result of this numberlessness of memories it would be impossible to know anything, and because there is no one to know, the distinction 'This is the memory of the blue' and 'This is the memory of the yellow' would not exist. So it is established that mind-stuffs are upon an equality and so it is not possible that one should be knower [and also known], like lamps [which cannot be both perceivers and perceived]. Consequently the mind-stuff must be cognized by the witness.

The objector asks 'Because the witness who is absolutely unchanged has no relation with the mind-stuff which would be consequent upon an action, how can the mind-stuff be conscious as this or as that?' In reply to this he says—

22. The intelligence (citi), which unites not with objects is conscious of its own thinking-substance when [the mind-stuff] takes the form of that [thinking-substance] [by reflecting it].

There is an interconnection, [that is,] a union with the water-jars and other objects by the action of the thinking-substance, because it is in mutation. But the union of the intelligence (*citi*) with the thinking-substance is not so, because it is not in mutation. On the other hand, when the intelligence is reflected in the thinking-substance, just as the sun is reflected in water, and when the thinking-substance is changed into the form of the intelligence, [the intelligence] is conscious of the thinking-substance, in so far as it is its object-of-experience. As being in the relation of object-for-knowledge, by containing the image of the intelligence, the mind-stuff is affected by the intelligence and is cognized by the intelligence. As a result of the nearness of the intelligence which unites not with objects, this intelligence has a form, [that is,] an image. When there is a change into the nature of this [image of the intelligence], then [the intelligence] has a consciousness of the thinking-substance which is to be experienced by itself. Such is the connection [of the intelligence with the mind-stuff].

The objector raises the question 'If the self is something over and above the mind-stuff, how then is it that some persons make the mistake of thinking that the mind-stuff is the self?' In reply he says that the source of these persons' mistake is the mind-stuff's capacity to know all objects.

23. Mind-stuff affected by the Seer and by the object-for-sight [leads to the perception] of all objects.

The Seer, [that is,] the Self is intelligent; the object-for-sight, [that is,] the sounds and other [perceptible] things, is unintelligent. That which [leads to the perception] of all objects is that of which the intended-object, [that is,] the province, is all objects, both the intelligent and the unintelligent. By the nearness of the one to the other [all this] is changed over, as it were, into the form of the intelligence and becomes affected by the Seer, [that is,] by the intelligence and the province of the Seer; [and] by means of the organs and so forth [all this] becomes affected by the object-for-sight and takes its form. And thus, although the mind-stuff is the object-for-sight and has the form of the sounds and [other] perceptible things which are to be experienced and is in essence a kind of experience characterized by mutations of pleasure and pain and so on, yet the mistake of the Buddhists, who think that [the mind-stuff] is not different from the reflection of the intelligence is reasonable. Because the mind-stuff,—which in reality is almost like a crystal gem, that is pure and that has the tendency to assume the forms of such objects as the hibiscus flower,—assumes the form of the object-for-sight, there is no object over and above mind-stuff. Such is the mistake of the Idealist theory. The distinction in this case is of this kind. Because the mind-stuff is the object-of-experience, it must be admitted that it is other than the experiencer; he is declared to be the permanently aroused power of intelligence (*cit-ṣakti*). Two-fold is the power of intelligence, the permanently aroused and the manifestable. Of these two, the permanently aroused and absolutely unchanged power of intelligence has the power of intelligence as experience, as it is itself, manifestable by the mind-stuff's *sattva* and as being the reflection of intelligence after having become changed into likeness with pleasures and so on. And this experience is two-fold. The one, as ending in intelligence, [that is, leading

to release]; and the other, characterized as mutation. Of these two, the first is the manifestable power of intelligence, the second is the experience of the Self, the mutation into pleasure or something when the thinking-substance has acquired intelligence. Thus having discriminated between the thinking-substance and the Self, he is sure that the mind-stuff, which has dispelled the whole net of taints, and is concentrated like the flame of a motionless lamp, and is undisturbedly-calm in its flow, is the reality of the Self. This is the import [of the whole thing].

And as a result of this the enjoyer is other than the mind-stuff. Accordingly he says—

24. This mind-stuff [although] diversified¹ by countless subconscious-impressions, exists for the sake of another, since its nature is to produce things by combining causes.

Although, in so far as its substance is in pleasure and the like, [the mind-stuff] is like the experiencer and diversified by numberless subconscious-impressions by the fruition of the karma from the hindrances, still in the sense that it perfects the two purposes, experience and release, for another, [that is,] for one whose real nature is being intelligence to which nothing is ascribed, it is said to exist for the sake of another. In other words, it is only an object-of-experience, not an experiencer. Why is this? Because it causes such effects as experience, by bringing together, [that is,] assembling such a combination as the body and the organs. That is for the sake of another which has its effect caused by assembling [its parts], a water-jar for instance. For a house, by combining parts and what not, does not make a dwelling for itself, but for the sake of another, Vishvamitra. Similarly it is reasonable to say that the aspects (*guna*) also make the thinking-substance and the rest for the sake of another. Consequently because they are subordinate to the Self they are called aspects. And so if we may say that the *sattva* and the others are for the sake of another, since they act by combining causes, as in the case of a house, then because this middle-term (*hetu*) becomes an attribute of the major-term it is proved that there

¹ The reading is evidently *citram*.

is one who is not combined from the aspects, who is undefiled [by aspects], who is motionless, who has his purpose in himself, and aims at intelligence and nothing else. Whoever is the experiencer of anything is not combined from that thing, for instance the master of the house. As a result of this concomitance, if the experiencer of the aspects were also for the sake of another, then because of the infinite regressus, there would be nothing higher than the Self in accordance with the Sacred Word [Kāth. Up. iii. 11]. Therefore it is proved that he whose two purposes of experience and of liberation are to be accomplished by the thinking-substance made of aspects, he who is to be favored by pleasure and repelled by pain, is the experiencer.

By the group of sūtras up to this point he has determined the perfection of birth and so on, and [determined] the mind-stuff which is fit for release from among [all] the mind-stuffs. And after having first dilated (*prapañca*) upon karma and sub-conscious-impressions, by proving the existence of objects apart from mental-processes, he has determined in detail another world and the experiencer who is to [go] to the other world. Now in order to discuss Isolation he shows who it is that is competent for this [Isolation].

25. *For him who sees the distinction, pondering upon his own states-of-being.*

Some excellent (*dhāureya*) person meditates upon, [that is,] has the curiosity to know, the truth as regards the self, on the strength of his former good deeds, and asks 'Where am I; to whom do I belong; or whence do I come?' The curiosity to know the reality on the part of this competent person, who is the one who sees the distinction, by means of the discrimination already referred to, (which would be the thought 'I am a Self; other than a thinking-substance; intelligence and nothing more')—ceases. Because a desire is removed when the object of desire is obtained. But that heterodox person, whose meditation upon the self as being identical with the non-self is firm, and who thinks in this manner 'There is no experiencer other than the body and the thinking-substance,—he is not competent. The point is that he who desires to know the reality is a competent person.

The objector asks 'After there is a seeing of the distinction on the part of him who desires to know the reality, of what sort is the mind-stuff?'

26. Then the mind-stuff is borne down to discrimination, onward towards Isolation.

That mind-stuff which formerly at the time of the error of the self with regard to the thinking-substance and so on was borne down to objects, on towards the round-of-rebirths, is now that mind-stuff, belonging to the yogin whose error has ceased, which is borne down to discrimination. The discrimination is the difference between the Seer and the object-for-sight. It is borne onward towards, [that is,] it has a spot on which it rests; in other words the goal of discrimination. Accordingly that which [moves] <onward towards Isolation> is that of which the limit towards which [it moves] is Isolation. The final result of Isolation is that the mind-stuff becomes absorbed in the contemplation called the Rain-Cloud of [knowable] Things.

The objector asks 'In such a mind-stuff whence come the emergent presented-ideas such as 'I' or 'mine?' In reply to this he says—

27. In the intervals of this mind-stuff there are other presented-ideas [coming] from subliminal-impressions.

In the case of him who is intent upon the Elevation (*prasaṅkhyāna*), which consists in discriminative discernment, day by day other presented-ideas, emergent in form, arise from the subliminal-impressions of emergence, which are manifested in the intervals of the Elevation.

The question is raised 'Even if there is Elevation, subliminal-impressions of emergence arise for work. What means is there for rejecting these?' In reply to this he says—

28. The rejection of these is described as being like the rejection of hindrances.

Undifferentiated-consciousness and passion and the rest of the hindrances, attenuated by the yoga of action, spreading out by taking opportunity after opportunity, when burned by the fire of Elevation (*prasaṅkhyāna*), do not again generate

a subliminal-impression in the mind-stuff. Thus subliminal-impressions of emergence produce other presented-ideas at the time when discrimination is not ripe; and when in the state of seeds burned by the burning which comes from the ripened Elevation they have not the property of generation. Thus it is to be understood that the rejection is described as being like that of the hindrances.

Thus having described the restriction of the emergence by Elevation, he tells of the means for restricting even the Elevation, which consists in emergence as compared with seedless yoga.

29. For one who takes no interest even in respect of Elevation there follows in every case, as a result of discriminative discernment, the Rain-Cloud of [knowable] Things.

The discernment into the difference between the *sattva* and the Self, which arises in one who beholds the twenty-five entities, has as its subordinate results the authority over everything, [and similar [results]]. This is the Elevation (*prasamkhyāna*). <For one who takes no interest even> in this—the word interest (*ku-sīdasya*), [that is,] passion being used in the sense that it sits (*sīdati*) upon objects which are bad (*kut-siteṣu*)—for one who has none of this, the discriminative discernment only which consists of a series becomes, as being undivided in itself, the concentration called the Rain-Cloud of [knowable] Things. And this is said to be a Rain-Cloud of [knowable] Things in the sense that it rains, [that is,] showers right-living, that is, of course, neither-white-nor-black, as the result of Isolation. When there is the Rain-Cloud of [knowable] Things as the result of passionlessness with regard to Elevation, the restriction of Elevation comes to pass as the result of the rise of the higher passionlessness.

He makes this order clear—

30. Then follows the cessation of the hindrances and the karmas.

<Then> [that is,] from the Rain-Cloud of [knowable] Things there follows the repression of the five hindrances together with the subconscious-impressions which have their root in these, and also of the karmas.

31. Then, because of the endlessness of perception from which all obscuring defilements and obscurations have passed away, what is yet to be known amounts to little.

Obscurations are so called because they obscure the mind-stuff. Defilements consist of karma from hindrances and are made of *rajas* and *tamas*. All these, both the obscurations and the defilements, [are what he means] by saying <all defilements and obscurations.> Because of the endlessness of perception resulting from these, by reason of the contemplation [called] Rain-Cloud of [knowable] Things, which is the shining of pure thinking-substance, the <what is yet to be known,> [that is,] everything whether intelligent or unintelligent is very little. Just as in autumn when every defilement, whether it be cloud or any other thing, has passed away from the sky, and when on all sides there is a circle of the light of the fierce sun brilliantly shining, then such things as water-jars capable of receiving light amount to little. Likewise for the ever-undefiled *sattva* of the thinking-substance what, pray, is there that is not its field of operation! This same highest limit of the Rain-Cloud of [knowable] Things has been made known. Hence it is called [knowable] things (*dharmāḥ*); but not according to the etymological sense of those things that are supported (*dhriyante*). All knowable things it rains, [that is,] enlightens. So he calls it a Rain-Cloud of [knowable] Things. For this same perfection of the Rain-Cloud of [knowable] Things is the undisturbed calm of perception, which makes the Self visible as being flawless [as plainly as] a myrobalan put on the palm of one's hand,—and which casts light as one would cast light upon fish in undefiled water, upon the defects such as impurity and destruction which are found in objects of sight that are evolved-forms of the material and impure primary-substance,—and which brings about the treasure called the seedless yoga for the [poor] ascetic mind-stuff. This is called the higher passionlessness.

The objector says 'This higher passionlessness wearing completely the hindrances away may be able to destroy utterly the deposits, auspicious or inauspicious, of karma, yet—because the aspects are of themselves disposed to mutation—the sequence of mutations, the body, the organs and so on (*ādi*), with regard

to such a Self also, might continue to act.' In reply to this he says—

32. When as a result of this the aspects (guṇa) fulfill their purpose, they attain to the limit of their sequence of mutations.

<When as a result of this> [that is,] after the endless knowledge which is in essence the higher passionlessness, [that is] the fruit of the Rain-Cloud of [knowable] Things, and before the aspects have effected the purposes of the Self which consist in experience and in discriminative discernment. That sequence of mutations, beginning with the Great [thinking-substance] and ending with water-jars, by conforming to the regular order, is resolved at the time of the dissolution as a water-jar into earth, and in the inverse order the earth was resolved into water, the water into fire, and so onwards. This was the sequence which was completed by the aspects with reference to that Self. For because the Self has purposes, the purpose of the Self which has a future time-form is an impulsion to the aspects. When this [purpose] is fulfilled the aspects are not able to remain even for a moment. This is the point.

He tells the meaning of the word sequence.

33. A sequence is the correlate to a moment and is recognized as such at the final limit of the mutation.

Moments are portions of time (*kāla*). [Their] sequence is knowable by the thinking-substance which is concentrated upon them. In these words <a sequence is the correlate to a moment> the nature of the <sequence> is pointed out. It is said to be the correlate of the moment because two moments are indicated as its correlates. Thus the sequence of mutations from moment to moment is to be considered. He tells what the proof of this is. <And is recognized as such at the final limit of the mutation.> Thus in the case of clay the perceived mutations, round-lump, water-jar, potsherds, dust, have a prior limit, and a final limit. In this manner by mentioning the prior and the final termination the sequence is determined and becomes an object of knowledge. When we recognize that the water-jar comes after the round lump the sequence is

perceived there. By seeing the oldness in a well-kept garment, for instance, one perceives, moment by moment, beginning with the mutation of newness as the previous limit, the difference in the oldness [by the successive stages] of most subtle, rather subtle, subtle, rather coarse, and most coarse as they come to pass; and the sequence may be inferred as [soon as one sees] that the most subtle oldness comes after the newness and that the rather subtle oldness comes after that. The objector asks 'Is this sequence in impermanent things only, or is it also in permanent things also?' If this question is asked, we say that it is in permanent things also. There are two kinds of permanents. The Selves are absolutely unchanged permanents; the aspects are permanents in mutation. The substance in which the essential-attribute (*svarūpa*) is not lost while in mutation as external-aspect and as time-characteristic and as intensity is a permanent in mutation. With regard to these, in case of impermanent substances such as thinking-substances, although there is a previous limit of the sequence of such a mutation as passion, yet there is a final limit, the immediate experience of the Self. Thus in these the sequence has a termination. In the case of the aspects, which are permanent in mutation, the sequence of the mutation has no termination. Because although it ceases in respect of released Selves, it is not cut off in respect of bound Selves. The objector asks whether all Selves are released or not? If the first [alternative be true], the mutation in the primary-cause has a termination; if the second [alternative be true], there is no belief in your knowledge of the reality. On this point the Master of the Sāṃkhya says [Bhāṣya on iv. 33] that there is a three-fold question 1. capable of an absolute answer, 2. capable of a partial answer, 2. incapable of answer. 1. Of these [three] the first is as follows. The question is 'Will this whole species die?' This may be answered absolutely, It will die. 2. But how do you answer the second question? This is capable of a partial answer. He who has discernment of the reality is released, and no other. And thus because living beings are endless and because it is revealed in the Purāṇas and elsewhere that creations and dissolutions are endless, there is no release for all. 3. But the third question is whether the sequence of mutations of the primary cause is completed or not. This question is incapable of answer, because it is

impossible to make a definite assertion. Or else this question is explainable by saying that the sequence of the round of rebirths has an end for fortunate beings, but not for the unfortunate.

Accordingly there is always a sequence, the aspects which are permanent and in mutation, because there is a difference in the mutation which occurs in sequence. In the Selves which are absolutely unchanged the sequence is not physically-real, but is predicated by attributing [to the Selves] the difference of mutation found in the thinking-substance and the rest. Thus all is cleared up.

He now shows what Isolation is, the result of the yoga which was to be taught by the authoritative book.

34. Isolation is the return of the aspects (guṇa), no longer provided with a purpose by the Self, to their original condition; or it is the Energy of Intellect (citi-śakti) grounded in itself.

Now that the aspects of the thinking-substance and of the rest of the [entities] have accomplished experience and liberation [for the Self], which was the task which they had to accomplish, they are generated inversely in the contrary direction and are resolved in the central-organ as subliminal-impressions of the higher passionlessness of the emergent concentration. And the central-organ is resolved into the feeling-of-personality; and this into the Great [thinking-substance]; and the Great Entity into the aspects. Such is a mundane dissolution. This Isolation of the primary-cause is transferred to a particular Self. Or else, the Energy of Intellect, which is the very Intellect itself, [that is,] an individual Self, abides in itself and in nothing else in a preeminent degree. So it is <grounded> in itself. That is, it is again out of relation finally with the purposelessness of the thinking-substance and the rest [of the entities]. This same is the Isolation of the light of the permanent Self permanently purified in its union with itself. Thus [all] is satisfactory. The word *iti* in the sūtra is intended to show the completion of the book.

1. Ceaselessly I bow to Rāghava, who is the source of all perfections, who is the Lord, who gives Isolation. All actions if dedicated to Him (*yatra*) produce yoga without [need of the] aids to yoga. His (*yad*) speech which is a fire for the performance of the Mystic Syllable,¹ after having burned at once the forest of hindrances, produced the unflickering lamp of knowledge which cleanses the darkness.

2. The Great Lord, the husband of Umā, whose dwelling is in Kāçī, the slightest favor from whom produces all kinds of prosperity, such as release, I worship.

3. May my speech be a garland of pearls, placed forever at the feet of Rāma, and woven around the thread (*sūtra*) of the Lord of Serpents [Patañjali], and adorned by the [costly] jewel (*maṇi*) [in the middle of the string] which is the speech of Vyāsa.

4. What a difference (*kva . . . kva*) between me given to mistakes and the master's affection [for me]! The mind of the great is indeed naturally full of compassion for the helpless.

¹ This word *praṇava* might refer to the Veda or even to something heterodox.

The Expression of Indefinite Pronominal Ideas in Hebrew.—By FRANK R. BLAKE, Ph. D., Johns Hopkins University.

Introduction.

Between the territory occupied by the demonstratives and that filled by the numerals lies a group of ideas that are usually classed together under the head of indefinite pronouns. For example in English, 'same' and 'many' are both classed as indefinites, tho 'same' is practically a demonstrative, and 'many' is closely related to the cardinal numerals.

The study of this linguistic territory is attended with considerable difficulty in most languages, since many ideas are expressed, not by any special word, but by a circumlocution or by some type of construction. This territory, therefore, can not well be studied on the basis of special words and forms, but must be approached from the point of view of the ideas themselves.

Indefinite pronominal ideas may be divided into three main classes, viz.:

- 1) indefinite demonstratives,
- 2) indefinite cardinal numerals,
- 3) indefinite ordinals.

The chief indefinite demonstrative ideas are the following, viz.:

- a) the identifying, 'this equal to that', e. g., Eng. 'same',
- b) the emphasizing, 'this indeed', e. g., Eng. 'self',
- c) the comparing, 'like this', e. g., Eng. 'such',
- d) } the combining, { 'this not that', e. g., Eng. 'other',
- e) } { 'this and that', e. g., Eng. 'both',
- f) } { 'this or that', e. g., Eng. 'either',
- g) } { 'neither this nor that', e. g., Eng. 'neither',
- h) the distributive { 'these separately', e. g., Eng. 'each',
 { 'all of these separately', e. g., Eng. 'every'.

The indefinite cardinal numerals may be divided into three sub-classes, according to what they refer to, viz.:

- 1) indefinite individualizing pronouns,
- 2) indefinite quantitative pronouns,
- 3) indefinite numerals referring to more than one.

The chief indefinite cardinal numeral ideas are the following, viz.:

A. Five classes that refer to individuals, quantities and numbers; the indefinite numerals proper:

- a) 'an individual, part or number, known but not mentioned', e. g., Eng. 'so and so, such and such'.
- b) 'an individual, part, or number unknown, but specially singled out', e. g., Eng. 'a certain one, a certain, certain'.
- c) 'an individual, part, or number unknown', e. g., Eng. 'someone, some'.
- d) 'an individual, part, or number that may be desired or chosen', e. g., Eng. 'anyone, any'.
- e) 'the negation of one, quantity, number', e. g., Eng. 'no one, nothing, none, no'.

B. Ten classes that refer only to quantities and numbers. These classes may be grouped in three divisions, viz.:

1) the comparative indefinites,

- a) 'a large quantity or number', e. g., Eng. 'much, many',
- b) 'a larger quantity or number', e. g., Eng. 'more'.
- c) 'the largest quantity or number', e. g., Eng. 'most, the most'.
- d) 'a small quantity or number', e. g., Eng. 'a little, few'.
- e) 'a smaller quantity or number', e. g., Eng. 'less, fewer'.
- f) 'the smallest quantity or number', e. g., Eng. 'the least, fewest'.

2) the sufficive indefinites,

- a) 'a sufficient quantity or number', e. g., Eng. 'enough'.
- b) 'a quantity or number smaller than sufficient', Eng. 'too little, too few'.
- c) 'a quantity or number larger than sufficient', Eng. 'too much, too many'.

- 3) the comprehensive indefinite,
 'the quantity or number complete', e. g., Eng. 'everything, all'.

The chief indefinite ordinals are, viz.:

- a) 'the next, following',
- b) 'the middle',
- c) 'the last',
- d) 'the next to last, last but one'.

These ideas have usually three uses. They may be employed absolutely to refer to a noun, like the indefinite pronouns in English, e. g., 'each did as he was told'; 'many are called, but few chosen'; &c.: they may be employed partitively, denoting a part of some definite whole, e. g., 'some of the men', 'many of them', &c.: or they may be used attributively to limit or define the meaning of a noun, like the English indefinite pronominal adjectives, e. g., 'each man', 'many houses', &c.

All of these ideas may be employed in all three ways except the simple indefinite demonstratives 'same', 'self', 'such', which lack the partitive use. The partitive and attributive uses sometimes fall together, e. g., with Hebrew כָּל 'all'; sometimes the absolute and partitive constructions are the same, e. g., with the Hebrew combining indefinite demonstratives 'both', 'either', 'neither'. These may be said to be used attributively when they modify a single noun; when they stand in apposition to a plural pronoun, or a combination of two nouns, tho this is really an absolute construction, they have practically a partitive use.

In my article on the Comparative Syntax of the combinations formed by the Noun and its Modifiers in Semitic¹, I stated that "the material for the discussion of these important modifying ideas (the indefinite pronominal ideas used attributively) is exceedingly meager: in no Semitic grammar are they fully and satisfactorily treated". The same thing is true with regard to the other uses of these ideas, and the present article is an attempt to supply this lack as far as Hebrew is concerned.

The article is entirely descriptive, no attempt being made to institute extended comparisons with the sister Semitic idioms or with other tongues. Comparative material will be found

¹ Published in JAOS 32, parts 2 and 3, pp. 135—267; cited in the following pages as *Comp. Syn. Noun and Mod.* For some addenda and corrigenda to this article cf. p. 227, n. 1.

in Brockelmann's *Comparative Syntax*¹, and also, for the attributive use of these ideas, in the article of mine just referred to.

The article is based primarily on the study of the Hebrew text, but Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebräische Grammatik*²³, Leipzig, 1909; and Gesenius-Buhl, *Handwörterb. über d. Alte Testament*¹⁵, Leipzig, 1910; have been used as standard works of reference².

In the present article the expression of the indefinite pronominal ideas in Hebrew is discussed according to the classification just outlined, and in all three uses absolute, attributive, and partitive. Numerous examples are given under every heading, in many instances all or practically all of the cases of occurrence are cited. The signs " in Hebrew and ... in English indicate an abbreviated word or passage. A long vowel due to pause is marked with Silluq, viz. — .

Indefinite Demonstratives.

Same.

The idea of 'same' employed absolutely in the sense of 'the one already referred to' is expressed by the simple demonstratives or by the pronouns of the third person, e. g.,

הִנֵּה הָאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר אָמַרְתִּי אֵלֶיךָ זֶה יַעֲזֹר בְּעַמִּי 'here is the man of whom I spoke to thee; this [same] shall rule my people' (I Sam. 9, 17; cf. Gen. 5, 29).

וַיִּגַּר מִיָּה JHVH... and he pours out of this [same]' (Ps. 75, 9).

עוֹד אִישׁ אֶחָד הוּא מִכִּיָּהוּ בֶן־יִמְלָא 'there is yet one man ... the same is Micaiah son of Imla' (II Ch. 18, 7; cf. Esth. 9, 1; Ezr. 10, 23;—הֵיאָה Gen. 10, 12; 14, 8; 23, 2; 48, 7; Jos. 15, 8; II Sam. 5, 7;—הָמָּה Gen. 6, 4).

וְהָיָה אֲשֶׁר־אָמַר אֵלֶיךָ זֶה יֵלֶךְ אִתָּךְ הוּא יֵלֶךְ אִתָּךְ 'and the one of whom I shall say *he shall go with thee*, the same shall go with thee' (Jud. 7, 4bis)³.

¹ C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, Bd. II, Berlin, 1913—especially pp. 81—87: cited as *Comp. Syn.*

² These are cited as Gesenius-Kautzsch and Gesenius-Buhl: E. König, *Historisch-Comparative Syntax der Hebräischen Sprache*, Leipzig, 1897 (cited as König, *Syntax*) was also employed.

³ This use of the personal pronoun of the third person is similar to its use in the sense of 'self', cf. p. 127, and also to its use as copula.

מִקְשָׁה תִּיעָשֶׂה הַמְנוֹרָה יִרְכָּה וְקָנָה" מִמֶּנָּה יִהְיֶה 'of beaten-work the candlestick shall be made, its shaft and its branches . . . shall be of the same' (Ex. 25, 31; 37, 17; cf. 25, 36; 37, 22:—מִמֶּנּוּ Ex. 27, 2; 37, 25; 38, 2; 28, 8; 39, 5).

"וַיִּצְמִידָה" זָכְרוּ לְעוֹלָם בְּרִיתוֹ 'remember his covenant for ever . . . and he has confirmed the same . . .' (I Ch. 16, 15—17; cf. Ps. 105, 8—11; Job 4, 8).

בַּשָּׁנִים עֶשְׂרֵת חֹדֶשׁ" בַּשְּׁלוֹשָׁה עָשָׂר יוֹם בּו 'in the twelfth month . . . on the thirteenth day of the same' (Esth. 9, 1; cf. 17; 18; 21).

מִמּוֹרֶה-שָׁמֶשׁ וְעַד מָבוֹא 'from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same' (Mal. 1, 11).

זֹאת לֹא-זֹאת 'this shall not be the same' (Ezk. 21, 31[?]).

The pronoun of the third person has apparently also developed the meaning of 'same' as predicate to more than one thing or to several states or times of one thing, e. g.,

וְאַתָּה הוּא 'but thou art the same' (Ps. 102, 28; cf. Is. 41, 4; 43, 10; 13; 46, 4; 48, 12; Jer. 5, 12[?]).

קָטָן וְגָדוֹל שָׁם הוּא 'small and great are the same there' (Job 3, 19).

In its attributive use this idea is not clearly distinguished from the demonstratives, being often indicated by the demonstrative pronouns, e. g.,

בַּלַּיְלָה הַהוּא 'in that same night' (Gen. 26, 24).

בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא 'on that same day' (Gen. 15, 18).

בַּשָּׁנָה הַהִיא 'in that same year' (Jer. 28, 17).

אֵת־הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה 'these same words' (Gen. 44, 6).

הָאִישׁ הַמִּדְּבָר הַהוּא 'that same poor man' (Ecc. 9, 15).

וְהָיָה הַטּוֹב הַהוּא אֲשֶׁר יֵטִיב יְהוָה עִמָּנוּ וְהַטָּבָנוּ לָךְ 'and it shall come to pass that the same goodness which JHJVH does to us, we will do to you' (Num. 10, 32).

Sometimes the pronoun of the third person (= remoter demonstrative) is placed without article after the noun in the sense of 'same', just as it is in the constructions of 'self' (cf. p. 127), e. g.,

וַתִּשְׁקֵן אֶת־אָבִיהֶן יַיִן בַּלַּיְלָה הַהוּא 'and they made their father drink wine that same night' (Gen. 19, 33; cf. 30, 16; 32, 23: I Sam. 19, 10)¹.

In I Ch. 1, 27; Prov. 28, 24 הוּא may be regarded either as 'same' or as copula.

¹ Of course it is possible to regard בלילה הוא &c. as בליל ההוא, or as

The personal pronoun of the third person seems to be placed before noun + demonstrative in the Aramaic fashion¹, the whole having the sense of 'same' in—

הוא-הלילה הזה ליהוה 'this same night is JHWH's' (Ex. 12, 42).

Attributive 'same' in the sense of 'that already referred to' may be expressed by placing before the modified noun a pronoun of the third person agreeing with the noun in gender and number. The noun may be either common or proper; 'same' + proper noun is regularly expressed in this way. The independent form of the pronoun is used when the noun is nominative, the suffix when it is in any other case (acc. or after preposition). When the suffix stands after a case-determinative (את or preposition), this determinative may be repeated², e. g., הוא רשע בְּעוֹנוֹ יָמוּת 'that same wicked man shall die in his iniquity' (Ezk. 3, 18).

וּבַעַת הַהִוא לוֹ וַיִּסָּפֶה לְמַעוֹל בִּיהוּה הוּא הַמֶּלֶךְ אָזְחוֹ 'and in the time of his oppression, this same king Ahaz trespassed yet more against JHWH' (II Ch. 28, 22).

וַיַּעֲשׂוּ גַם־הֵם חֲרָמִים מִצָּרִים "בֶּן . . . thus' (Ex. 7, 11).

וַתֵּרָאֶה אֶת־הַיֶּלֶד 'and she saw that same boy' (Ex. 2, 6; cf. 35, 5; Lev. 13, 57; Jer. 9, 14; Ezk. 3, 21).

בָּבֹאוֹ הָאִישׁ 'when this same man came . . .' (Ezk. 10, 3; cf. 42, 14; Ezr. 3, 12).

אֵילוֹ הָאֶחָד 'woe to this same one . . .' (Ecc. 4, 10).

corrupted by haplography from בלילה ההוא, but it is not necessary. Gen. 38, 21 אֵינָה הַקְּרָשָׁה הוּא בְּעִינִים עַל־הַדֶּרֶךְ 'where is the harlot that was openly by the road', does not belong here, the הוּא being rather relative than attributive in character.

¹ Cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gramm.*² Leipzig, 1898, p. 172, § 227.

² These cases are ranged by Gesenius-Kautzsch (§ 131*k*—*n*) under the so-called Permutative, a kind of appositive, but the emphatic meaning is not referred to. In all the examples here given the noun which is emphasized occurs before in the context immediately preceding. The emphatic character of this construction was noted in my *Comp. Syn. Noun and Mod.* (p. 147) but the exact character of the emphasis I did not recognize at the time.

While still emphatic, the examples in which an element in some oblique case is resumed after an interval by a following suffix are of a different character, cf. Gen. 2, 17; 3, 3; I Sam. 9, 20; II Sam. 6, 23:—Gen. 13, 15; 21, 13; 47, 21; I Sam. 25, 29; II Ki. 9, 27; Is. 51, 22; (cf. p. 122, n): אתו—אתו I Sam. 9, 13. Here the first element is in the nature of an absolute case, the sense being 'as regards—'.

אֶל־הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי נָתַן לָהֶם לְבָנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל 'to the land that I give to these same Israelites' (Jos. 1, 2; cf. Num. 32, 33; Jud. 21, 7; II Ch. 26, 14; עליה Jer. 51, 56; מהם I Ch. 4, 42; עמו Dan. 11, 11).

"הֲלֹא־הוּא יְחַזְקֶהוּ הַסִּיר אֶת־בָּמֹתָיו" 'did not this same Hezekiah remove his high-places . . . ' (II Ch. 32, 12; cf. 33, 23).

אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי הָלֹךְ לְהַרְנִיעוֹ יִשְׂרָאֵל 'when I went to make this same Israel rest' (Jer. 31, 2).

'וַיַּעֲדוּ אֲנָשֵׁי הַבָּלְעֵל אֶת־נִבּוֹת' 'and the worthless fellows gave evidence against this same Naboth' (I Ki. 21, 13; cf. II Ki. 16, 15 *Kt.*).

אֲשֶׁר לֹא יַעֲבֹדוּ אוֹתוֹ אֶת־נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּצַּר 'who will not serve this same Nebuchadnezzar' (Jer. 27, 8).

לֹא הָיָה מִשְׁקָל לְחֻשְׁתָּם כָּל־הַכֵּלִים הָאֵלֶּה 'the brass of all these same vessels was not weighed' (Jer. 52, 20 [contrast II Ki. 25, 16]; cf. Ezr. 2, 62. Neh. 7, 64; I Ch. 7, 9; 25, 1).¹

'Same' when it means 'one and the same' is expressed both absolutely and attributively by the numeral אֶחָד 'one' without article, e. g.,

"אֲשֶׁר יָבוֹא" אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יִקְרָא אֶחָת דָּתוֹ 'any man . . . who comes . . . without being called, the law for him is the same . . . ' (Esth. 4, 11; cf. Job 23, 13; Gen. 41, 25).

כָּל־מִקְרָה אֶחָד לְכָל 'all have the same fate' (Ecc. 9, 3; cf. 2; 2, 14; 3, 19; 20; 6, 6; Gen. 40, 5; 41, 26; Ex. 12, 49; 26, 2; 36, 9; 15; Lev. 7, 7; 24, 22; Num. 15, 16; 29; I Sam. 6, 4; I Ki. 6, 25; Ezk. 45, 11; Mal. 2, 10*bis*; Prov. 1, 14; Job 31, 15).

In one passage the plural of the numeral 'one' is employed attributively in this sense, viz.,

וַיְהִי כָל־הָאָרֶץ שִׁפְהָ אֶחָת וּדְבָרִים אֶחָדִים 'and the whole earth was of the same [one] speech and of the same words' (Gen. 11, 1).²

For the definite article used in a sense somewhat similar to this אֶחָד cf. under 'some' p. 165.

Occasionally the word עצם 'bone, essence' is employed in the construct before the modified noun in connection with a demonstrative modifying the noun to indicate this idea, e. g.,

¹ For other less certain cases of this genitive construction cf. König, *Syn.*, § 284a. The following noun may also stand after ל (or in late Hebrew שֶׁל); the construction does not seem to be emphatic: cf. for ל Ezr. 9, 1; for שֶׁל Cant. 3, 7; also König, *Syn.*, § 284c—e.

² Somewhat similar is the use of absolute אֶחָדִים Ezk. 37, 17.

הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה 'on the same day' (Gen. 7, 13; 17, 23; 26; cf. Ezk. 24, 2).

The particle **אֵת** is occasionally employed before a noun in the nominative case in an emphatic sense that is at times equivalent to attributive 'same'. Sometimes it occurs together with a demonstrative,¹ e. g.,

אֵת-עַמּוּד הָעָנָן לֹא-סָר מֵעֲלֵיהֶם 'that [same] pillar of cloud did not depart from them' (Neh. 9, 19; cf. Ezk. 35, 10; 43, 7).

אֵת-כָּל-הָרָעָה הַזֹּאת בָּאָה עָלֵינוּ 'all this same evil came upon us' (Dan. 9, 13; cf. Jud. 20, 44; 46).

The opposite of 'same' viz., 'different' is expressed by the participle **שָׁנָה** of the verb **שָׁנָה** 'change, become different', e. g., **וְכָלִים מִכָּלִים שָׁנִים** 'and the vessels were all different' (Esth. 1, 7). **וְרִתֵּיהֶם שְׁנוֹת מִכָּל-עַם** 'and their law is different from [that of] all other people' (Esth. 3, 8).

The idea 'different among selves, various' applied to one noun is expressed by the noun repeated with connective **וְ**, e. g., **לֹא-יְהִיָּה לָךְ בְּכִסְפֶּךָ אֶבֶן וְאֶבֶן גְּדוֹלָה וְקַטָּנָה** 'don't have in your purse various [different kinds of] weights, a large one and a small one' (Dt. 25, 13; cf. 14; Prov. 20, 10; 23).

בִּינוּ שְׁנוֹת דֹּר וָדֹר 'consider the years of different generations' (Dt. 32, 7).

בְּלֵב וּלֵב יִדְבְּרוּ 'with various hearts [double heart] they speak' (Ps. 12, 3; cf. I Ch. 12, 33).

It is expressed by the simple plural of the word **סָנִי** 'kind, sort', in—

אֲשֶׁר מָלֵא בְּשָׂמִים וּנְיָנִים מְרֻקָּחִים 'which they filled with perfumes and various sorts [of spices] prepared as salves . . .' (II Ch. 16, 14).

For the repeated plural in this sense cf. p. 153, n. 1.

¹ This **אֵת**, however, is usually simply a strong demonstrative; so in Num. 5, 10; Ezk. 20, 16; Neh. 9, 34: **אֵת אֲשֶׁר** occurs as nominative in Jer. 27, 8; 38, 16 *Kt.*; Zech. 12, 10; Ecc. 4, 3: (cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 117*m*). Cases which are intermediate between this use of **אֵת** and its ordinary use are, **כִּי אֵת-כָּל-הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר רָאָה לָךְ אֶתְנַנָּה** 'for all the land that thou seest, I give it to thee' (Gen. 13, 15; cf. 21, 13; 47, 21; I Sam. 25, 29; II Ki. 9, 27; Is. 51, 22) where the fact that the preceding object after **אֵת** is resumed by a suffix makes the object very much like a nominative absolute. In Mishnic Hebrew **אֵת** + suffix is used in the sense of 'that', 'same' (cf. my article *Comp. Syn. Noun and Mod.*, p. 148). This is a combination of this use of **אֵת** with nominative, with constructions for 'same' like **אֵתוֹ אֶת-נְבוֹכַדְנֶצַּר** (Jer. 27, 8), cf. p. 120*f*.

Self.

This idea may modify either a personal pronoun or a noun. In connection with the oblique cases of pronouns it constitutes the so-called reflexive pronouns. In the first case it may be represented simply by the unemphatic pronoun (pronoun implied by verbal form, single pronoun in non-verbal sentence, or simple suffix), e. g.,

אָעִירָה שָׁחַר 'I myself will awake early' (Ps. 57, 9; 108, 2).¹

אַתָּה הָאִישׁ 'thou thyself art the man' (II Sam. 12, 7; cf. I Sam. 24, 18).

וַיַּעַשׂ לוֹ אֶהְדוּד חֶרֶב 'and Ehud made himself a sword' (Jud. 3, 16; cf. Num. 8, 17; Ru. 4, 6).

וַיִּקַּח אֶת־שְׁנֵי נְעָרָיו אִתּוֹ 'and he took his two young men with him [self]' (Gen. 22, 3).

וְאַהֲבֵתָ לְרֵעֶךָ כָּמוֹךָ 'and love thy neighbor as thyself' (Lev. 19, 18; 34).

וְהִרְאֵנִי אֹתוֹ וְנוֹהוּ 'and he will show me himself and his habitation' (II Sam. 15, 25; cf. Ex. 5, 19; Jer. 7, 19; Ezk. 34, 2; 8; 10).²

The emphasis may be indicated by repetition of the pronoun: when the pronoun is subject, by pronoun + verbal form in verbal sentence,³ by repeated pronoun in non-verbal sentence. Sometimes the independent pronoun is used twice even in a verbal sentence, e. g.,

וְלִרְאוֹת שְׁהֵם־בְּהֵמָה הָמָּה לָהֶם 'and that they might see for themselves, that they themselves were beasts' (Ecc. 3, 18).

אֲנִי נָתַתִּי שַׁפְחָתִי בְּחִיקְךָ 'I myself put my maid-servant in your arms' (Gen. 16, 5; cf. אֲנִי II Sam. 18, 2; Jer. 21, 5).

הַמִּיתָנִי אֶתָּה 'slay me thyself' (I Sam. 20, 8).

הוּא עָשָׂנוּ וְלֹא אֲנִי 'he hath made us and not we ourselves' (Ps. 100, 3).

וַיֵּצֵא אֶת־נַעֲרֹו שָׁם וְהוּא־הָלַךְ בְּמִדְבָּר 'and he left his servant there. and he himself went into the desert' (I Ki. 19, 3—4; cf. Is. 38, 15; Prov. 11, 25; 21, 13; II Ch. 26, 20).

¹ The emphasis here may be due to the cohortative ending ה־ָ.

² The accusative of the reflexive pronoun is more commonly expressed by the reflexive forms of the verb, cf. p. 126.

³ Not infrequently a pronoun subject before a verb, while still somewhat emphatic, has not the meaning of 'self', cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 135*a* (at end). In late passages, particularly in Ecclesiastes, the pronoun subject is used after the verb without special emphasis, cf. *op. cit.* § 135*b*. Cf. unemphatic נַפֵּשׁ, p. 126, n.

יִצְלָו 'for they themselves alone shall be saved' (Ezk. 14, 18; cf. 16).

"אֲנַחְנוּ יַחַד נִבְנֶה" 'for we ourselves together will build' (Ezr. 4, 3; cf. Num. 32, 17).

"אֲנִי אֶנִּי אֶמָּר" 'I myself will tear . . . ' (Hos. 5, 14; cf. Jud. 5, 3; Is. 48, 15).

וְהִיא-גַּם-הִיא אָמְרָה 'and she herself said . . . ' (Gen. 20, 5).

רְאוּ עַתָּה כִּי אֲנִי הוּא 'see now that I myself am he' (Dt. 32, 39).

אֲנִכִּי אֲנִכִּי הוּוֹה 'I indeed, I myself, am JHVVH' (Is. 43, 11; 26; 51, 12).

אַתָּה נוֹרָא אַתָּה 'thou thyself art terrible' (Ps. 76, 7).

הֵם הֵם נוֹרָא 'they indeed are thy lot' (Is. 57, 6).

One, usually the first, of the two pronouns may be a suffix after הֵנָּה or an infinitive; when the predicate is a finite verb it may stand with ו after the repeated pronoun, e. g.,

הִנֵּנִי-אֲנִי וְרִשְׁתִּי אֶת-צֹאֲנֵי 'behold I myself will search out my sheep' (Ezk. 34, 11; cf. 20).

וַיְהִי בְרָאִיתִי אֲנִי דְנִיָּאל אֶת-הַחֲזוֹן 'and when I myself, Daniel, saw the vision' (Dan. 8, 15).

הִנֵּנִי עָלֶיךָ גַּם-אֲנִי 'behold I myself am against thee' (Ezk. 5, 8).

הִנֵּנִי אֲנִי מְבִיא עָלֵיכֶם חֶרֶב 'behold I myself will bring upon you a sword' (Ezk. 6, 3).

וְאֲנִי הִנֵּנִי מְחַדֵּק אֶת-לֵב מִצְרַיִם 'and behold I myself will harden Egypt's heart' (Ex. 14, 17; cf. Is. 52, 6).

When the pronoun is in any oblique case the emphasis may be represented by the emphatic suffixes, i. e., suffix in connection with independent pronoun¹; the independent pronoun may precede or follow the suffix; it is often accompanied by גַּם, אַף, 'also', e. g.,

בְּרַכְנִי גַם-אֲנִי 'bless me also' (Gen. 27, 34; cf. Zech. 7, 5).

הוֹרַעְתִּיךָ הַיּוֹם אַף-אַתָּה 'I have made you, even you, know to day' (Prob. 22, 19).

אֲנִכִּי בְדֶרֶךְ נִתְנִי הוּוֹה 'JHVVH led me, even me, in the way . . . ' (Gen. 24, 27).

גַּם-אֲנִי יִקְרַנִּי 'even me myself it will befall' (Ecc. 2, 15).

¹ According to Gesenius-Kautzsch § 135f, the emphatic suffix occasionally loses its emphasis, e. g., I Sam. 20, 42; Ps. 38, 11. In the first of these cases the independent pronoun is the logical antecedent of 'both', cf. p. 146; in the second הֵם is equivalent to 'self', emphasizing not the suffix but the noun, cf. p. 127.

noun.¹ When נָפֶשׁ is subject the verb usually agrees with it in the feminine singular, but may agree in person with the suffix according to the last construction, e. g.,

תָּמַת נַפְשִׁי עִם־פְּלִשְׁתִּים 'let me myself die with the Philistines' (Jud. 16, 30).

וְנַפְשָׁם בָּשָׁבִי הִלָּכָה 'they themselves have gone into captivity' (Is. 46, 2).

נַפְשִׁי בְּתוֹךְ לָבָאִם אֲשַׁנָּכָה 'I myself lie among lions' (Ps. 57, 5).

כִּי־הוּא אֹהֵב לֵב אֹהֵב נַפְשׁוֹ 'he who gets wisdom is a lover of himself' (Pr. 19, 8; cf. Num. 30, 6; 7; Ezk. 3, 21; 14, 14; Am. 2, 14; 15; Ps. 17, 13; 22, 30; Job 32, 2; Ecc. 6, 2).

אַל־תִּשְׁאוּ נַפְשֵׁיכֶם 'deceive not yourselves' (Jer. 37, 9).

לֵב יֵרַע קִרְתּוֹ נַפְשׁוֹ 'the heart knows its own bitterness' (Prov. 14, 10).

וְהַגָּדוֹל דִּבֶּר הַרַּע נַפְשׁוֹ הוּא 'and the great man speaks his own evil desire' (Mi. 7, 3).

When the case of the pronoun is accusative or dative, the emphasis may be expressed by the reflexive idea in various verbal forms, chiefly the Niphal or Hithpael, e. g.,

וְאֵינִי אֲנִי עָרֹם וְאֵינִי נָחָב 'and I was afraid because I was naked, and I hid myself' (Gen. 3, 10; cf. Num. 12, 6 הִתְוַדַּע; Jud. 16, 20 בָּנַעַר; 11 Sam. 22, 24 הִשְׁתַּמֵּר; Job 9, 30 הִתְרַחֵץ).

וְהִסְתָּר מִפָּנָיו הַסֵּדֶר 'separate thyself from him' (Gen. 13, 9; cf. Ex. 34, 2 בָּנַח; Num. 16, 13 הִשְׁתַּחֲרַח; 11 Ki. 22, 19 נִכְנַע).

וַיִּתְחַזַּק דָּוִד בַּיהוָה אֱלֹהָיו 'and David strengthened himself in JHVH his god' (1 Sam. 30, 6; cf. Lev. 25, 49 בָּנָאֵל; Job 27, 10 הִתְעַנֵּן).

וְהִיא מִתְנַבֶּרֶת 'and she shall feign herself another' (1 Ki. 14, 5; cf. Lev. 24, 9 בָּחַל).

וְנִגְלִינוּ אֵלֵיהֶם 'and we will discover ourselves to them' (1 Sam. 14, 8; cf. Gen. 44, 16 הִצְטַדַּק; Jer. 50, 5 בָּלוּהוּ).

וְהִשְׁעֲנוּ תַּחַת הָעֵץ 'and rest yourselves under the tree' (Gen. 18, 4; cf. 49, 1 בָּאֶסְפָּה; Num. 31, 3 בָּחֻלִין; Dt. 14, 1 הִתְנַדֵּר; Is. 52, 3 בִּמְכוֹר).

כִּי הִתְבָּאֲשׁוּ עִם־דָּוִד 'that they had made themselves hateful to David' (1 Ch. 19, 6; cf. Ex. 19, 22 הִתְקַדַּשׁ; Ps. 2, 2 הִתִּיצַב).

¹ In a sense very similar to this נֶפֶשׁ are employed בָּשָׂר 'flesh' (in Ecc. 4, 5; 5, 5) and לֵב 'heart' (in Ex. 9, 14). נֶפֶשׁ + suffix is sometimes employed without special emphasis as the equivalent of a simple personal pronoun, e. g., as subject Gen. 27, 4; Num. 21, 5; Ezk. 4, 14; Ps. 105, 18; Job 16, 4; after prep. Ps. 14, 1; Job 16, 4.

דָּוִד שָׁאַל לְנַפְשׁוֹ 'David asked for himself from me' (I Sam. 20, 6; cf. 28; Neh. 13, 6).

וַיִּתְּפֹשֶׁט יְהוֹנָתָן אֶת־הַמָּעִיל 'and Jonathan took off from himself his mantel' (I Sam. 18, 4; cf. Gen. 3, 8 דָּהַלֶּךְ; Ex. 32, 3 הַצִּיּוּר; Jos. 9, 12 הַצִּיּוּר).

וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ אֶרְצָה 'and he prostrated himself on the ground' (Gen. 18, 2).

The expression 'by—self' is rendered by לְבַד 'in separation' or by בְּגֵו 'in body' + suffix, e. g.,

וְאִם אֶכְלֵה בְּעַדִּי 'and if I have eaten my morsel by myself' (Job 31, 17; cf. Is. 44, 24; 49, 21).

כִּי־יֹשֵׁב אַתָּה 'why dost thou sit by thyself' (Ex. 18, 14).

וַיָּשִׂמוּ לוֹ לֶכְדוֹ וְלֶהֱמֹתָ לְבָדָם 'and they put on [food] for him by himself, and for them by themselves' (Gen. 43, 32).

אִם בָּנָפוּ יָבֹא בָנָפוּ 'if he came by himself, he shall go by himself' (Ex. 21, 3).

The expression 'to—self' = 'secretly' after a verb of saying or thinking is expressed by עַם, אֵל or אֵל (עַל) + לִב 'heart' or קֶרֶב 'interior' + suffix, e. g.,

וַיֹּאמֶר לְבָדוֹ 'and he said to himself' (Gen. 17, 17; cf. Ps. 4, 5; 10, 6).

וַתִּצְחַק שָׂרָה לְבָדָהּ 'and Sarah laughed to herself' (Gen. 18, 12; cf. Ps. 62, 5; 94, 19).

וַיֹּאמֶר אֲנִי לְבָדִי 'I said to myself' (Ecc. 1, 16).

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֵלֵי־לָבֹ 'and JHWH said to himself' (Gen. 8, 21; cf. 24, 45; I Sam. 27, 1; על I Sam. 1, 13).¹

When the idea of 'self' modifies a noun, it is expressed by the pronoun of the third person in apposition with the noun: the usual position of the appositive seems to be after the noun, tho it may also precede.² When the noun is governed by a preposition the emphatic pronoun may stand in the absolute form or as suffix after the preposition repeated, e. g.,

לָכֵן יִתֵּן אֲדֹנָי הוּא לָכֵם אוֹת 'therefore my Lord himself will give you a sign' (Is. 7, 14; cf. Lev. 17, 11; Num. 18, 23; Jos. 22, 23).

אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁלְטוּ הַיְּהוּדִים הֵמָּה בְּשֹׁנְאֵיהֶם 'so that the Jews themselves prevailed over their enemies' (Esth. 9, 1; cf. Ps. 38, 11 נִבְחָה).

¹ In these examples the idea of 'within', 'secretly' is giving way or has given way to the simple reflexive idea 'self', i. e., לִב has practically become the equivalent of נַפֶּשׁ, cf. p. 125 f., also p. 126, n.

² Cf. the similar constructions of 'same', p. 119.

יְבָרֵךְ אֶת-הָאֲדָמָה וְהוּא יְבָרֵךְ אֶת-הָאֲדָמָה 'and the Highest himself will establish her' (Ps. 87, 5).

וְיִתְרוֹן אֶרֶץ בְּכָל הוּא מֶלֶךְ לְשָׂדֶה נֶעֱבֶד 'and the profit of the earth is for all, the king himself is served by the field' (Ecc. 5, 8).

וְאוֹר עֵינַי גָּם-הֵם אֵין אִתִּי 'and the light of my eyes themselves also is gone from me [not with me]' (Ps. 38, 12; cf. Num. 4, 22).

אֶת-יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת יְקַדִּישׁ 'JHVH of Hosts, himself ye shall sanctify' (Is. 8, 13).

וְלִשֵׁת גַּם-הוּא יֵלֶד-בֶּן 'and to Seth himself also a son was born' (Gen. 4, 26; cf. 10, 21; Ex. 35, 34).

עוֹר הָעֹלָה לָפָנָיו לַיהוָה 'the skin of the offering, shall be for the priest himself' (Lev. 7, 8; cf. Ezk. 10, 13).

וּבָשָׂר כִּי יִהְיֶה בּוֹ-בָעֹר שָׁחִין 'and any flesh in whose own skin is a swelling' (Lev. 13, 18).

וְיָשְׁבוּ בָּהּ יְהוּדָה וְכָל-עָרֶיהָ 'and they shall dwell in Judah itself and all its cities' (Jer. 31, 24).

In a few cases when the noun is dependent on a preposition, 'self' is expressed by the noun עֵצֶם, גֶּרֶם 'bone' in the construct before the noun, e. g.,

כְּעֵצֶם הַשָּׁמַיִם לְטָהָר 'like the heaven itself in clearness' (Ex. 24, 10).

בְּעֵצֶם הָעֹר 'in his strength itself, the very fulness of his strength' (Job 21, 23).

אֶל-גֶּרֶם הַמַּעֲלוֹת 'on the stairs themselves' (II Ki. 9, 13).

Such.

In rare cases this idea is left to be understood from the context, e. g.,

מִכָּל-הָאֵכָל אֲשֶׁר יִבּוֹא עָלָיו מִיָּם יִטְמָא 'any of all food . . . upon which [such] water gets, is unclean' (Lev. 11, 34—cf. בְּמִיָּם v. 32).

וְכָל-מִשְׁקָה אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁתֶּה בְּכָל-כֵּל יִטְמָא 'and every draught that is drunk in every [such] vessel, is unclean' (*ibid.*—cf. v. 32).

This idea is sometimes simply expressed by the pronoun of the third person or by the demonstrative, e. g.,

לֹא כֵן הֵנָּה מְשׁוֹשׁ דְּרָכּוֹ 'lo, such is the joy of his way' (Job 8, 19).

נִפֶּשׁ אֲשֶׁר תִּגַּע בּוֹ 'anyone, who touches such a thing' (Lev. 22, 6; cf. 7, 18;¹ 27, 9).

¹ Cf. מִכֵּיזֵי 'something', 'anything' p. 175.

זֶה דּוֹר דֹּרְשׁוֹ 'such is the generation of those that seek him' (Ps. 24, 6; cf. 48, 15; 49, 14; Job 18, 21).

אֲך־אֵלֶּה מִשְׁכְּנוֹת עֹנֵל 'but such are the dwellings of the wicked' (Job 18, 21).

נַעֲשֶׂתָה הַתּוֹעֵבָה הַזֹּאת בְּקִרְבְּךָ 'that this [such an] abominable thing was done among you' (Dt. 13, 15; Jud. 19, 24; cf. II Sam. 13, 12; 19, 37).

כִּי תוֹעֵבָת יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ כָּל־עֲשֵׂה אֵלֶּה 'for an abomination to JHVH thy God is everyone that does these [such] things' (Dt. 25, 16; cf. Ezk. 17, 15).

מִי־יִתֵּן וְהָיָה לָבָבָם זֶה לָהֶם 'would that they had such a heart' (Dt. 5, 26).

Ordinarily, however, 'such', used both absolutely and attributively, is expressed by כ + suffix of third person or demonstrative. The meaning is often more strongly demonstrative than simple 'such', viz., 'such as he, like him', 'such as this, like this', &c. When this combination stands absolutely as subject, the verb agrees with the pronoun after כ; בְּאֵלֶּה is treated as feminine plural.¹ Examples of its absolute use are, e. g.,

אוּ הֲנִשְׁמַע כָּמוֹהוּ 'or was such a thing heard?' (Dt. 4, 32).

וְלֹא־נִרְאוּ כָהֶם לְפָנַי 'and such were not seen before' (II Ch. 9, 11).

הַקֶּבֶה יִהְיֶה צִום אֲבִתְרֵהוּ 'is such the fast that I have chosen' (Is. 58, 5).

לֹא נִרְאָתָה כְּזֹאת 'such a thing was not seen' (Jud. 19, 30; cf. I Sam. 4, 7; Jer. 2, 10; II Ch. 30, 26).

וְלָמָּה חֲשַׁבְתָּה כְּזֹאת עַל־עַם אֱלֹהִים 'and why hast thou thought such a thing against God's people' (II Sam. 14, 13; cf. Jud. 13, 23; 15, 7; Is. 66, 8; Ezr. 7, 27).

וּתְקַרְאָנָה אֵתִי כְּאֵלֶּה 'and such things have happened to me' (Lev. 10, 19; cf. Job 12, 3 כְּמו־אֵלֶּה).

וְלֹא יַעֲשֶׂה כֵהֵן 'and he will not do such things' (Ezk. 18, 14).

מִי רָאָה כְּאֵלֶּה 'who has seen such things' (Is. 66, 8; cf. Jer. 18, 13).

When used attributively this combination usually stands after its noun, either immediately or with the relative אֲשֶׁר interposed; it may however precede its noun; the pronoun after כ agrees with the modified noun, e. g.,

¹ The simple demonstrative אֵלֶּה is also sometimes treated as feminine, e. g., Ex. 21, 11; Is. 49, 15: here, however, with feminine antecedent.

אֲרָבָה כְּמֹהוּ 'such locusts' (Ex. 10, 14; cf. Neh. 13, 26; II Ch. 35, 18).

אִם לְעֵת כְּזֹאת 'whether for such a time' (Esth. 4, 14; cf. Ezr. 9, 13).

מִי כְּמֹהוּ מוֹרֶה 'who is such a teacher as he' (Job 36, 22).

הֲנִמְצָא כָּזֶה אִישׁ אֲשֶׁר רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים בּוֹ 'can we find such a man as this in whom is the divine spirit' (Gen. 41, 38).¹

כְּגוֹי אֲשֶׁר כָּזֶה 'on such a nation' (Jer. 5, 9; 29; 9, 8).²

Attributive 'such' may also be expressed by placing כ before a noun modified by a demonstrative, e. g.,

לְדַבֵּר אֲלֵיהֶם בְּדִבְרֵים הָאֵלֶּה 'to speak such things to them' (Jer. 38, 4; cf. I Sam. 2, 23; Dan. 10, 15; Neh. 6, 8).

כִּי לֹא נַעֲשֶׂה בַּפֶּסַח הַזֶּה מִיָּמֵינוּ 'for such a passover was not held from the days . . . ' (II Ki. 23, 22; cf. 7, 19).

The combination of 'such' with a descriptive adjective and modified noun³ may be formed in several ways. The construction may be noun + adjective + 'such', כ + noun + adjective + demonstrative, or כ + noun + demonstrative + ל + abstract denoting the quality expressed by the adjective, e. g.,

וְעוֹד נֹסֵף עֲלֵיהֶם דְּבָרִים רַבִּים כְּהֵנָּה 'and there were added to them besides many things such as those' (Jer. 36, 32).

וְלֹא יוֹסִפוּ לַעֲשׂוֹת בְּדִבְרֵי הָרָע הַזֶּה 'and they shall do no more such an evil thing' (Dt. 13, 12; 19, 20).

הֲנִהְיָה בְּדִבְרֵי הַגָּדוֹל הַזֶּה 'whether there has been such a great thing' (Dt. 4, 32).

לֹא בָּא כַּבֶּשֶׂם הַהוּא עוֹד לְרֹב אֲשֶׁר " 'there had never come such an abundance of spices as . . . ' (I Ki. 10, 10).

When the noun is not expressed 'such' may be placed before the adjective; or, in the construction with ל + abstract, it may replace noun + demonstrative, e. g.,

שָׁמַעְתִּי כַּאֲלֵה רַבּוֹת 'I have heard many such things' (Job 16, 2).

וְכֵהָנָה רַבּוֹת עִמּוֹ 'and many such things are with him' (Job 23, 14).

לֹא רָאִיתִי כְּהֵנָּה בְּכָל-אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם לְרַע 'I had not seen such ill-favored (heifers) in all the land of Egypt' (Gen. 41, 19).

¹ Here אִישׁ may be also regarded as in apposition to כֹּזֶה, viz., 'such a one as this, a man in whom . . . '

² Such constructions as this belong grammatically under 'such' modified by a relative, cf. p. 131.

³ In most of the examples that occur the adjective is רַב 'many' (cf. p. 187 ff.), but other adjectives would doubtless be treated in the same way.

Simple 'such' may have the additional idea of 'some', 'any': 'no such' is expressed by 'such' in connection with a negative; cf. in examples given above beginning on p. 129, II Ch 9, 11; Jud. 19, 30; Ezk. 18, 14; II Ki. 23, 22; Dt. 13, 12; I Ki. 10, 10.

When the idea of 'such' is modified by a following relative clause, several constructions are employed. 'Such' may not be expressed at all; it may be expressed as in a simple sentence (cf. above) with the relative clause added; it may be expressed by כ + suffix or by adverb in the dependent clause; כ may be placed before the relative אשר, e. g.,

נִפְלְאוֹת אֲשֶׁר לֹא נִבְרְאוּ בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ 'wonders such as have not been done in all the earth' (Ex. 34, 10; cf. II Ki. 21, 12; I Ch. 29, 25).

עֵת צָרָה אֲשֶׁר לֹא נִהְיְתָה מִן 'such a time of trouble as never was since ...' (Dan. 12, 1).

וְלֹא הָיָה בְּבִשָּׁם הָהוּא אֲשֶׁר נָתַנָּה מַלְכַּת־שֶׁבָא לַמֶּלֶךְ שְׁלֹמֹה 'and there were no such spices as the Queen of Sheba gave to king Solomon' (II Ch. 9, 9; cf. I Ki. 10, 10).

בְּרָד כָּבֵד מְאֹד אֲשֶׁר לֹא הָיָה כָּמוֹהוּ בְּמִצְרַיִם 'such very heavy hail as never was in Egypt' (Ex. 9, 18; 24).

צִעָקָה גְּדוֹלָה אֲשֶׁר כָּמוֹהוּ לֹא נִהְיְתָה 'such a great cry ... as never was' (Ex. 11, 6 *bis*).

אִישׁ אֲשֶׁר כָּמוֹנִי 'such a man as I' (Gen. 44, 15).

אֶל־הַכֶּלֶב הַמֵּת אֲשֶׁר כָּמוֹנִי 'to such a dead dog as I am' (II Sam. 9, 8).

הֲאִישׁ כָּמוֹנִי יִבְרַח 'will such a man as I flee' (Neh. 6, 11).

וְעֹשֶׁר אֶתֵּן־לָךְ אֲשֶׁר לֹא הָיָה כֵּן לַמְּלָכִים אֲשֶׁר "and I will give thee such riches ... as none of the kings that ..." (II Ch. 1, 12).

מִמְעַמִּים כָּאֲשֶׁר אֶהְבֵּתִי 'savory things such as I love' (Gen. 27, 4).

The idea of 'such' modified by a clause of result is found in—

וְהוּא בֶן־בְּלִיעַל מִדְּבַר אֵלָיו 'and he is (such) a worthless fellow that you cannot speak to him' (I Sam. 25, 17).

Sometimes the idea of 'such' is expressed by the adverbs כֵּן, כֵּכָה, 'so, thus', which modify the verb or the non-verbal predicate, e. g.,

לֹא בָּא כֵּן עֲצֵי אֲלֻמִּנִים עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה 'there came no such alnug trees ... up to this day' (I Ki. 10. 12).

מְעִילִים בְּנוֹת-הַמֶּלֶךְ "מְעִילִים" 'for such mantels did the princesses . . . wear' (II Sam. 13, 18).

מִבְּטָנוּ הִנֵּה-כֵּה 'behold such is our expectation' (Is. 20, 6).

וְעֵשֶׂר "אֲשֶׁר לֹא הָיָה בִּן לְמִלְכִּים אֲשֶׁר לְפָנָיו" 'and such riches . . . as no kings before you had' (II Ch. 1, 12; II Sam. 13, 12).

עַל-מָה עָשָׂה יְהוָה בָּכָה לְאַרְץ הַזֹּאת 'wherefore has JHWH done such things to this land' (Dt. 29, 23; cf. Jer. 22, 8; Ps. 144, 15).

Such an adverb is employed pleonastically with the regular expression for 'such' in—

לְפָנָיו לֹא הָיָה בִּן אַרְבָּה כְּמֹהוּ 'there were never such locusts before' (Ex. 10, 14).

Other.

The idea of 'other' is often left without definite expression in connection with a noun or pronoun that taken literally includes a preceding element with which it is contrasted, but is understood not to do so, e. g.,

וְהִנֵּה-שָׁכְבָה (יָדוֹ) בְּבָשָׂרוֹ 'and behold his hand had become like his [other] flesh' (Ex. 4, 7).

אֲנִי יְהוָה "אֲשֶׁר הִבְדַּלְתִּי אֶתְכֶם מִן-הָעַמִּים" 'I am JHWH who have separated you from the [other] peoples' (Lev. 20, 24; cf. 26; Ezk. 16, 34; Hos. 3, 3; 9, 1; Ps. 73, 5).

וְלִפְנֵי כָל-חֲצִיר יִיבֹשׁ (אֲחוֹ) 'and before all [other] herbs the flag withers' (Job 8, 12; cf. Gen. 43, 34; Lev. 7, 24; Dt. 7, 7; Jud. 16, 17).

לֹא-הָיְתָה עִיר בְּלִמְתִּי חֲחִוִּי "אֶת-הַחֵבְלִי לָקַחְוּ בְּמִלְחָמָה" (that of) the Hivites, all [the others] they took in war' (Jos. 11, 19; cf. Job 24, 24; II Ch. 32, 22[?]).

וְהָיִיתִי כְּאַחֵד הָאָדָם 'and I shall be like any [other] man' (Jud. 16, 7; cf. Num. 36, 3).

וְהָיִיתִי כְּכָל-הָאָדָם 'and I shall be like all [other] men' (Jud. 16, 17).

וּבִי־שְׂרָאֵל וּבִשְׂרָאֵל 'both in Israel and among [other] men' (Jer. 32, 20).

The ordinary way of expressing the idea is by means of אַחֵר used as pronoun or adjective; when only two are in question שֵׁנִי 'second' is usually employed instead of אַחֵר (tho not necessarily; cf. II Ch. 3, 11; 12; I Ki. 3, 22 below). Without article these words mean 'another, other', with article 'the other, the others', e. g.,

יִקַּח אֲחֵר 'let another take his office' (Ps. 109, 8; cf. Job 8, 19¹).

וְסֹדֶר אֲחֵר אַל-תִּגְלֵל 'and do not disclose a secret to another' (Prov. 25, 9).

וְכְבוֹדִי לְאֲחֵר לֹא-אֶתֶּן 'and my glory I will not give to another' (Is. 42, 8; 48, 11; cf. Job 31, 10).

קַח כִּי אֵין אַחֶרֶת וּזְלָתָה בְּזֶה 'take it, for there is no other besides it here' (I Sam. 21, 10; cf. II Sam. 13, 16).

וַיַּעֲמֵד אֲחֵרִים בַּמָּקוֹם 'and he set others in their stead' (Job 34, 24; cf. Job 31, 10; Ps. 49, 11; Neh. 5, 5).

כֶּסֶף אֲחֵר 'other money' (Gen. 43, 22; cf. Lev. 14, 42).

זֶרַע אֲחֵר 'another offspring' (Gen. 4, 25; cf. 30, 24; Ex. 34, 14; Jud. 2, 10; I Sam. 10, 6; 9; Is. 65, 15).

רוּחַ אַחֶרֶת 'another spirit' (Num. 14, 24).

בְּגָדִים אֲחֵרִים 'other clothes' (Lev. 6, 4; cf. Ex. 23, 13; Dt. 7, 4).

אֲבָנִים אַחֲרוֹת 'other stones' (Lev. 14, 42).

הַכְּרוּב הָאֲחֵר 'the other cherub [of two]' (II Ch. 3, 11; 12).

הָאִשָּׁה הָאַחֶרֶת 'the other woman [of two]' (I Ki. 3, 22).

וְאִילוֹ הָאֲחֵר שִׁיפֹל וְאֵין שֹׁנֵי לְהִקְמוֹ 'woe to this same² one when he falls, and there is no other to raise him up' (Ecc. 4, 10).

וְאֶת-הַשְּׂנִי יַעֲשֶׂה עֹלָה 'and of the other he shall make a burnt offering' (Lev. 5, 10).

וְהַשְּׂנִית 'and besides, moreover [the other thing]' (II Sam. 16, 19).

וּפָרִי-שְׁנִי תִקַּח לְחֻטָּאת 'and another bullock thou shalt take as a sin-offering' (Num. 8, 8; cf. II Ki. 9, 19).

מִדָּה שְׁנִית הִתְחַק מִלְכָּה 'another stretch repaired M.' (Neh. 3, 11).

הַכֶּבֶשׂ הַשְּׂנִי 'the other lamb' (Ex. 29, 39; 41; cf. 19; Lev. 8, 22; I Ki. 6, 25; 26; II Ki. 25, 17; Jer. 52, 22; Zech. 11, 14).

לְפָנֶי הַשְּׂנִית 'on the other side' (Ex. 38, 15; cf. 26, 4; 5; 36, 11; 12; 26, 20; 36, 25; Neh. 12, 38).

'Other' in the sense of 'in addition to' is usually represented by the adverb and quasi-verb עוֹד 'yet' (cf. p. 195), rarely by שְׁנִית 'a second time', e. g.,

הֲעוֹד לָכֶם אָח 'have you another brother besides' (Gen. 43, 6).

וַיֹּאמֶר "עוֹד אִישׁ אֲחֵר" 'and he said, there is yet another man' (I Ki. 22, 8; cf. 7).

¹ אחר as collective (?) subject of plural verb.

² Cf. p. 120f.

עוד נגע אחר אביא על-פרעה 'yet one other plague will I bring upon Pharaoh' (Ex. 11, 1).

ויקח דוד עוד פלגשים ונשים מירושלם 'and David took other concubines and wives in Jerusalem' (II Sam. 5, 13).

ויולדו עוד לדוד בנים ובנות 'and there were born to David other sons and daughters' (*ibid.*).

הבישה אלי עוד כלי ויאמר אין עוד כלי 'bring me another vessel; and he said there is no other' (II Ki. 4, 6).

אני יהוה ואין עוד 'I am JHVH, and there is no other' (Is. 45, 5; 22).

והקנירו הכהן שבעת ימים שנית 'then the priest shall shut him up seven days more' (Lev. 13, 5; cf. 33; 54).

Occasionally אחר and עוד are employed together, e. g., ויחל עוד שבעת ימים אחרים 'and he waited yet seven other days' (Gen. 8, 10; cf. 12).

ויעבד עמו עוד שבע שנים אחרות 'and he served with him yet seven other years' (Gen. 29, 30; cf. 27).

The ideas 'some', 'any', 'no', 'much', 'many', 'little', 'few' (cf. below pp. 165ff., 187ff., 198ff.) may be combined with 'other, more, else' expressed by this עוד, e. g.,

ומהם עוד תקח 'and thou shalt take some more of them' (Ezk. 5, 4).

העוד עמך 'have you anything else' (Am. 6, 10).

ולא היה בה עוד רוח 'there was no more spirit in her' (I Ki. 10, 5; cf. Ex. 36, 6; Is. 23, 10; Zech. 14, 11).

לא ירע משמך עוד 'no more of thy name shall be sown' (Nah. 1, 14).

אני יהוה ואין עוד 'I am JHVH, and there is no one else' (Jo. 2, 27).

כי לא על-איש ישים עוד 'for he will not put anything more on any one' (Job 34, 23).

אם עוד רבות בשנים 'if there are many more [still many] among the years [before Jubilee]' (Lev. 25, 51).

עוד מעט וסקלני 'a little more and they would have stoned me' (Ex. 17, 4; cf. Jer. 51, 33; Hos. 1, 4; Ps. 37, 10).

'Other' in connection with numerals is expressed by אחר, שנית, e. g.,

והנה שנים אחרים עמדים 'and behold two others stood up' (Dan. 12, 5).

שבע פרות אחרות 'seven other heifers' (Gen. 41, 3; cf. II Ch. 30, 23).

וּסְפַתָּ לָךְ עוֹד שְׁלֹשׁ עָרִים 'and thou shalt add for thyself three other cities' (Dt. 19, 9; cf. Jon. 3, 4).

וְהִסְגִּירוֹ הַכֹּהֵן שִׁבְעַת יָמִים שְׁנִית 'then the priest shall shut him up seven days more' (Lev. 13, 5; cf. 33; 54).

'Another man' and 'another woman' may be expressed by רֵעַ 'neighbor, friend', אָח 'brother', + suffix. Most commonly the noun is singular, and the suffix of the second person singular, but other suffixes occur, and רֵעַ is found at least once in the plural, e. g.,

לֹא-תִעֲנֶנּוּ בְרַעְךָ עַד שֹׁקֶר 'thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor [= another man]' (Ex. 20, 16; cf. 17; 22, 25; Lev. 19, 13; 16; 18; Dt. 19, 14; 23, 25; 26; 24, 10; I Sam. 15, 28; II Sam. 12, 11; Prov. 3, 28; 29; 25, 9).

וְעַל-פֶּתַח רֵעִי אֶרְבִּיתִי 'and if at the door of my neighbor [= another man] I lie in wait' (Job 31, 9).

וַיִּנָּאֲפוּ אֶת-נִשְׁי רֵעֵיהֶם 'and have committed adultery with the wives of their neighbors [= other men]' (Jer. 29, 23).

לֹא-תִשָּׂא אֶת-אַחֶיךָ בְּלִבְךָ 'thou shalt not hate thy brother [= another man] in thy heart' (Lev. 19, 17).

וּמַלְכוּתָהּ יִתֵּן הַמֶּלֶךְ לְרֵעִיתָהּ הַטּוֹבָה מִמֶּנָּה 'and her royal rank let the king give to her neighbor [= another woman] who is better than she is' (Esth. 1, 19; cf. for 'another who is better' also I Sam. 15, 28).

'Other' used of persons is also sometimes expressed by זָר 'stranger',¹ e. g.,

יְהַלֵּלְךָ זָר וְלֹא פִיךָ 'let another praise thee and not thy own mouth' (Prov. 27, 2; cf. 14, 10; Job 19, 27).

אֵיזֶר אֲתָנוּ בְּבֵית 'there was no other person in the house with us . . .' (I Ki. 3, 18).

יִהְיוּ לָךְ לְבַדְּךָ וְאִין לְזָרִים אַתָּה 'let them be for thyself alone, and not for others together with thee' (Prov. 5, 17; cf. 10).

אִם תִּמְקַעַת לְזָר בְּכֶיךָ 'if thou hast struck hands with another' (Prov. 6, 1).

כִּי-יִעָרֵב זָר 'when a man stands surety for another' (Prov. 11, 15; 20, 16; 27, 13).

The idea of 'other' in a partitive sense is regularly expressed by the nouns יִתְרֵ and שְׂאֵר 'rest, remainder' in the construct before the modified noun, e. g.,

¹ 'stranger' has also occasionally a meaning similar to 'other', tho probably the nominal meaning is never entirely lost, e. g., Prov. 27, 2; cf. 20, 16; 27, 13.

יֵתֶר הַבָּז 'the rest of the spoil' (Num. 31, 32; cf. Lev. 14, 17; II Sam. 10, 10; I Ch. 19, 11).

יֵתֶר הַגִּלְעָד 'the rest of Gilead' (Dt. 3, 13).

יֵתֶר אֹיְבֵינוּ 'the rest of our enemies' (Neh. 6, 1; cf. II Ch. 28, 26).

יֵתֶר דְּבָרֵי יְהוֹשָׁפָט 'the rest of the acts of Jehoshaphat' (II Ch. 20, 34; cf. 25, 26; 26, 22).

יֵתֶר עֹשֵׂה הַמְּלָאכָה 'the rest of those doing the work' (Neh. 2, 16).

שָׂאֵר הָעִיר 'the rest of the city' (I Ch. 11, 8; 16, 41; II Ch. 9, 29; 24, 14; Is. 10, 19; Esth. 9, 12; Neh. 11, 1).

The participles נֹתֵר, נִשְׁאָר, and יֹתֵר (once) 'what is left' are at times employed in a sense quite similar to definite 'other' in its attributive and partitive uses; in the latter use they are followed by מִן or כִּי, e. g.,

הַמְּתִנָּה הַנִּשְׁאָר 'the remaining [other] company' (Gen. 32, 9; cf. Ex. 28, 10; Lev. 10, 12; II Ki. 7, 13).

הַנּוֹתֵר מִן־הַשֶּׁמֶן 'the rest of the fat' (Lev. 14, 29; cf. 2, 10).

וְאֶת־הַיֹּתֵר הִתְּרַמְנוּ 'and the rest we have tabooed' (I Sam. 15, 15).

וְהַנִּשְׁאָרִים בְּכֶם 'and the rest of you' (Lev. 26, 39).

וְהַנּוֹתֵר בְּבָשָׂר 'and the rest of the flesh' (Lev. 8, 32).

In expressions containing prepositions meaning 'besides, except', the idea of 'other' is in the preposition, and they are rendered ordinarily as constructions of 'some', 'any', 'no' (cf. p. 183f.). Occasionally, however, the idea of 'other' is definitely expressed before the preposition, e. g.,

כִּי אֵין אֲחֵרֶת וּלְתֵהּ בָּהּ 'for there is no other besides it here' (I Sam. 21, 10).

לֹא־יִהְיֶה לְךָ אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים עַל־פְּנֵי 'thou shalt not have any other gods besides me' (Ex. 20, 3; Dt. 5, 7).

אֵין־זָר אִתָּנוּ בְּבֵית וּלְתֵי שְׁתֵּי־אֲנַחְנוּ בְּבֵית 'there was no other in the house except us two in the house' (I Ki. 3, 18).¹

וְאֵין עוֹד אֱלֹהִים מִבְּלַעַד 'and there is no other god beside me' (Is. 45, 21).

The idea of 'other' as the second member of such correlative expressions as

¹ This is probably to be emended—

וּלְתֵי שְׁתֵּי־אֲנַחְנוּ בְּבֵית 'except us two, we were in the house'.

- ‘one — another’
 ‘the one—the other’
 ‘some — others’
 ‘some — the others’

is expressed in several ways. The various pairs of correlatives are the following:—for the singular

- 1) אִישׁ — אִישׁ
- 2) אִישׁ — רֵעֵהוּ
- 3) אִשָּׁה — רֵעִיָּתָהּ
- 4) אִישׁ — אָחִיו
- 5) אִשָּׁה — אָחוֹתָהּ
- 6) אָחִיךָ — אָחִיךָ (also *fem.*)
- 7) אָחִיךָ — שְׁנֵי (also *fem.*)
- 8) אָחִיךָ — אָחִיךָ (also *fem.*)
- 9) זֶה — זֶה (also *fem.*)

for the plural

- 10) אֵלֶּה — אֵלֶּה¹

The correlatives may be coordinate, i. e., both subjects, objects, &c., or the second may be subordinate to the first, e. g., ‘one said to the other’, &c. The first five pairs are regularly employed only in this latter construction; the remaining five pairs may be employed in both. Only Nos. 6, 7, and 8 are used attributively. In No. 8 the article may be used with both or omitted with both, or omitted with the first only; in No. 6 and 7 it is usually employed with both, tho it may be omitted with either separately. Usually in those groups that take the article, it is used with both or omitted with both, or omitted with the first אָחִיךָ²; other constructions are unusual. אִישׁ and אִשָּׁה as first correlative may have the construction of singular nouns, or they may stand in apposition to a plural antecedent (cf. p. 149), e. g.,

אָךְ אִישׁ אֶל יָרֵב וְאֶל יֹכָח אִישׁ ‘but let no one strive with or reprove another’ (Hos. 4, 4; cf. Lev. 20, 10; I Sam. 2, 25; I Ki. 20, 39; Is. 3, 5).

וַיֹּאמֶר אִישׁ אֶל־רֵעֵהוּ ‘and one said to another’ (Gen. 11, 3; Ex. 33, 11; Ru. 4, 7).

וְאִשָּׁה רָעִיתָהּ קִינָה ‘and let one woman (teach) the other lamentation’ (Jer. 9, 19).

¹ For another way of expressing *some—others* cf. Neh. 5, 2—4, p. 143 below.

² Cf. English ‘one—the other’.

וּפְנֵיהֶם אִישׁ אֶל-אָחִיו 'and their faces were one towards the other' (Ex. 25, 20; 37, 9).

וַיִּפְּרְדּוּ אִישׁ מֵעַל אָחִיו 'and they separated one from the other' (Gen. 13, 11; cf. *with* ל 26, 31: *with* את Ex. 10, 23; Mi. 7, 2 אחיהו).

וְאִשָּׁה אֶל-אֲחֶתָּה לֹא תִקַּח "בְּחַיֶּיהָ" 'and one woman in addition to another thou shalt not take ... in her life time' (Lev. 18, 18).

וְחִבַּרְתָּ אֶת-הַיְרִיעֹת אִשָּׁה אֶל-אֲחֹתָה 'and thou shalt couple the curtains one to another' (Ex. 26, 6; cf. 3; 5; 17; Ezk. 1, 9; 23; 3, 13).

נִקְבְּצוּ רִיזֹת אִשָּׁה רְעִיתָה 'the vultures shall be gathered together one with another' (Is. 34, 15; cf. 16).

בֵּין אִישׁ וּבֵין רֵעֵהוּ 'between one man and another' (Ex. 18, 16; *with* אָחִיו Dt. 1, 16).

בֵּין אִישׁ לְאִישׁ 'between one man and another' (Ezk. 18, 8).

שְׁנֵי אַנְשִׁים הָיוּ בְּעִיר אֶחָת אֶחָד עָשִׂיר וְאֶחָד רָאשׁ 'there were two men in a certain city, one was rich and the other poor' (II Sam. 12, 1).

וְהָבִי'א שְׁנֵי בְּנֵי-יוֹנָה" אֶחָד לְחַטָּאת וְאֶחָד לְעֹלָה 'and he shall bring ... two young pigeons, one for a sin-offering, and the other for a burnt offering' (Lev. 5, 7; 12, 8; cf. Num. 6, 11; Jud. 16, 29; Zech. 11, 7; Dan. 12, 5).

וַעֲשֵׂה אֶת-הָאֶחָד חַטָּאת וְאֶת-הָאֶחָד עֹלָה 'and make one a sin-offering and the other a burnt offering' (Num. 8, 12).

שֵׁם הָאֶחָד גֶּרְשֹׁם" וְשֵׁם הָאֶחָד אֱלִיעֶזֶר 'the name of one was Gershom and the name of the other was Eliezer' (Ex. 18, 3—4).

שֵׁם הָאֶחָת אָדָה וְשֵׁם הַשֵּׁנִית צִלָּה 'the name of one was Adah and the name of the other was Zillah' (Gen. 4, 19; cf. Ex. 1, 15; Ru. 1, 4; *masc.* Num. 11, 26; II Sam. 4, 2).

שֵׁם אֶחָת חַנָּה וְשֵׁם הַשֵּׁנִית פְּנִינָה 'the name of one was Hannah and the name of the other was Peninnah' (I Sam. 1, 2).

וְהָיָה אֶחָד חַטָּאת וְאֶחָד עֹלָה 'and one shall be a sin offering and the other a burnt offering' (Lev. 14, 22).

וַיִּכּוּ הָאֶחָד אֶת-הָאֶחָד וַיָּמָת אֹתוֹ 'and one smote the other and slew him' (II Sam. 14, 6; cf. *without art.* Ecc. 7, 27; Ezk. 33, 30).

וְהָאֶחָת גְּבוּהָה מִן-הַשֵּׁנִית 'and one was higher than the other' (Dan. 8, 3).

בְּאַחַת יָדוֹ עָשָׂה בְּמִלְאָכָה וְאֶחָת מִחֻקֵּי הַשָּׁלַח 'with one of his hands he did his work and the other held his spear' (Neh. 4, 11:¹ *suffix and* אחד Ex. 25, 12; 37, 3).

גֹּזֶל אֶחָד לַיהוָה וְגֹזֶל אֶחָד לְעֹזָאֵזֶל 'one lot for JHVH and the other lot for Azazel' (Lev. 16, 8; cf. I Sam. 14, 40).

וְחֶמֶשׁ אַמּוֹת כְּנָף הַכְּרוּב הָאַחַת וְח' א" כְּנָף הַכ' הַשְּׁנִית 'and one wing of the cherub was five cubits and the other wing of the cherub was five cubits' (I Ki. 6, 24; cf. 26; 34; 7, 15; 16; 17; 18; Ex. 25, 12; 37, 3; 25, 32; 37, 18; 26, 10; 26—27; 36, 31—32; 29, 40—41; 28, 10; Num. 28, 7—8).

אֶת־הַכֶּבֶשׂ אֶחָד תַּעֲשֶׂה בִּבְקֹר וְאֶת הַכֶּבֶשׂ הַשֵּׁנִי " בֵּין הָעֶרְבִים 'one lamb shalt thou offer in the morning and the other lamb in the evening' (Num. 28, 4; contrast Ex. 29, 40; Num. 28, 7—8).

הַדֹּד אֶחָד תְּאָנִים טֹבוֹת וְהַדֹּד אֶחָד תְּאָנִים רָעוֹת 'one basket had good figs ... and the other basket had bad figs ...' (Jer. 24, 2; cf. Ezk. 10, 9).

שְׁלֹשָׁה נִבְעִים " בְּקִנָּה הָאֶחָד " וּש' ג' בְּקִנָּה אֶחָד 'three bowls in one branch ... and three bowls on the other branch' (Ex. 37, 19).

שְׁלֹשָׁה נִבְעִים " בְּקִנָּה הָאֶחָד וּש' ג' בְּקִנָּה אֶחָד 'three bowls on one branch ... and three bowls on the other branch' (Ex. 25, 33; cf. 26, 19; 21; 25; 36, 24; 26).

יֵשׁ אֶחָד וְאֵין שֵׁנִי 'there is one without any other' (Ecc. 4, 8).

אֵילוֹ הָאֶחָד שִׁפֹּל וְאֵין שֵׁנִי לְהִקְמוֹ 'woe to that same one when he falls and there is no other to raise him' (Ecc. 4, 10).

וַיָּבֹאוּ אֶל־אֹהֶל אֶחָד וַיָּבֹאוּ אֶל־אֹהֶל אֲחֵר 'and they came to one tent ... then they came to another tent ...' (II Ki. 7, 8).

שְׁתֵּים לְדֹלֶת אֶחָת וּשְׁתֵּי דֹלֶתוֹת לְאַחֶרֶת 'two to one door and two wings to the other' (Ezk. 41, 24).

וְתֹאמַר הָאִשָּׁה הָאַחַת " וְתֹאמַר הָאִשָּׁה הָאַחֶרֶת 'and one woman said ... and the other woman said ...' (I Ki. 3, 17—22; cf. II Ch. 3, 11; 12).

זֹאת אֹמֶרֶת זֶה־בְּנִי " וְזֹאת אֹמֶרֶת לֹא 'one says this is my son ... and the other says it is not so ...' (I Ki. 3, 23; cf. *masc.* Job 21, 23—25; Ps. 75, 8 *obj.*).

וְלֹא־קָרַב זֶה אֶל־זֶה כָּל־הַלַּיְלָה 'and one did not approach the other the whole night' (Ex. 14, 20; cf. Ecc. 6, 5; Is. 6, 3).

¹ Here אחד and ידו are in apposition, viz., 'one, his hand' cf. אחד 'certain' modifying noun + suffix, p. 164f. Cf. my *Comp. Syn. Noun and Mod.*, p. 240 end.

זה בְּמוֹת זֶה כְּמוֹת זֶה 'the death of one is just like that of another' (Ecc. 3, 19).

אֲלֶה בְּרֶכֶב וְאַלֶה בַּסּוּסִים 'some (trust) in chariots, and others (= some) in horses' (Ps. 20, 8; cf. Dan. 12, 2).

וַיִּחַנוּ אֲלֶה נֶכַח אֲלֶה שִׁבְעַת יָמִים 'and they encamped the ones opposite the others for seven days' (I Ki. 20, 29; I Ch. 24, 5).

Sometimes the first of two demonstrative correlatives has a strongly demonstrative meaning, e. g.,

עוֹד זֶה מְדַבֵּר וְזֶה בָּא 'this one was still speaking when another came' (Job 1, 16; 17; 18).

Occasionally the first of one of these pairs of correlatives is omitted, the first element consisting simply of a noun, definite or indefinite; a similar construction is: *indefinite noun—
indefinite noun + adj.* אֶחָד, e. g.,

שָׂעִיר עֲלִי־רֵעֵהוּ יִקְרָא 'one satyr calls to another' (Is. 34, 14).

וְחָמֵשׁ עֶשְׂרֵה אַמָּה קָלָעִים לְכַתֵּף וְלִכְתָּף הַשְּׂנִית "the hangings of one side fifteen cubits, and of the other side . . ." (Ex. 27, 14—15; cf. 38, 14—15; I Ki. 6, 27).

וְלֹא תִסַּב נַחֲלָה מִמַּטֵּה לְמַטֵּה אֶחָד 'and the inheritance shall not pass from one tribe to another tribe' (Num. 36, 9).

Sometimes two of these correlatives coalesce into an expression like English 'one another', German 'einander', which is treated as a single pronoun. Such combinations are אִישׁ אֶחָד (cf. p. 151) and אֶחָד אֶחָד¹ where the close connection between the two is indicated by the construct form of the first member, e. g.,

וְאַתֶּם תִּלָּקְטוּ לְאֶחָד אֶחָד בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל 'and ye shall be gathered to one another, oh children of Israel' (Is. 27, 12; 66, 17²).

Sometimes the idea of these correlatives used attributively is expressed simply by repeating the noun,³ either with the same or with modified adjuncts, e. g.,

¹ Cf. Syriac ܐܝܬܐ ܕܥܝܬܐ (from ܐܝܬܐ ܕܥܝܬܐ) 'one another'.

² If we accept the emendation אֶחָד אֶחָד for אֶחָד אֶחָד (cf. K. Marti, *Das Buch Jesaja*, Tübingen, 1900 [= Kurz. Handc. zum AT., 10] p. 411) this passage probably belongs here.

³ This repetition in the sense of *one—other*, which may be called extensive repetition, gives rise, as it does in many languages, to many important idiomatic expressions, usually of an adverbial character, sometimes with the meaning of some other indefinite pronoun, e. g., חֲמֵרִים חֲמֵרִים 'in heaps, by heaps' (Ex. 8, 10; cf. Jo. 4, 14).

מִקְצֵה הָאָרֶץ וְעַד-קְצֵה הָאָרֶץ 'from one end of the earth to the other' (Dt. 13, 8; 28, 64; Jer. 25, 33; cf. Jer. 12, 12; Dt. 4, 32).

שְׁנַיִם שְׁנַיִם 'one two, another two [and so on] = two by two, by twos' (Gen. 7, 9; 15; cf. 7, 2; 3; I Ch. 26, 17).

שֵׁשׁ וְשֵׁשׁ 'one six and the other six, in groups of six' (II Sam. 21, 20).

כֶּבֶד כֶּבֶד 'part for part, the same amount of each' (Ex. 30, 34).

פָּנִים אֶל-פָּנִים 'one face to another face, face to face' (Gen. 32, 31; cf. I Ki. 6, 27; Is. 52, 8).

עֵין תַּחַת עֵין 'one eye for another eye, eye for eye' (Ex. 21, 24—25).

אַחַת לְאַחַת 'one after another, one by one' (Ecc. 7, 27; cf. Is. 27, 12; also 28, 10; 13).

מִשְׁעַר לְשְׁעַר 'from one gate to another gate, from gate to gate' (Ex. 32, 27).

כָּל-אֶחָד מִכָּל-סֹרֶת 'from one sort to another, all sorts' (Ps. 144, 13).

מִיּוֹם אֶל-יּוֹם 'from one day to another, day after day' (Num. 30, 15; cf. I Ch. 9, 25).

יּוֹם בְּיוֹם 'one day on another day [and so on] = every day' (I Ch. 12, 22; cf. Dt. 15, 20),

הֵנָּה וְהֵנָּה 'on this side and on that, on either side' (II Ki. 2, 8).

כֹּה וְכֹה 'this and that way, in every direction' (Ex. 2, 12).

עַד-כֹּה וְעַד-כֹּה 'and up to this and then to this, in the meantime' (I Ki. 18, 45).

מִזֶּה וּמִזֶּה 'on this side and on that, on both sides' (Ex. 26, 13; 32, 15).

מִכְּפָה וּמִכְּפָה 'on this side and on that, on both sides' (Ezk. 40, 10; 34; 37; 41, 15; 26).

מְעַט מְעַט 'one little and another little, little by little' (Ex. 23, 30; Dt. 7, 22)

מַעֲלָה מַעֲלָה 'up and up, ever upwards' (Dt. 28, 43).

Just as repetition in the sense of 'each, every' (cf. p. 152) is sometimes replaced by a plural (cf. p. 154), so likewise the numeral expressions for 'two by two, by twos', &c., may be represented by the plural of the numeral, e. g.,

וְכָל-הָעָם יָצְאוּ לְמֵאוֹת וּלְאַלְפִים 'and all the people went out by hundreds and thousands' (II Sam. 18, 4; cf. I Sam. 29, 2).

The temporal expressions like יּוֹם בְּיוֹם may be preceded by כֹּ 'as', e. g.,

כִּיּוֹם בְּכִיּוֹם 'as on every day, as always, as usual' (I Sam. 18, 10).

כַּכֵּן בְּכָכֵן 'as at every time, as always, as usual' (Num. 24, 1; Jud. 16, 20; 20, 30; 31; I Sam. 3, 10; 20, 25).

Of a different character from the above is the repetition that intensifies the meaning of the simple word (intensive repetition), e. g.,

זָהָב זָהָב 'pure gold' (II Ki. 25, 15 *bis*; cf. Dt. 16, 20; *three times* Ezk. 21, 32).

בְּדֶרֶךְ בְּדֶרֶךְ 'by the road alone' (Dt. 2, 27; cf. 16, 20).

עֲמֻק עֲמֻק 'very deep' (Ecc. 7, 24; cf. I Sam. 2, 3; Prov. 20, 14).

קָדוֹשׁ קָדוֹשׁ קָדוֹשׁ 'holy, holy, holy' (Is. 6, 3).

מְאֹד מְאֹד 'very much, exceedingly' (Gen. 7, 19; Num. 14, 7; Ezk. 37, 10;

בְּמִ"ב Ex. 1, 7).

The repetition of two words in exclamations in Jer. 4, 19; 6, 14; 8, 11;

מקצה גבול מצרים ועד-קצהו 'from one boundary of Egypt to the other' (Gen. 47, 21; cf. Neh. 4, 10).

וְרוּחַ תְּשִׁימוּ בֵּין עֶדֶר וּבֵין עֶדֶר 'and leave a space between one flock and the other' (Gen. 32, 17).

בָּא דֹר הַלֵּךְ וְדֹר בָּא 'one generation goes and another comes' (Ecc. 1, 4).

בִּינו שָׁנוֹת דֹּר וְדֹר 'consider the years of one generation after another' (Dt. 32, 7).

אַרְבָּעָה שְׁלֹחָנוֹת מִפֶּה וְאַרְבָּעָה שְׁלֹחָנוֹת מִפֶּה 'four tables on one side and four tables on the other' (Ezk. 40, 41; cf. 39; 10; 12: כה Num. 23, 15).

בְּדֶרֶךְ יוֹם כֹּה וּבְדֶרֶךְ יוֹם כֹּה 'a day's journey on this side and a day's journey on that [a day's journey on every side]' (Num. 11, 31).

פַּעֲמוֹן זָהָב וְרִמּוֹן פַּעֲמוֹן זָהָב וְרִמּוֹן עַל-שׁוּלֵי הַמָּעִיל סָבִיב 'a golden bell and a pomegranate [then] another golden bell and a pomegranate [and so on] around the edges of the mantel' (Ex. 28, 34).

חֲמֵשׁ הַיְרִיעֹת תִּהְיֶינָה חִבְרוֹת אִשָּׁה אֶל-אַחֲתָהּ וְחֲמֵשׁ יְרִיעֹת ח" א" אֶל-א" 'and [one set of] five curtains shall be coupled to one another and five other curtains to one another' (Ex. 26, 3; cf. 25, 33).

The double correlatives like 'one—one, and another—another', Latin *alius—alius*, are expressed by two pairs of correlatives, or by one pair of correlatives combined with the repetition just mentioned, a first correlative is sometimes omitted, e. g., וְתָנוּ אֶת-הַחֲצִי לְאַחַת וְאֶת-הַחֲצִי לְאַחַת 'and give one half to one and the other half to the other' (I Ki. 3, 25).

וַיֹּאמֶר זֶה בְּכֹה וְזֶה אִמָּר בְּכֹה 'and one said in one way and another in another' (I Ki. 22, 20).

וְאַהֲרֹן וְחֹר וְחֹר תִּמְכוּ בְּיָדֵי מֹאֵה אֶחָד וּמֹאֵה אֶחָד 'and Aaron and Hur

Lam. 1, 16; and of three in II Sam. 19, 1; Jer. 7, 4; 22, 29 is also intensive, tho somewhat different from the above.

Similar intensive ideas are expressed by the collocation of two or three words from the same stem, or with similar meanings, e. g., Is. 22, 5; Ezk. 6, 14; 32, 15; 33, 28; 35, 3; 7; Nah. 2, 11; Zeph. 1, 15; Job 30, 3; 38, 27 (cf. collocation of masc. and fem. to denote 'every', p. 154).

Some examples form a sort of transition between extensive repetition (one—other) and intensive repetition, e. g.,

וְעֵמֶק הַשִּׁדִּים בָּאֵת בָּאֵת הָמָר 'and the vale of Siddim was [pits and pits] all full of bitumen pits' (Gen. 14, 10; cf. II Ki. 3, 16).

supported his hands, one on one side and one on the other' (Ex. 17, 12; cf. Num. 22, 24).

וַיְהִיו לְיִשְׂרָאֵל בְּתוֹךְ אֶלֶּה מֶזֶה וְאֶלֶּה מֶזֶה 'and they were in the midst of the Israelites, some being on one side and some on the other' (Jos. 8, 22).

אֶחָד הֵנָּה לְשֵׁפֶת הַיָּאֵר וְאֶחָד הֵנָּה לְשֵׁפֶת הַיָּאֵר 'one on one bank of the river and the other on the other' (Dan. 12, 5).

אֶחָד אָצֵל הַכְּרוּב וְאֶחָד אָצֵל הַכְּרוּב 'one wheel beside one cherub and another wheel beside another cherub' (Ezk. 10, 9).

שֵׁשֶׁה מִשְׁמָתָם עַל־הָאֶבֶן הָאֶחָת וְשֵׁשֶׁה מִשְׁמָתָם עַל־הָאֶבֶן הַשֵּׁנִית 'six of their names on one stone and the other six on the other stone' (Ex. 28, 10).

וַתִּגַּע כְּנָף הָאֶחָד בְּקִיר וּכְנָף הַכְּרוּב הַשֵּׁנִי נִגְעָת בְּקִיר הַשֵּׁנִי 'and the wing of one touched one wall and the wing of the other cherub, the other wall' (I Ki. 6, 27; cf. Ezk. 40, 12; II Ch. 3, 11; 12).

Combinations of three identical correlative expressions are—

אֶחָד נִשָּׂא שְׁלֹשָׁה בָנִים וְאֶחָד נִשָּׂא 'one carrying three kids and another carrying ... and another carrying ...' (I Sam. 10, 3).

זֶה יֹאמֵר לַיהוָה אֲנִי וְזֶה יִקְרָא בְּשֵׁם יַעֲקֹב וְזֶה יִכְתֹּב 'one shall say I am JHVH's, another shall call on the name of Jacob, and another shall write ...' (Is. 44, 5).

וְהָיָה אֵלֶּה מִרְחֹק יָבֹאוּ וְהָיָה אֵלֶּה מִצָּפוֹן וּמִמִּזְמָר וְהָיָה אֵלֶּה מֵאֶרֶץ סִינִים 'and lo some will come from afar, and some from the north and the west, and some from the land of Sinim' (Is. 49, 12).

וּכְפֹתֶר תַּחַת שְׁנֵי הַקָּנִים מִמֶּנָּה וּכְפֹתֶר 'and [one] knob under two branches of it, and a [second] knob under two other branches of it and a [third] knob under two other branches of it' (Ex. 25, 35; cf. 37, 21; I Ki. 7, 25).

וַיֵּשׁ אֲשֶׁר אָמְרוּ וַיֵּשׁ אֲשֶׁר אָמְרוּ וַיֵּשׁ אֲשֶׁר אָמְרוּ 'there are some that say ... and others that say ... and others that say ...' (Neh. 5, 2—4).¹

Sometimes the correlatives 'one—another' are expressed by various verbal forms, chiefly Niphal and Hithpael, occasionally in connection with some other means of expressing the same

¹ This example seems to indicate that the two correlatives *some—other* may be expressed by repetition of *וַיֵּשׁ* + plural participle (cf. p. 165) as well as by *אלה—אלה* (cf. p. 137).

idea; the adverbs יחדו, יחד 'together' often accompany these verbs, e. g.,

יגדלו בי נגדו 'against me they speak one to the other' (Ps. 119, 23; cf. Ezk. 33, 30; Mal. 3, 13).

נועצנו יחדו 'let us take counsel together one with another' (Ps. 71, 10; cf. 83, 6; Is. 45, 21; נשפט יחד Is. 43, 26).

למה תתראו 'why do you look one upon the other' (Gen. 42, 1). יחד עלי יתלחשו כל־שנאי 'against me all my enemies whisper together, one with the other' (Ps. 41, 8).

צדק ושלום נשקו 'righteousness and peace have kissed one another' (Ps. 85, 10).

ותענינה הנשים המשתקות 'and the women as they made merry answered one another' (I Sam. 18, 7).

אז נדברו יראי יהוה איש אל־רעהו 'then those that revered JHVVH spoke to one another' (Mal. 3, 16).

Both.

The idea of 'both' in apposition to two nouns or pronouns may be expressed simply by joining the two nouns or pronouns modified by the idea, by ו 'and', by ו—ו 'both—and', or similar copulative conjunctions, e. g.,

ולמשל ביום ובלילה 'and to govern [both] the day and the night' (Gen. 1, 18; cf. Prov. 22, 2; 29, 13).

על־כן יעזב־איש את־אביו ואת־אמו [both] his father and his mother' (Gen. 2, 24).

מגערתך אלהי יעקב נרדם ורכב וסוס 'at thy rebuke, oh God of Jacob, both chariot and horse are fallen asleep' (Ps. 76, 7).

להביא מבני ישראל ומצאע המלוכה ומן־הפרתמים 'to bring some of the Israelites, both some of royal and some of noble blood' (Dan. 1, 3; cf. Dan. 8, 13).

ושנים עשר אריות עומדים שם על־שש המעלות מזה ומזה 'and twelve lions stood there on the six steps, on both sides [on one and on the other]' (II Ch. 9, 19; cf. 18; [= I Ki. 10, 19; 20; Ex. 32, 15; Jos. 8, 33; Ezk. 45, 7; 47, 7; 12; 48, 21).¹

וגם־תבן וגם־מספוא יש לתמורינו 'our asses have both straw and fodder' (Jud. 19, 19*bis*; cf. Gen. 24, 25).

והמתה מאיש ועד־אשה 'and thou shalt slay both man and woman' (I Sam. 15, 3 *quater*; cf. Ex. 9, 25; Jer. 6, 13; 9, 9).

¹ For מזה ומזה cf. p. 140, n. 3.

Occasionally the dual has the idea of 'both' instead of simply 'two',¹ e. g.,

"טוֹב מְלֵא כַף נָחַת מִמְּלֵא הַפָּנִים עָמַל" 'better is one handful with quiet than both hands full with vexation' (Ecc. 4, 6).

עֲלֵה־רַע בְּפָיִם לְהַיִּטֵּב 'to be earnest in doing evil with both hands' (Mi. 7, 3).

This idea is regularly expressed by the numeral שְׁנַיִם 'two'. When not used attributively, it is always accompanied by the suffixes of the plural, the suffix agreeing in person with the nouns or pronoun referred to. When nouns are referred to, both numeral and suffix are masculine *a*) when both the nouns denote male persons; *b*) when they denote things, even when feminine; *c*) when one of the nouns is a male person: when the two nouns are female persons either both numeral and suffix, or the numeral only may be feminine. שְׁנַיִם + suffix may be employed absolutely, or it may stand in apposition to the nouns or pronoun referred to, which latter often follow שְׁנַיִם, e. g., *two males*—

וַיַּכְרֹתוּ שְׁנֵיהֶם בְּרִית 'and the two of them (they both) made a treaty [Abraham and Abimelech]' (Gen. 21, 27; cf. I Sam. 23, 18; I Ki. 5, 26).

וַיַּחְלֹמוּ שְׁנֵיהֶם 'and they both dreamed a dream' (Gen. 40, 5; cf. Gen. 21, 31; Lev. 20, 13; Jud. 19, 8; I Sam. 2, 34; 14, 11; 20, 11; II Sam. 14, 6; 17, 18; I Ki. 11, 29; II Ki. 2, 6; 7, 8; Esth. 2, 23).

יָבֹא עֲדֵהָ־אֱלֹהִים 'let the cause of both come before God' (Ex. 22, 8; cf. Gen. 9, 23; Prov. 24, 22; 29, 13).

וַיִּקַּח יוֹסֵף אֶת־שְׁנֵיהֶם 'and Joseph took both of them' (Gen. 48, 13; cf. Ex. 22, 10; II Ki. 2, 11; 4, 33; Zech. 6, 13; Prov. 27, 3; Ecc. 4, 3).

two things—

מֵאֶרֶץ אֶחָד יָצְאוּ שְׁנֵיהֶם 'from one land shall both [*masc.* דְּרָכִים 'roads'] come' (Ezk. 21, 24; cf. Ex. 26, 24; 36, 29; Dt. 23, 19; Ecc. 11, 6).

יְהוָה עָשָׂה גַם־שְׁנֵיהֶם 'JHWH made both [*fem.* אָזֶן 'ear' 'eye']' (Prov. 20, 12; cf. 10).

¹ Ordinarily, however, the numeral שְׁנַיִם must be added to give this meaning (cf. p. 146); e. g., שְׁתֵּי יָדָיו 'both his hands' (Lev. 16, 21; cf. I Sam. 5, 4; 'feet' II Sam. 9, 13; 'ears' I Sam. 3, 11; II Ki. 21, 12; 'eyes' Jud. 16, 28). Contrast these cases with simple dual in Jud. 1, 7; 16, 21; II Sam. 4, 4; 9, 3; I Ki. 15, 23; II Ki. 25, 7; Jer. 19, 3; Ezk. 23, 25.

¹⁰ JAOS 34.

מִשְׁנֵיהֶם 'but a fool's wrath is heavier than both [fem. אֶבֶן 'stone', masc. חול 'sand']' (Prov. 27, 3; cf. Num. 7, 13 [= 19 — 25 *passim*]; Is. 1, 31).

male and female—

מֹת יוֹמָתוֹ שְׁנֵיהֶם 'they shall both [אִישׁ 'man', אִשָּׁה 'woman'] surely be put to death' (Lev. 20, 11; cf. Gen. 3, 7; Lev. 20, 18; Num. 12, 5; Dt. 22, 24).

two females—

וַתִּהְיוּ גַם-שְׁתֵּיהֶן לִזְ לְנָשִׁים 'and they both became his wives' (I Sam. 25, 43; cf. Ezk. 23, 13).

וַתֵּלֶכְנָה שְׁתֵּיהֶם עַד-בֹּאֲנָה בֵּית לָחֶם 'and they both traveled until they came to Bethlehem' (Ru. 1, 19; cf. 4, 11).

1st and 2nd pers.—

לֹא יִשְׁפִּינֵנוּ מִזִּכְיָה יֵשֶׁת יָדוֹ עַל-שְׁנֵינוּ 'there is no reprover between us to lay his hand on us both' (Job 9, 33; cf. Gen. 31, 37).
לָמָּה אֲשַׁבֵּל גַּם-שְׁנֵיכֶם יוֹם אֶחָד 'why should I lose both of you in one day' (Gen. 27, 45).

antec. expressed—

מַצְדִּיק רָשָׁע וּמַרְשִׁיעַ צַדִּיק תּוֹעֵבַת יְהוָה גַּם-שְׁנֵיהֶם 'he that justifies the wicked and he that condemns the righteous are both an abomination to JHVVH' (Prov. 17, 15).

וַיְהִי שְׁנֵיהֶם עֲרוּמִים הָאָדָם וְאִשְׁתּוֹ 'and the man and his wife were both naked' (Gen. 2, 25; cf. Num. 25, 8; Dt. 22, 22).

JHVVH made both the hearing ear and the seeing eye' (Prov. 20, 12; cf. 10).

וַיָּמָתוּ גַם-שְׁנֵיהֶם מַחֲלוֹן וְכִלְיוֹן 'and both Mahlon and Kilion died' (Ru. 1, 5).

וַיֵּצְאוּ שְׁנֵיהֶם הוּא וְשָׁמוּאֵל הַחוּצָה 'and both he and Samuel went out' (I Sam. 9, 26).

אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּעְנוּ שְׁנֵינוּ אֲנַחְנוּ בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה 'as we have both sworn in the name of JHVVH' (I Sam. 20, 42).¹

When 'both' is used attributively modifying a single noun, it is expressed either by placing שְׁנַיִם + suffix before the noun, as in the appositional construction just described, or by using the simple numeral שְׁנַיִם with the noun: the noun is definite, e. g.,

וּשְׁנֵיהֶם הַמְּלָכִים לָבָבָם לְמַרַע 'and the heart of both the kings was set upon evil' (Dan. 11, 27).

¹ For שְׁתֵּיהֶם I Ki. 3, 18; cf. p. 136. n.

‘and both the men shall stand ...’ (Dt. 19, 17).

מִפְּנֵי שְׁנֵי מְלָכֶיהָ תִּעָזֹב ‘it shall be forsaken by both her kings’ (Is. 7, 16; cf. Ex. 32, 15).

וּבְתָרֵין שְׁתֵּי בְנוֹת־לוֹט מֵאֲבִיהֶן ‘and both the daughters of Lot were with child by their father’ (Gen. 19, 36).

‘Both’ in connection with a demonstrative pronoun occurs in—

וְתִבְאֶנָּה לָּךְ שְׁתֵּי־אֵלֶּה בְּיוֹם אֶחָד ‘and both these things shall come upon thee ... in one day’ (Is. 47, 9).

שְׁתֵּים הֵנָּה קָרָאתִיךָ ‘those two things are come upon thee’ (Is. 51, 19).

For ‘both’ modified by partitive ‘each’ cf. p. 151f.

The idea of ‘both’ may be emphasized by using the adverbs

בְּאַחַד יוֹדוֹ ‘together’, e. g.,

לֹא־תִרְשׁ בְּשׁוֹר־וּבְחֹמֶר יוֹדוֹ ‘thou shalt not plow with both ox and ass together’ (Dt. 22, 10; cf. 11).

הוּא וְשָׂרָיו יוֹדוֹ ‘he and his princes together’ (Am. 1, 15).

וְאֵב וְטֹלָה יָרְעוּ בְּאַחַד ‘the wolf and the lamb shall lie down both together’ (Is. 65, 25).

וַיֵּלְכוּ שְׁנֵיהֶם יוֹדוֹ ‘and they went both together’ (Gen. 22, 6; 8; cf. Jud. 19, 6; Is. 1, 31).

יָחֲדוּ נָפְלוּ שְׁנֵיהֶם ‘they have fallen both together’ (Jer. 46, 12).

וְאִם שְׁנֵיהֶם בְּאַחַד טוֹבִים ‘or whether they shall both together be good’ (Ecc. 11, 6).

Either, Neither.

Ordinarily neither of these expressions is employed absolutely, or in connection with a single noun; but only in an appositional relation similar to that of שְׁנֵים + suffix on p. 146.

‘Either’ is expressed simply by connecting the two words between which the choice lies by או ‘or’ or by using the correlative prepositions מִן—אֶל ‘from—to’ with the two.¹ ‘Neither’ is expressed by a negative in connection with an expression for ‘either’, or with the two words connected by וְ ‘and’, e. g.,

וְאֵיךְ נִגְנֹב מִבֵּית אֲדֹנֶיךָ כֶּסֶף אוֹ זָהָב (either) silver or gold from thy lord’ (Gen. 44, 8).

הֲיֵשׁ לָכֶם אָב אוֹ־אֶחָא ‘have you (either) a father or a brother’ (Gen. 44, 19; cf. Ex. 5, 3; 21, 4; 18; 20; 26—37 *passim*).

¹ The doubtful Hithpael of אָחַד (Ezk. 21, 21) according to some has the meaning of ‘take one or the other, either’.

הַשָּׁמֶר לְךָ פֶּן תִּדְבֹּר עִם יַעֲקֹב מִטּוֹב עַד-רָע 'take heed lest you say to Jacob anything either good or bad' (Gen. 31, 24; 29; cf. 14, 23; Ex. 11, 7).

לֹא נוֹכַל דַּבֵּר אֵלֶיךָ רָע אוֹ-טוֹב 'we can say to you neither bad nor good' (Gen. 24, 50; cf. Num. 22, 18; 24, 13; I Sam. 22, 15).

אֵין לוֹ מִמֶּנּוּ בֶן אוֹ בַת 'he had neither son nor daughter' (Jud. 11, 34).

כִּי גַם-חֶרְבִי וְגַם כֶּלִי לֹא לָקַחְתִּי בְּיָדִי 'for neither my sword nor my weapons have I taken with me' (I Sam. 21, 9; cf. I Ki. 22, 31; Is. 17, 8).

Absolute 'either' is expressed by 'both' in—

וְכַעַם אֱוִיל כָּבֵד מִשְׁנֵיהֶם 'but a fool's wrath is heavier than both [either]' (Prov. 27, 3; cf. Ecc. 4, 3: cf. p. 146).

Each, Every.

These two closely related ideas are usually distinguished in Hebrew, tho not infrequently a construction that ordinarily has the meaning of 'each' assumes that of 'every'.

'Each' used absolutely is expressed by אִישׁ (אָדָם) 'man', אֶחָד 'one', or a combination of the two אִישׁ אֶחָד 'one man', or by the corresponding feminines. These have the concord of a singular, e. g., וַיַּעֲמֵם אִישׁ עַל-חֲמֹורוֹ 'and each one loaded his ass' (Gen. 44, 13; cf. Ps. 39, 7).

אִישׁ הַיָּשָׁר בְּעֵינָיו יַעֲשֶׂה 'each one did what was right in his own eyes' (Jud. 17, 6; cf. 21, 25; II Ki. 14, 6; Ezk. 22, 11 *ter*).

וְשִׂאֵלָה אִשָּׁה מִשְׁכָּנֶתָּה כָּלִי כֶסֶף 'and each (every) woman shall ask from her neighbor jewels of silver . . .' (Ex. 3, 22; cf. Am. 4, 3).

אִישׁ רֹאשׁ לְבֵית-אֲבֹתָיו הוּא 'each was the head of his family' (Num. 1, 4).

כִּי אַתָּה תַשְׁלֵם לְאִישׁ כְּמַעֲשָׂהוּ 'for thou rewardest every one according to his work' (Ps. 62, 13; cf. II Sam. 6, 19; Jer. 17, 10; 23, 36; 32, 19; Ezk. 1, 23; Zech. 10, 1; I Ch. 16, 3).

אִישׁ לְאֹהֲלָיו וְיִשְׂרָאֵל 'every one to his tents, oh Israel' (II Sam. 20, 1; cf. Dt. 16, 17; I Ki. 22, 36 *bis*).

וְהָשִׁיב לְאָדָם כְּפַעְלוֹ 'and he rewards every one according to his work' (Prov. 24, 12).

לְאִישׁ שְׁתֵּים חֲבֵרוֹת אִישׁ 'each had two, each bound together' (Ezk. 1, 11).¹

¹ It is of course possible that אֶל-רַעְיוֹ (cf. p. 137) has fallen out after

אֶחָד בְּנֵי־הַמֶּלֶךְ 'each in appearance like the king's sons' (Jud. 8, 18).

וְשׁוֹר לְאֶחָד 'and an ox for each one' (Num. 7, 3; cf. I Ki. 4, 7; Ezk. 1, 6; 10, 14).

חֲמִשִּׁים שֶׁקֶלִים כֶּסֶף לְאִישׁ אֶחָד 'fifty shekels of silver to each one' (II Ki. 15, 20; cf. Ezk. 9, 2).

The idea of 'each' used partitively is expressed by placing אִישׁ (אִשָּׁה) or אֶחָד, אִישׁ אֶחָד 'each' in apposition to the plural pronoun (including pronouns expressed by verbal forms) or noun (including collectives even when they have the concord of a singular) in which it is contained. The phrase containing אִישׁ usually stands after, but may precede the pronoun or noun, e. g.,

וַיִּפְתְּחוּ אִישׁ אֶמְתָּחֹו 'and each of them opened his sack' (Gen. 44, 11*bis*; cf. Ex. 7, 12; 12, 3; 16, 21; 30, 12; 33, 8; Num. 16, 18; Jud. 21, 24*bis*; I Sam. 4, 10; 25, 13; II Sam. 13, 29; I Ki. 8, 38; 22, 17; II Ki. 14, 12; Is. 31, 7; Jer. 26, 3; 36, 3; Jon. 1, 5; Mi. 4, 4).

עַל־יְרֵכֹו שִׁמוּ אִישׁ חֶרְבּוֹ 'let each of you put his sword at his side' (Ex. 32, 27; cf. 16, 16; Lev. 25, 10*bis*; Num. 16, 17*ter*; Dt. 3, 20; 12, 8; Jos. 4, 5; Jud. 8, 24; 21, 21; I Sam. 8, 22; 14, 34; 25, 13; I Ki. 12, 24; II Ki. 18, 31*ter*; Jer. 25, 5; 35, 15; II Ch. 11, 4).

אִישׁ בְּפִתְרוֹן חֲלֹמֹו חֲלָמֹו 'each of us dreamed according to the interpretation of his dream' (Gen. 41, 11).

וְאֵתָם רָצִים אִישׁ לְבֵיתוֹ 'and every one of you runs to his own house' (Hag. 1, 9; cf. I Ki. 10, 25; II Ch. 9, 24).

אִישׁ לְאִשֶּׁר בְּאֹהֶלֹו תִקְחוּ 'let each of you take according to what is in his tent' (Ex. 16, 16; cf. Lev. 19, 3; Ezk. 20, 7: 3*rd pers.* Ex. 16, 18; Dt. 24, 16; Is. 9, 19; Ezk. 20, 8; 22, 6; Jo. 2, 7; Mi. 7, 2; II Ch. 25, 4).

וַחֲנּוּ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אִישׁ עַל־מַחֲנֵהוּ 'and each of the Israelites camped in his own camp . . .' (Num. 1, 52*bis*; cf. 32, 18; Jud. 2, 6; 21, 24: הָעָם Jos. 6, 5; Jud. 7, 7; I Sam. 14, 34; עַמִּי Ezk. 46, 18; מְצֻרִים Gen. 47, 20; cf. also I Sam. 25, 10; Jer. 37, 10; Ezk. 8, 12).

the second אִישׁ (cf. Bertholet, *Das Buch Hesekiel*, Freiburg i. B., 1897 [= Kurz. Handc. zum AT., 12] p. 6), but such a supposition is not necessary; the singular אִישׁ stands in apposition to the plural חֲבֵרִים as in constructions on p. 149.

הָסֵר הַמְּלָכִים אִישׁ מִמְּקוֹמוֹ 'remove each of the kings from his place' (I Ki. 20, 24).

וַיִּשְׁלַח " אֶת־הָעָם אִישׁ לְנַחֲלָתוֹ 'and he sent every one of the people to their inheritance' (Jos. 24, 28).

וְיִשְׂרָאֵל נָם אִישׁ לְאֹהֲלוֹ 'and every one of the Israelites fled to his tent' (II Sam. 19, 9; cf. I Ki. 5, 5).

וּמִנְאֵן מְנוּחָה אִשָּׁה בֵּית אִישָׁה 'and may each of you find rest in the house of her husband' (Ru. 1, 9; cf. 8).

אִישׁ אֶחָד לְבֵית אָבִיו הָיָה 'each one of them was in his family' (Num. 1, 44).

כְּמוֹךְ כְּמוֹהֶם אֶחָד בְּתַאֲרֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ 'they were as thou art, each like princes in appearance' (Jud. 8, 18).

וְהָשִׁיבוֹתִים אִישׁ לְנַחֲלָתוֹ וְאִישׁ לְאֶרְצוֹ 'and I will bring each of them back to his inheritance and to his land' (Jer. 12, 15).

The genitive of 'each' may be expressed by a construct chain, but it is usually rendered by placing the governing noun with retrospective suffix after *אִישׁ*. This position of *אִישׁ* is due to analogy with the more numerous constructions where it naturally stands at the beginning of the appositive phrase (cf. above), e. g.,

וּמִיָּהוָה מִשְׁפַּט־אִישׁ 'and from JHVH is the judgment of every one' (Prov. 29, 26; cf. Ps. 64, 7; Job 34, 11; with רֵעֵהוּ cf. below Jud. 7, 22; I Sam. 14, 21).

וְלִהְיֹשִׁיבֵי בִסְפִיָּהֶם אִישׁ אֶל־שֹׁקוֹ 'and to restore their money to the sack of each' (Gen. 42, 25; cf. 35; Jud. 21, 22).

אִישׁ אֶת־שְׁמוֹ תִּכְתֹּב עַל־מִטְּהוֹ 'the name of each thou shalt write on his rod' (Num. 17, 17; cf. I Sam. 30, 22).

וַיִּפְתְּרֵנוּ אֶת־חֲלֻמּוֹתֵינוּ אִישׁ בְּחֻלְמוֹ פֶּתַר 'and he interpreted our dreams for us, according to the dream of each he interpreted' (Gen. 41, 12; Ex. 12, 4; Num. 7, 5).

וַיִּתֵּן אִישׁ בְּתָרוֹ לְקֶרֶת רֵעֵהוּ 'and he put one piece of each opposite the other' (Gen. 15, 10).

וְאִישׁ מִקְטָרָתוֹ בְּיָדוֹ 'and every man's censer was in his hand' (Ezk. 8, 11; cf. 9, 1; 2; Zech. 8, 4).

וְאִישׁ אֶת־קִדְשׁוֹ לֹי יְהוָה אִישׁ אֲשֶׁר יָתֵן לִכְהֵן לֹי יְהוָה 'the hallowed things of every one are his; what each one gives to the priest is his' (Num. 5, 10).¹

¹ For the *אֵת* before קִדְשׁוֹ cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 117 *m*, also p. 122, *n*. In the second part of the verse this same peculiar genitive construction is preserved, tho instead of a noun + retrospective suffix, we have relative clause with retrospective subject.

The word **אִישׁ** in the correlative expressions meaning 'the one—the other', often has the added meaning of 'each', 'every' (cf. p. 137 ff.),¹ e. g.,

וַיִּשְׁאַלוּ אִישׁ לְרֵעֵהוּ לְשָׁלוֹם 'and they asked each after the health of the other' (Ex. 18, 7; cf. Jer. 34, 15; Zech. 3, 10; 8, 16).
וַיִּשְׁקוּ אִישׁ אֶת־רֵעֵהוּ 'and they kissed each other' (I Sam. 20, 41).
אִישׁ אֶל־אִשְׁתּוֹ יַעֲהֹל 'every one neighs after another's wife' (Jer. 5, 8; cf. Ezk. 22, 11).

וַיִּשֶׁם יְהוָה אֶת־חֶרֶב אִישׁ בְּרֵעֵהוּ 'and JHVH turned the sword of every man against his comrade' (Jud. 7, 22; cf. I Sam. 14, 21).

The correlatives **אִישׁ** and **אֶחָיו**, doubtless as a result of their occurrence in immediate juxtaposition, have formed the stereotyped expression **אִישׁ אֶחָיו** 'one another, each other'² (cf. above p. 140), e. g.,

וּמִיַּד הָאָדָם מִיַּד אִישׁ אֶחָיו אֲדַרֵּשׁ אֶת־נַפְשׁ הָאָדָם 'at the hand of man, at the hand of each one's brother I will require the life of man' (Gen. 9, 5).

וְרַעַת אִישׁ אֶחָיו אֶל־תַּחֲשָׁבוּ בְּלִבְכֶּם 'and the harm of one another devise not in your hearts' (Zech. 7, 10; contr. 8, 17).

אִישׁ 'each' may be combined with 'self' expressed by pronominal suffix or **נַפְשׁ**, e. g.,

לֹא הִצָּבִיאוּ אִישׁ לְנַפְשׁוֹ 'the men of the army plundered, each for himself' (Num. 31, 53).

וּמִלְטוּ אִישׁ אֶת־נַפְשׁוֹ מִתּוֹרֵן אֶת־יְהוָה 'and let every man save himself from the burning wrath of JHVH' (Jer. 51, 45; cf. Ezk. 32, 10).

The ideas of 'both' and 'each' may be combined by placing **אִישׁ** 'each' in apposition to an expression containing the idea of 'both', e. g.,

וַיִּחְלְמוּ חֲלוֹם שְׁנֵיהֶם אִישׁ חֲלֹמוֹ בְּלַיְלָה אֶחָד 'and they both dreamt a dream, each in one night' (Gen. 40, 5).

וְאַתָּה וְאַהֲרֹן אִישׁ מַחֲתָתוֹ 'and thou and Aaron, each his censer' (Num. 16, 17).

¹ The use of the singular here in apposition to a plural is to be compared with the constructions on p. 157 f.

² Cf. K. Budde, *Die biblische Urgeschichte*, Giessen, 1883, p. 283 ff. An example which stands midway between the ordinary use of **אִישׁ** and this crystallized expression is,

וְאִישׁ אֶחָיו לֹא יִדְחָקוּ 'nor shall one oppress another' (Jo. 2, 8).

Here **אִישׁ אֶחָיו** may be taken either as **אִישׁ אֶת־אֶחָיו** or **אִישׁ אֶחָיו**.

וַיִּקְחוּ שִׁמְעוֹן וְלֵוִי "אִישׁ תִּרְבּוֹ
his sword' (Gen. 34, 25; cf. I Ki. 22, 10).

אֶחָד 'each' is employed not only in an absolute sense, but also occasionally as an attribute to either a definite or indefinite noun¹ (cf. אִישׁ אֶחָד), e. g.,

"וַיְהִי לָהֶם שְׁלֹמֹה לְיוֹם אֶחָד" 'and Solomon's food for each [one] day was . . . ' (I Ki. 5, 2; Neh. 5, 18).

הָאֶחָד אַרְבָּעִים בַּת יָכִיל הַכִּיּוֹר הָאֶחָד 'every laver contained forty baths' (I Ki. 7, 38^{ter}; cf. Ex. 26, 2^{bis}; 8^{bis}; 16; 28, 17; 36, 9^{bis}; 15^{bis}; 21; 22; Lev. 24, 5; Num. 7, 85^{bis}; 15, 5; 11^{bis}; 28, 12^{bis}; 13; 28^{bis}; 29, 4; 10; 14^{bis}; I Ki. 7, 27; 30; 32; 34; 42; 10, 16; 17; Jer. 52, 21; I Ch. 27, 1; II Ch. 4, 13; 9, 15; 16).

אִישׁ אֶחָד and אֶחָד אִישׁ may also be used partitively, governing a prepositional phrase,² e. g.,

וְאַרְבָּעָה פָּנִים לְאֶחָת וְאַרְבַּע בְּנָפִים לְאֶחַת לָהֶם 'and each of them had four faces and four wings' (Ezk. 1, 6).

וְאִישׁ אֶחָד בְּתוֹכָם לְבוּשׁ בָּדִים 'and each one of [among] them was clothed in linen' (Ezk. 9, 2).

וַיִּקְחוּ לָהֶם אִישׁ שֶׁה 'and each of them shall take a sheep' (Ex. 12, 3; cf. Jud. 21, 21; Zech. 10, 1; I Ch. 16, 3).³

'Each' used attributively may be expressed by repetition of the modified noun, often with one or more adjuncts. This construction has the idea of 'every' as frequently as that of 'each'. The two words may stand without connective, or be joined by ו 'and' or in time expressions in late passages by ב 'in'. These phrases may stand in the same grammatical relations as the single word, or they may stand in apposition to a plural antecedent, or as an absolute adverbial expression. When they stand as subject they seem to require a plural verb, e. g.,

וַיְהִי כִּדְבָרָהּ אֶל־יוֹסֵף יוֹם יוֹם וְלֹא " 'and it came to pass as she spoke to him each (every) day and he did not . . . ' (Gen. 39, 10; cf. Dt. 14, 22).

וַיְהִיו עַשְׂרִים גּוֹי גּוֹי אֱלֹהֵיו 'and every nation was making its own gods' (II Ki. 17, 29^{bis}).

¹ The noun is usually definite, cf. article in sense of 'every' p. 154f.

² For ל cf. p. 177; בְּתוֹךְ is equivalent to ב; מִן does not seem to occur, but was doubtless also employed (cf. p. 176f.).

³ Tho ל is dative, these examples show the possibility of a partitive construction with אִישׁ: cf. also n. 2.

וַיִּתֵּן בְּיָד עֲבָדָיו עֵדֶר עֵדֶר לְבָדוֹ 'and he delivered them to his servants, each flock by itself' (Gen. 32, 17).

וַיִּקְטְפוּ אוֹתוֹ בְּבֹקֶר בְּבֹקֶר 'and they gathered it every morning' (Ex. 16, 21).

זֶה זִכְרִי לָדֹר דֹּר 'this is a memorial of me for every [all] generation' (Ex. 3, 15; cf. 17, 16).

וְסִפְדָּה הָאָרֶץ מִשְׁפָּחוֹת מִשְׁפָּחוֹת לְבָד 'and the land shall mourn every family apart' (Zech. 12, 12).¹

בְּיוֹם הַשַּׁבָּת בְּיוֹם הַשַּׁבָּת יַעֲרְכֵנוּ לִפְנֵי יְהוָה 'every Sabbath he shall set it in order before JHWH' (Lev. 24, 8).

וַיְהִי בְּאַמְרָם אֵלָיו יוֹם יוֹם וְלֹא 'and it came to pass as they spoke to him each (every) day, and he did not . . .' (Esth. 3, 4; contrast Gen. 39, 10).

מְדִינָה וּמְדִינָה כְּכַתְבָּהּ 'each province according to its writing' (Esth. 8, 9; cf. 1, 22).

וְעִם זֵמָהֶם וְקִנֵּי עִיר וְעִיר 'and with them the elders of every city' (Ezr. 10, 14; cf. Esth. 1, 8; I Ch. 28, 14*bis*; 15*bis*).

וַיַּפִּילוּ גוֹרְלוֹת 'and they cast lots . . . for each (every) gate' (I Ch. 26, 13; cf. I Ch. 28, 16).

תֹּאכַל לָנָה שָׁנָה שָׁנָה 'thou shalt eat it every year' (Dt. 15, 20; cf. I Sam. 1, 7; I Ch. 12, 22: *after* מְדִי 'as often as' I Sam. 7, 16; Zech. 14, 16; II Ch. 24, 5).²

דְּבַר יוֹם בְּיוֹמוֹ 'the allowance of every day [daily portion]' (Ex. 5, 19; Jer. 52, 34; Neh. 11, 23; 12, 47: *no suffix* II Ch. 8, 13).

Occasionally the idea of 'each' in connection with a noun depending on another is expressed by the repetition of the governing noun, e. g.,

וְקַח מֵאֲתָם מִטָּה מִטָּה לְבֵית אָב 'and take from them a rod for each family' (Num. 17, 17).

וְעִשְׂרָה נְשָׂאִים עִמּוֹ נָשִׂיא אֶחָד נָשִׂיא אֶחָד לְבֵית אָב 'and with him ten princes, one prince for each family' (Jos. 22, 14; cf. Num. 1, 4; 13, 2; 34, 18; Is. 6, 2).

Sometimes both the governing and the dependent noun are repeated; in this case the dependent noun usually has the article, e. g.,

¹ The use of the plural perhaps gives the added force of 'various', viz., 'each of the various families apart'.

² In Is. 66, 23 where מְדִי is said to mean 'every' (cf. Gesenius-Buhl, p. 159) the distributive meaning is probably due to the repetition. The second noun in this example has a suffix, viz., מְדִי חֹדֶשׁ בְּחֹדֶשׁוֹ 'as often as every newmoon' (*bis*).

וַיִּתְּנוּ אֵלָיו כָּל־נִשְׂאִיהֶם מִטָּה לְנִשְׂיָא אֶחָד מִטָּה לְנִשְׂיָא אֶחָד 'and all their princes gave him a rod for each one' (Num. 17, 21).¹
 אַרְבָּעִים יוֹם לַשָּׁנָה יוֹם לַשָּׁנָה יוֹם לַשָּׁנָה 'forty days, a day for every year' (Num. 14, 34; cf. Ezk. 4, 6).

אֶלֶף לַמִּטָּה אֶלֶף לַמִּטָּה "תִּשְׁלְחוּ לְצָבָא 'a thousand out of every tribe ... shall you send to the army' (Num. 31, 4).

וְנִשְׂיָא אֶחָד לְיוֹם נִשְׂיָא אֶחָד לְיוֹם יִקְרִיבוּ אֶת־קֹרְבָנָם 'and they shall bring their offering, one prince on each day' (Num. 7, 11).

A special form of repetition is that which consists of a masculine and feminine noun from the same stem usually connected by ׀.² This has ordinarily the added meaning of 'sort, kind',³ viz., 'all sorts of—', e. g.,

כִּי הִנֵּה "יהוה" מִסֵּר "מִשְׁעֵן וּמִשְׁעֵנָה" 'for behold ... JHVH ... will take away ... every support [every sort of support]' (Is. 3, 1).

עָשִׂיתִי לִי שָׂרִים וְשָׂרוֹת 'I procured for myself all sorts of singers' (Ecc. 2, 8; cf. II Sam. 19, 36).

גָּאָה וְגָאֹן "שִׂנְאִיתִי" 'every sort of pride ... I hate' (Prov. 8, 13).

Occasionally the plural of a noun is used in the sense of 'each', 'every', apparently as a substitute for repetition, e. g.,
 וּתִפְקְדֵנִי לְבִקְרִים לְרִנָּגִים תִּבְחַנֵּנִי 'and that thou shouldst visit him every morning and try him every moment' (Job 7, 18; cf. Ezk. 32, 10).⁴

Attributive 'each' is also sometimes expressed simply by the article, usually in connection with a noun depending on a numeral or measure, or a noun subject with such a word in its predicate, e. g.,

שְׁלֹשׁ פְּעָמִים בַּשָּׁנָה יֵרָאֶה כָּל־זָכוֹרָדְךָ 'three times every year all thy males shall appear ...' (Ex. 23, 17; cf. 14; 21, 37^{bis}; 30, 10^{bis}; 34, 23; 24; Lev. 16, 34; Num. 17, 18; Dt. 16, 16; Jos. 18, 4; Jud. 11, 40; I Ki. 9, 25; Ps. 119, 164; II Ch. 8, 13).

¹ For combination of 'each' and 'all' cf. p. 161.

² Similar combinations of masculine and feminine forms, implying the not explicitly expressing the idea of 'every, all' are found in Is. 11, 12; 43, 6; 49, 22; 49, 23; 60, 4; Jer. 48, 19; Ezk. 21, 31; Zech. 9, 17; *two suffixes* Is. 38, 16; *two verbs* Nah. 3, 159.

³ 'Every sort' is also expressed by כָּל, cf. p. 159.

⁴ These cases are cited by Gesenius-Kautzsch (§§ 123^c, 134^q) as instances of distributive ל. So also לְמֵאוֹת, לְאַלְפִים I Sam. 29, 2; II Sam. 18, 4 (cf. p. 141, n.); cf. also S. Herner, *Syntax der Zahlwörter im alten Testament*, (dissertation) Lund 1893, p. 125. As already recognized by König, *Syntax*, p. 336f. there is no distributive ל.

וַיִּבְיֵאֵם חֲמִשִּׁים אִישׁ בְּמַעְרָה 'and he hid them fifty men in each cave' (I Ki. 18, 4).

וָאָקַח מֵכֶם שְׁנַיִם עָשָׂר אַנְשִׁים אִישׁ אֶחָד לְשִׁבְטָא 'and I took from you twelve men, one from each tribe' (Dt. 1, 23).

וַיִּשְׁלַחֵם עֲשָׂרַת אֲלָפִים בְּחֹדֶשׁ 'and he sent them ... ten thousand each month' (I Ki. 5, 28).

וְשִׁמַּתָּ אוֹתָם שְׁתֵּים מַעְרֻכּוֹת שֵׁשׁ הַמַּעְרָכָה 'and thou shalt set them in two rows, each row six' (Lev. 24, 6).

מֵעֶשֶׂר הַבַּת מִן־הַכּוֹר 'the tenth of a bath out of every kor' (Ezk. 45, 14; cf. Jud. 17, 10; Ezk. 4, 10; 45, 24^{ter}; 46, 5^{bis}; 7^{ter}; 11^{ter}; Neh. 10, 33).

בְּקַע לְגִלְגָּלַת 'a beka [= 1/2 shekel] to every head' (Ex. 38, 26; cf. 12, 3; 16, 16).

עֶשְׂרִים גֵּרָה הַשֶּׁקֶל 'every shekel is ten gerahs [= a shekel equals ten gerahs]' (Ex. 30, 13; Num. 3, 47).

וַיַּעַל פָּר וְאַיִל בְּמוֹבַח 'and he offered a bullock and a ram on every altar' (Num. 23, 14).

וְהִבִּיאוּ לְבֹקֵר וּבְחִיכִם 'and bring your sacrifices every morning' (Am. 4, 4).¹

Occasionally the article is omitted in these constructions the idea of 'each', 'every' being understood from the context, e. g.,

רַחֵם רַחֲמָתַיִם לְרֹאשׁ נָבֵר 'a wench or two to a [every] man' (Jud. 5, 30).

וְלָקַחְתִּי אֶתְכֶם אֶחָד מֵעִיר וּשְׁנַיִם מִמִּשְׁפָּחָה 'and I take you, one from a [every] city and two from a [every] clan' (Jer. 3, 14).

The idea of 'every' modifying a numeral, cardinal or ordinal, is expressed by the article as in the construction just discussed, e. g.,

וְלָקַחְנוּ עֶשְׂרֵה אַנְשִׁים לְמֵאָה 'and we will take ten men of every hundred' (Jud. 20, 10; cf. Num. 31, 30; 47; Neh. 11, 1).

עֲגֹלָה עַל־שְׁנֵי הַנְּשָׂאִים וְשׁוֹר לְאֶחָד 'a wagon for every two princes and an ox for each one' (Num. 7, 3).

אֶחָד נֶפֶשׁ מִחַיַּשׁ הַמָּאוֹת 'one head [life] of every five hundred' (Num. 31, 28; Ezk. 45, 15).

וַיָּשֶׂם לְפִיד אֶחָד בֵּין שְׁנֵי הַזְּנָבוֹת בְּתוֹךְ 'and he placed a torch in the midst between every two tails' (Jud. 15, 4).

¹ The meaning 'every' here is possible, but by no means certain, the article may be nothing but the ordinary article, cf. K. Marti, *Dodeka-propheton*, Tübingen. 1904 [= Kurz. Handc. zum AT., 13], p. 181.

וְנִטַּשׁ אֶת־הַשָּׁנָה הַשְּׁבִיעִית 'and that we would set aside every seventh year' (Neh. 10, 32; cf. Lev. 27, 32[?]).

The article, however, may be omitted with the higher numerals just as it is with אֶחָד 'each one', e. g.,

"אֶחָת לְשָׁלֹשׁ שָׁנִים תָּבוֹא' 'once in [every] seven years there came ...' (I Ki. 10, 22; II Ch. 9, 21).

מִקֵּץ שִׁבְע־שָׁנִים תַּעֲשֶׂה שְׁמִטָּה 'at the end of [every] seven years thou shalt institute a release' (Dt. 15, 1; cf. 14, 28; 31, 10).

The same idea is expressed by בֵּין 'between' in—
וּבֵין עֶשְׂרֵת יָמִים בְּכָל־יַיִן 'and every ten days some of all [kinds of] wine' (Neh. 5, 18).¹

The article is not infrequently employed in connection with other constructions for 'each', 'every'. For its combination with repetition see next paragraph; instances of its use with other constructions are, e. g.,

"וַיְהוֶה יוֹשִׁיב לְאִישׁ אֶת־צְדָקָתוֹ 'and JHVH reward every one [according to] his righteousness ...' (I Sam. 26, 23; cf. I Ki. 8, 39; Prov. 24, 29; II Ch. 6, 30).

שְׁנֵי הָעֶמֶר לְאֶחָד 'two homers for each' (Ex. 16, 22; cf. Num. 15, 12).

אֶחָד עַל־הַמְּכוּנָה הָאֶחָת 'one ḥasin upon each base' (I Ki. 7, 38^{ter}; cf. p. 152).

וַיָּהִי נִגּוּעַ כָּל־יְהִיּוֹם וְתוֹכַחְתִּי לְבִקְרִים 'for all day long I have been plagued and my chastisement was every morning' (Ps. 73, 14; cf. Zech. 4, 2[?]²).

Sometimes 'each' is rendered by one of the constructions expressing the idea of 'each' (cf. p. 148 ff.) in connection with repetition, e. g.,

כָּקָד אוֹתָם " אִישׁ אִישׁ עַל־עֲבֹדָתוֹ 'and they were numbered each according to his work' (Num. 4, 49; cf. Ex. 36, 4).

אִישׁ וְאִישׁ יָלַד בָּהּ 'every man was born in her' (Ps. 87, 5; cf. Esth. 1, 8).

וְאִתְּכֶם יִהְיֶה אִישׁ אִישׁ לְמִטָּה 'and with you there shall be a man of every tribe' (Num. 1, 4).

¹ For ב cf. p. 175 f. With בֵּין cf. use of Syriac ܒܝܢ 'between' in distributive expressions (Nöldeke, *Syr. Gramm.*² p. 178, § 240).

² In Zech. 4, 2 the meaning of the text as it stands is certainly 'seven pipes to every lamp', לְנֵרוֹת in this case is to be considered like לְבִקְרִים Ps. 73, 14. If, however, one שְׁבִיעָה is omitted (cf. K. Marti, *Dodekapheton* p. 413) this example does not belong here.

לְאֶחָד שֵׁשׁ כְּנָפִים 'Seraphim ... with six wings to each' (Is. 6, 2).

אִישׁ־אֶחָד אִישׁ־אֶחָד מִשִּׁבְט מִשִּׁבְט 'one man from every tribe' Jos. 4, 2; 4).
אִישׁ אֶחָד אִישׁ אֶחָד לְמִטָּה אֲבֹתָיו תִּשְׁלָחוּ 'one man of every tribe of their fathers thou shalt send' (Num. 13, 2).

שְׁנֵי עָשָׂר אִישׁ אִישׁ אֶחָד אִישׁ אֶחָד לְשִׁבְט 'twelve men, one for every tribe' (Josh. 3, 12; cf. Ex. 36, 30; Num. 28, 21; 29; contr. 29, 4).

וְלָקַחְתָּ חֲמִשָּׁת חֲמִשָּׁת שֶׁקֶלִים לְגִלְגָּלֶת 'thou shalt take five shekels for each one [head]' (Num. 3, 47; cf. I Ki. 18, 13; Ezk. 10, 21; Zech. 4, 2¹).

עֶשְׂרֵה עֶשְׂרֵה הֶבֶף בְּשֶׁקֶל 'each spoon ten shekels in weight' (Num. 7, 86).

שְׁנֵי אֲדָנִים תַּחַת הַקָּרֶשׁ הָאֶחָד וּשְׁנֵי אֲדָנִים תַּחַת הַקָּרֶשׁ הָאֶחָד 'two supports under each board' (Ex. 26, 21; cf. 19; 25).

אֶלֶף לַמָּטָה אֶלֶף לַמָּטָה תִּשְׁלָחוּ לַמָּלְחָמָה 'a thousand of every tribe ye shall send to war' (Num. 31, 4).

The idea of 'each', 'every' is sometimes expressed, chiefly in poetry, by using a singular (as predicate, pronominal suffix, &c.) to refer to a plural noun, the singular referring to each individual included in the plural. The meaning is very similar to 'any' and sometimes the construction passes completely over to this character, e. g.,

אֲרִיָּה אָרוּר וּמְבָרֵךְ בְּרוּךְ 'every one of those that curse thee shall be cursed, and every one that blesses thee shall be blessed' (Gen. 27, 29; cf. Num. 24, 9; Is. 3, 12; Prov. 3, 18).

מִחַלְלֶיהָ מוֹת יוֹמָת 'every one that defiles it shall surely be put to death' (Ex. 31, 14; cf. Lev. 19, 8; Prov. 18, 21; 27, 16; 28, 16 *Kt.*).

זֶבַח רָשָׁעִים תוֹעֵבָה אֵף כִּי־בֹמָה יביאנו 'the sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination, how much the more when every one of them brings it in wickedness' (Prov. 21, 27; cf. Is. 57, 2; Zech. 14, 12).

וְצַדִּיקִים כְּבִדּוֹר יִכְתָּם 'and the righteous are every one as bold as a lion' (Prov. 28, 1; cf. 3, 35).

מֵאֲנָה לְהִנָּחֵם עַל־בָּנֶיהָ כִּי אֵינָנו 'refusing to be comforted for her children, for every one is dead' (Jer. 31, 15).

¹ See p. 156, n. 2.

² Apparently only the numeral is repeated when noun + numeral is taken distributively.

וְאֶל-עֲוֹנָם יִשְׂאוּ נַפְשׁוֹ 'and upon their iniquity they set every one his heart' (Hos. 4, 8; cf. Is. 2, 7*bis*; 8; 35, 7; 57, 2; Zech. 14, 12*bis*; Ps. 5, 10; 62, 5; Job 38, 32).

בְּיָדְךָ בִּי־תֵצֵא לְמִלְחָמָה עַל-אֹיְבֶיךָ וְנָתַנּוּ יְהוָה 'for thou shalt go out to fight with thy enemies, and JHWH will give every one of them into thy hands' (Dt. 21, 10; cf. 28, 48; Am. 6, 10; Ecc. 10, 15).

אֲשֶׁר עָשׂוּ-לֹו 'which they made every one for himself' (Is. 2, 20; cf. 5, 26; 8, 20; 30, 22; Job 24, 5; מִמֶּנּוּ Is. 5, 23).

וַיִּזְעַקוּ הָעֶקְרוֹנִים לֵאמֹר הֵסִבּוּ אֵלַי אֶת-אֲרוֹן 'and the Ekronites cried out they have brought the ark to every one of us to kill us and our people' (I Sam. 5, 10).¹

'Every' used absolutely, English 'every one' is usually expressed by the word for 'all' in the forms כָּל, הַכָּל or כָּלֹו; כָּל and הַכָּל ordinarily take the construction of a singular, but may take that of a plural,² e. g.,

יָדוֹ בְּכָל יָד כָּל בּוֹ 'his hand shall be against every one, and the hand of every one against him' (Gen. 16, 12).

כָּל הַבָּאִישׁ עַל-עַם לֹא יִזְעִילוּ 'and every one will be ashamed of a worthless people' (Is. 30, 5).

וְתָמוּ כָל בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם 'they shall every one [all] come to an end in the land of Egypt' (Jer. 44, 12; Prov. 19, 6³).

JHWH is good to every one [all]' (Ps. 145, 9; cf. Ecc. 5, 8; 9, 3; 10, 3; Ezr. 8, 34).

כָּלֹו אֹהֵב שֶׁחֵר וְרוֹדֵף שְׂלֵמִים 'every one is a lover of gifts and a chaser of rewards' (Is. 1, 23; cf. Ex. 14, 7; Is. 9, 16; 15, 3; 16, 7; Jer. 6, 13; 8, 6; 10*bis*; 15, 10; 20, 7; Ps. 29, 9; 53, 4).⁴

'Every' used attributively is expressed by כָּל in construct before the modified noun, which is singular and indefinite.

¹ The singular suffix of אֵלַי, however, may refer to the collective idea implied in הָעֶקְרוֹנִים, the meaning being then 'and Ekron cried they have brought the ark to me to kill me and my people'.

² Cf. use of כָּל and הַכָּל for 'all' p. 203f.

³ Read for כָּל הָרֵעַ, כָּל הָרֵעַ 'every one is the friend of'.

⁴ כָּלֹו may be explained as a collective (= כָּלָם) with the concord of a singular or as plural + singular suffix (cf. p. 157). It is not impossible to suppose that we have here an appositional suffix (viz. כָּל 'every one' + ה' 'he') such as has developed in Ethiopic and Amharic into a sort of definite article (cf. Dillmann-Bezold, *Äthiop. Gramm.*², Leipzig, 1899, §§ 156, 172*b*; F. Praetorius, *Die amharische Sprache*, Halle, 1879, p. 199 ff.) but this is unlikely.

The noun may take other modifiers like any indefinite noun preceded by a construct, e. g.,

כָּל-בֵּית 'every house' (Is. 24, 10).

כָּל-עַם 'every people' (Esth. 3, 8).

כָּל-אִשָּׁה 'every woman' (Num. 31, 17).

כָּל-אִישׁ מְשֻׁנָּע 'every mad man' (Jer. 29, 26; cf. Prov. 2, 9).

כָּל-עִיר מְבֻצָּר 'every fortified city' (II Ki. 3, 19).

כָּל-לֵבב אָנוּשׁ 'every human heart' (Is. 13, 7).

כָּל both absolute and attributive has sometimes the force of 'every sort of', e. g.,

שְׁנַיִם מִכָּל סוֹר מְבִיא אֶל-הַתְּהֵמָה 'two of every sort thou shalt bring into the ark' (Gen. 6, 19; cf. 20).¹

מְבִיאִים דָּאג וְכָל-מִקְר 'bringing fish and all sorts of ware' (Neh. 13, 16; cf. Lev. 19, 23; Neh. 5, 18; I Ch. 29, 2).²

כָּל before a singular demonstrative has sometimes the force of 'every one of them, all of them',³ e. g.,

כָּל-יָהּ קָלַע בְּאַבְנֵי אֶל-הַשֶּׁעָרָה וְלֹא יִחָטָא 'every one of them could sling stones to a hair's breadth without missing' (Jud. 20, 16).

כָּל-יָהּ אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה 'every one of them was a warrior' (Jud. 20, 17).

'Every one' modified by the idea of a relative clause may be expressed by כָּל or כָּל-אִישׁ followed by a relative clause, but usually it is rendered by כָּל followed by the participle or adjective that constitutes the predicate of the dependent clause treated like the indefinite nouns in the last paragraph, e. g., כָּל-אִשָּׁר בִּטְחָ בָהֶם 'every one that trusts in them' (Ps. 115, 8; 135, 18).

לְכָל-יָבֹא 'thy might to every one that is to come' (Ps. 71, 18; cf. II Ch. 30, 18—19).

מֵאֵת כָּל-אִישׁ אֲשֶׁר יִדְבְּנוּ לְבֹ 'from every one whose heart gives it freely' (Ex. 25, 2).

כָּל-אִישׁ אֲשֶׁר יִהְיֶה לוֹ רִיב וּמִשְׁפֶּט 'every one that has a quarrel or a case' (II Sam. 15, 4).

¹ Dan. 11, 2 is classed here by Siegfried-Stade *Hebr. Wörterbuch*, Leipzig, 1893, p. 289*b*, but מִכָּל means rather 'than all' than 'of all sorts'. For the expression of 'every sort' by repetition, cf. p. 154 and p. 141, n.

² Gen. 24, 10 does not belong here (so Gesenius-Buhl, p. 342); כָּל-טוֹב אֲדָנִי means 'all the goods entrusted to him by his master'.

³ Perhaps to be classed with the constructions in which a singular refers to a plural antecedent, p. 157.

יִהְיֶה כָּל־מִצְאֵי יִהְרֹגֵנִי 'and it shall come to pass that every one that I meet will kill me' (Gen. 4, 14; cf. *without suffix* Ps. 128, 1; Is. 55, 1).

וּלְכָל־מִתְנַדֵּב נִדְבָה לִיהוּה 'and to every one that gives a free gift to JH^VH' (Ezr. 3, 5; cf. Ezk. 16, 25).

וְאֵלַי יֵאָסְפוּ כָל חֹרֵד בְּדִבְרֵי " 'and unto me were gathered every one that trembled at the words of . . . ' (Ezr. 9, 4).

עַל־זֹאת יִתְפַּלֵּל כָּל־חַסִּיד " 'therefore shall every one that is pious pray . . . ' (Ps. 32, 6; cf. Job 40, 11; 12).

Sometimes the noun or participle modified by כָּל in the sense of 'every' is accompanied by the article, as the result of some confusion between the ideas of 'every' and 'all', e. g.,

וַיְהִי כָל־הָאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר יָהָה לוֹ רִיב " 'and every man that had a dispute . . . ' (II Sam. 15, 2).¹

כָּל־הַמְּשָׁכָב אֲשֶׁר יֹשֵׁב עָלָיו " 'every seat upon which he sat' (Lev. 15, 4 *bis*).²

כָּל־הַנוֹתָר בְּקֶרֶב הָאָרֶץ " 'every one that is left in the midst of the land' (Is. 7, 22; cf. 43, 7; Jer. 5, 6; Zech. 5, 3; Dan. 12, 1).³

In connection with the words for 'man' אִישׁ &c., and דָּבָר 'thing' כָּל makes a more emphatic 'every one', 'every thing'; דָּבָר may take the article (cf. above), e. g.,

הוֹצִיאוּ כָל־אִישׁ מֵעָלַי " 'cause every one to go out from me' (Gen. 45, 1; cf. II Sam. 13, 9 *bis*; 15, 4).

אֵף הֶבֶל כָּל־אָדָם " 'every one is only a breath' (Ps. 39, 12; cf. 6; Job 21, 33).

אֵף אֲשֶׁר יֵאָכַל לְכָל־נֶפֶשׁ " 'only what shall be eaten by every one' (Ex. 12, 16).

בִּידֵּי־כָל־אָדָם יִחְתֹּם " 'he seals up the hand of every one' (Job 37, 7).

לְקִים כָּל־דָּבָר " 'to confirm every thing' (Ru. 4, 7).

כָּל־דָּבָר אֲשֶׁר־יִבָּא בָאֵשׁ " 'every thing that will stand fire' (Num. 31, 23; cf. II Sam. 15, 36).

¹ The use of the article here is due to a confusion between כָּל־אִישׁ 'every one' and כָּל־הָאִישׁ 'all the men'. That 'every one' is intended by the writer is indicated by לוֹ and also by כָּל־אִישׁ in the similar passage v. 4.

² These examples are due perhaps to a confusion between 'every seat' and 'the whole seat' both of which ideas were in the mind of the writer. In Ps. 119, 160 כָּל־מִשְׁפַּח דֹּקֵךְ belongs under 'all' מִשְׁפַּח being collective.

³ In these examples where the modified nouns are participles the article is similar to the article used as relative pronoun; cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 138 *i*, *k*.

‘עֲדֵיתָם כָּל־הַדָּבָר אֲשֶׁר’ ‘until every thing was completed that...’ (Jos. 4, 10; cf. Dt. 13, 1; II Sam. 15, 35; Jer. 42, 4; 5; 44, 17).

‘Every thing’ modified by an adjective idea is expressed by כָּל or כָּל־דָּבָר + masculine adjective, e. g.,

כָּל־יֶרֹק ‘everything green’ (Job 39, 8; cf. Neh. 9, 25).

כָּל־מָר ‘everything bitter’ (Prov. 27, 7).

כָּל־נֶעְלָם ‘everything hidden’ (Ecc. 12, 14).

אֵת כָּל־גִּבְהָ ‘everything high’ (Job 41, 26).

כָּל־דָּבָר רָע ‘everything evil’ (Dt. 17, 1; 23, 10).

The constructions for the expression of ‘each’ may be combined with כָּל ‘all’ to express the idea of ‘each and every’, e. g.,
אֶנְיִירָה שְׁמִי בְּכָל־דֹּר וְדֹר ‘I will make thy name to be remembered in each and every generation’ (Ps. 45, 18; cf. 145, 13; Esth. 9, 28; יום Esth. 2, 11; שָׁנָה Esth. 9, 27; עִיר II Ch. 11, 12).

וַיִּכְרְתוּ גַם־כָּל־הָעָם אִישׁ שׂוֹכָה ‘and each and every one of the people cut down his bough’ (Jud. 9, 49; cf. 7, 7; 8; I Sam. 30, 6; II Sam. 15, 30).

לְכֻלָּם נָתַן לְאִישׁ חֲלָפוֹת שְׂמָלֹת ‘to each and every one he gave changes of raiment’ (Gen. 45, 22; cf. Ezk. 7, 16).

וַנָּשָׁב כָּלֵנוּ אֶת־כָּל־הַחוֹמָה אִישׁ אֶל־מְלָאכְתּוֹ ‘and each and every one of us returned to the wall to his work’ (Neh. 4, 9).

וְאֶשְׁלַח אֶת־כָּל־הָעָדָם אִישׁ בְּרֵעֵהוּ ‘and I will set each and every one against his neighbor’ (Zech. 8, 10).

וַיִּתְּנוּ אֵלָיו כָּל־נְשֵׂאֵיהֶם מִטָּה לְנִשְׂאִי אֶחָד מִטָּה לְנִשְׂאִי אֶחָד ‘and each and every one of the princes gave him a rod’ (Num. 17, 21).

For כָּל ‘every’ emphasized by repetition and יַחַד cf. under ‘all’, p. 211.

For ‘every’ combined with ‘some’, ‘any’, ‘no’, cf. under ‘all’, p. 212.

Indefinite Cardinals.

*So and So, Such and Such.*¹

This idea used absolutely is expressed by כ + demonstrative or pronoun of the third person used twice, or by the combination כְּכֵן אֶלְמָנִי,² e. g.,

¹ In some of the examples here given ‘so and so’ might be regarded as either adverbial or pronominal.

² In Dan. 8, 13 כְּכֵן אֶלְמָנִי used absolutely is either a contraction or a scribal corruption of this longer form.

כִּזְוֹת וְכִזְוֹת דְּכִזְוֹת הַנְּעָרָה 'such and such things said the girl' (II Ki. 5, 4; cf. 9, 12; Jos. 7, 20; II Sam. 17, 15).

כִּזְוֹת וְכִזְוֹת עָשָׂה לִי מִיכָה 'such and such things has Micah done to me' (Jud. 18, 4; cf. I Ki. 14, 5; II Sam. 11, 25).

וְאִסְפָּה לְךָ כְּהֵנָּה וְכֵהָנָה 'I would have given you besides such and such things' (II Sam. 12, 8).

שִׁבְה־פֹּה פִּלְנִי אֶלְמָנִי 'sit here So and So' (Ru. 4, 1).

This idea used attributively is expressed by אֶלְמָנִי standing as a genitive after its noun, in—

אֶל-מְקוֹם פִּלְנִי אֶלְמָנִי 'to such and such a place' (I Sam. 21, 3; II Ki. 6, 8).

Occasionally this idea is expressed by the simple demonstrative, or by the adverb 'thus', e. g.,

הִשָּׁמֶר מֵעֲבֹר הַמְּקוֹם הַזֶּה 'take care not to go by such and such a place' (II Ki. 6, 9).

כֹּה יַעֲשֶׂה לְאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר יָכֹנֶה 'so and so shall it be done to the one that kills him' (I Sam. 17, 27; cf. I Ki. 22, 20).

It is apparently expressed by אֶחָד 'a certain one' in—
וַיֹּאמֶר מֵאֶחָד שְׂבָטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל עֲבָדָה 'and he would say thy servant is from such and such a tribe of Israel' (II Sam. 15, 2).

A certain, Certain.

This idea, which is usually employed attributively, is ordinarily expressed simply by the indefinite state of the noun. e. g.,
וַיֹּאשׁ מִשָּׁה בִּקְשָׁתָהּ לְתִמּוֹ 'and a certain man drew his bow to its fullest extent' (I Ki. 22, 34; cf. II Ki. 4, 42).

וַיִּמְצְאֵהוּ אִישׁ 'and he met a certain man' (Gen. 37, 15; cf. 32, 25).

וַהֲגֵה אִישׁ אֶלְהִים בָּא מִיהוּדָה 'and there came a certain man of God from Judah' (I Ki. 13, 1; cf. 20, 28).

וַהֲגֵה אִישׁ זָקֵן בָּא מִן־הַשָּׂדֶה 'and there came a certain old man . . . from the field' (Jud. 19, 16; cf. II Sam. 1, 2).

וַיִּשֶׁן נֶקְרָא אִישׁ בְּלִיעֵל 'and there happened to be there a certain worthless man' (II Sam. 20, 1).

וּמָצָא בָּהּ אִישׁ מְכָבֵד חָכָם 'and there was found in it a certain poor, wise man' (Ecc. 9, 15).¹

וַיֵּרְאוּ הַשֹּׁמְרִים אִישׁ יוֹצֵא מִן־הָעִיר 'and the watchers saw a certain man coming from the city' (Jud. 1, 24).

¹ Two adjectives occur here without connecting *ו* as modifiers of the same noun. Usually the connective is employed, cf. my *Comp. Syn. Noun and Mod.*, p. 167f.

וְשָׁם אִתָּנוּ נֶעַר עִבְרִי 'and there with us was a certain Hebrew boy' (Gen. 41, 12).

וַיִּלְכְּדוּ-נֶעַר מֵאֲנָשֵׁי סִבּוֹת 'and he captured a certain boy of the people of Succoth' (Jud. 8, 14; cf. I Sam. 21, 8).

וַיִּצְוֵנִי דָבָר 'he entrusted to me a certain matter' (I Sam. 21, 3).

וְהָכֹהֵן בְּדִי רִשְׁעָתוֹ בְּמִסְפָּר 'and shall beat him according to his offence with a certain number [of stripes]' (Dt. 25, 2).

יָצְאוּ אָנָשִׁים בְּנֵי-בְלִיעַל 'certain worthless men have gone out . . . ' (Dt. 13, 14).

וַאֲנִי דָנִיֵּאל נִהְיִיתִי וְנִחָלִיתִי יָמִים 'and I Daniel fainted and was ill certain days' (Dan. 8, 27; cf. Neh. 1, 4).

Sometimes in the case of a singular noun this idea is strengthened by the addition of the adjective אֶחָד 'one',¹ e. g., וַיֵּרָא אִישׁ אֶחָד 'and a certain man saw [it]' (II Sam. 18, 10; cf. I Ki. 20, 35).

וַתְּשַׁלֶּךְ אִשָּׁה אֶחָת פָּלֶחַ רָכָב עַל-רֹאשׁ 'and a certain woman cast an upper mill-stone upon the head of . . . ' (Jud. 9, 53).

שְׁנֵי אָנָשִׁים הָיוּ בְּעִיר אֶחָת 'there were two men in a certain city' (II Sam. 12, 1).

וְלֹאֲבִיגַיִל הַגִּיד נְעַר-אֶחָד מִהַנְּעָרִים 'and a certain one of the young men told Abigail' (I Sam. 25, 14; cf. II Ki. 4, 1).

'A certain one' in a partitive sense is expressed by אֶחָד, absolute or construct, or with article (cf. below), by אִישׁ אֶחָד or by אִישׁ, governing the noun of which they form a part after מִן (cf. also preceding example). The plural 'certain ones' may be expressed by אָנָשִׁים 'men' followed by מִן, e. g.,

וַיֹּאמֶר אֶחָד מֵעַבְדָּיו 'and a certain one of his servants said . . . ' (II Ki. 6, 12; *abs.* cf. 17, 28; I Sam. 16, 18; 26, 22; Ezk. 19, 3).

וּמִן-הָאֶחָת מֵהֶם יָצָא 'and from a certain one of them came forth . . . ' (Dan. 8, 9).

וְאִישׁ אֶחָד מִבְּנֵי הַנְּבִיאִים 'and a certain one of the prophets . . . ' (I Ki. 20, 35; cf. Ezk. 33, 2).

וְשָׁם אִישׁ מֵעַבְדֵי שָׁאוּל בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא 'and a certain one of Saul's servants was there on that day' (I Sam. 21, 8; cf. Num. 25, 6).

הוּא וְאָנָשִׁים מִיהוּדָה 'he and certain men of Judah' (Neh. 1, 2; cf. Jer. 26, 17; Ezk. 14, 1; 20, 1).

¹ This construction is the germ of a formal indefinite article. In only a few cases, however, in Hebrew, has אֶחָד 'a certain' been weakened to simple 'a', cf. Ex. 16, 33; Jos. 4, 5; II Ki. 6, 2. Most of the cases which are usually cited as examples of אֶחָד = 'a' are rather = 'a certain', so Jud. 13, 2; I Sam. 1, 1; I Ki. 13, 11; II Ki. 4, 1; Dan. 8, 13.

“וַיָּבֹאוּ אֲנָשִׁים מִשֶּׁחֶם” ‘and there came certain men from Shechem . . .’ (Jer. 41, 5; cf. Num. 16, 2; Jos. 2, 2).

וַאֲכָה מֵהֶם אֲנָשִׁים ‘and I smote certain of them’ (Neh. 13, 25).

Not infrequently the definite article used indefinitely has the meaning of ‘a certain, certain’, e. g.,

“וַיָּבֹא הַפְּלִיט” ‘and a certain fugitive came . . .’ (Gen. 14, 13; cf. Ezk. 33, 21; Num. 11, 27 הַנֶּעֱר; II Sam. 15, 13 הַמִּנִּיד; 17, 17 הַשִּׁפְחָה).

וַיָּפֹנֶע בְּמָקוֹם וָלֵן שָׁם ‘and he came upon a certain place, and spent the night there’ (Gen. 28, 11; cf. Ex. 2, 15 הַבְּאָר).

וַיִּקְרַב אֶל־אֶחָיו אֶת־הַמִּדְיָנִית ‘and he brought among his fellows a certain Midianitish woman’ (Num. 25, 6).

וַיֵּרָא מַלְאָךְ יְהוָה אֵלָיו ‘and the angel of the Lord appeared to him . . . in the midst of a certain bush’ (Ex. 3, 2).

וְכָא הָאֲרִי ‘and a certain lion came and took a sheep from the flock’ (I Sam. 17, 34).

וַיְהִי הַיּוֹם וַיֵּצֵא אֶל־אָבִיו אֶל־הַקְּצָרִים ‘and on a certain day [= one day] he went out to his father, to the reapers (II Ki. 4, 18; cf. 8; 11; I Sam. 1, 4; 14, 1; Job 1, 6; 13).

וְהָאֲרָב יָשֵׁב לָהּ בַּחֲדָר ‘and there were certain men lying in wait in the chamber with her’ (Jud. 16, 9).

‘A certain one’ used absolutely may be expressed by the אֶחָד preceded by this indefinite definite article¹; ‘certain’ plural, by אֲנָשִׁים, e. g.,

וַיִּפְתַּח הָאֶחָד אֶת־שָׁקוֹ ‘and a certain one [of them] opened his sack’ (Gen. 42, 27; cf. II Ki. 6, 3; 5).

וַיְהִי אֲנָשִׁים אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ טְמֵאִים ‘and there were certain men that were unclean . . .’ (Num. 9, 6).

אֶחָד ‘a certain one’ may take a correlative ‘other’ like אֶחָד ‘one’, (cf. p. 137 f.), e. g.,

וַאֲשֶׁר אֶחָד מִבְּנֵי הַנְּבִיאִים אָמַר אֶל־רֵעֵהוּ ‘and a certain one of the prophets said to another’ (I Ki. 20, 35).

When ‘certain’ modifies a singular with possessive suffix it may be expressed by אֶחָד after the noun either with or without the indefinite definite article, e. g.,

¹ Probably the use of אֶחָד without article was also possible. אֶחָד and אֶחָד were also probably employed in this sense, tho they are ordinarily used with the added sense of ‘man’, (cf. Gen. 37, 15; I Ki. 22, 34; II Sam. 18, 10).

"אֶחָד אֶתְכֶם אַחֵר יֵאָסֵר" let [a certain] one, your brother [of your brothers] be bound . . . ' (Gen. 42, 19).¹

אֶחָדְכֶם הָאֶחֶר הֵנִיחוּ אִתִּי 'leave one of your brothers with me' (Gen. 42, 33).

*Some, Any, No.*²

These ideas are usually expressed by the same constructions, and are best treated together. However, the two ideas 'any' and 'no' ('no' being the negative of 'any', not of 'some') have in common a number of constructions which are not found in the case of 'some'.

When these ideas stand as the subject of a sentence containing a verbal predicate,³ they may be represented simply by the unexpressed, indefinite subject of the verb. When the verb stands in a dependent sentence, or in other words when the subject has the meaning 'some that', 'some one that', &c., it is regularly represented by the participle, usually without relative pronoun. In a dependent sentence, the predicate of such an indefinite subject may also be an adjective. The participles and adjectives are treated in this case just like nouns. When the predicate is singular its subject represents 'some one', 'any one', or 'no one', when it is plural, 'some', 'any', 'none', e. g., וַיְהִי אַחֲרֵי הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה וַיֹּאמֶר לְיוֹסֵף 'and after these things some one said to Joseph' (Gen. 48, 1; cf. 2; I Sam. 24, 11).

אֵלֵי קָרָא מִשְׁעִיר 'some one calls to me from Seir' (Is. 21, 11).

וַיִּבְשּׁוּ עַצְמוֹתֵינוּ הִנֵּה אֲמָרִים 'there are some that say, our bones are dried up' (Ezk. 37, 11).

¹ Cf. אֶחָד יָדוּ Neh. 4, 11 under 'one—other' p. 139.

² These words when used in this article without limitation are meant to include all uses of the indefinite ideas they represent, absolute, attributive, partitive, e. g., 'some' sg. and pl. adj.; 'some one', 'something', 'some' pl. absolute; 'some of' partitive: and so with 'any' and 'no'.

³ The indefinite personal pronoun French *on*, German *man*, English *you*, *they*, is expressed by the same constructions that denote 'some', 'any', 'no' as subject, viz., by

a) unexpressed indefinite subject, e. g.,

עֲלֵינוּ קָרָא שְׁמָה בָּבֶל 'therefore they [one] called its name Babel' (Gen. 11, 9; cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebr. Gr.*²³, § 144*d*).

כִּי מִן הַבָּאָר הֵהוּא וַשְׁקוּ הָעֶזְרִים 'for from that well they [one] watered the flocks' (Gen. 29, 2; cf. Ges.-Kaut., *Hebr. Gr.*²³, § 144*f*).

b) cognate participle, cf. p. 167, n.

c) הָאֵישׁ, cf. p. 172, n. 2.

אִמְרִים וְיֵשׁ אֲשֶׁר אָמְרִים 'and there are some that say...' (Neh. 5, 2; 3; 4).
 בָּשָׁבַת בִּיהוּדָה דֹּרְכִים גָּתַת בְּשִׁבְתָּ 'I saw in Judah some that trod
 wine presses on the Sabbath' (Neh. 13, 15; *sg.* I Ki. 1, 48).

וְאֶמְנָה "וְאֶמְנָה" וְלִמְנַחֲמִים וְלֹא מִצְאֵתִי 'and I sought . . . and for some to
 comfort [me] and found none' (Ps. 69, 21).

וַיְהִי כְּמַצְחֵק בְּעֵינֵי חֲתָנָיו 'and he was as [some] one that joked in
 the eyes of his sons-in-law' (Gen. 19, 14; cf. Ps. 119, 162;
 Prov. 6, 11; Cant. 1, 7; 8, 10).

וּמַדְבֵּר הַמֶּלֶךְ הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה כְּאִשָּׁם 'for the king speaks this as one
 guilty' (II Sam. 14, 13; cf. Ps. 35, 14 אָבָל; 78, 65 יָשָׁן; cf. also
 Num. 12, 12 מָת; Ps. 89, 11 תָּלַל).

וְאִם אִשָּׁם אֶמְרֵי 'and if any one say I have sinned . . .' (Job
 33, 27).

הֲבֵי יִשְׁעוֹד אֲשֶׁר נֹתֵר לְבֵית שָׁאוּל 'is there still any one left of
 the house of Saul' (II Sam. 9, 1).

וְלֹא אָמַר אֵיךְ אֱלֹהֵי עֹשִׂי 'and no one says, where is God my
 maker' (Job 35, 10; cf. 12; Is. 44, 19; Ps. 22, 30).

וְלֹא יֵרָאוּ פָנַי רֵיקָם 'and none shall appear before me empty-
 handed' (Ex. 23, 15).

וְלֹא יִתְּמֵנוּ 'let none hold him' (Prov. 28, 17).

בָּתִּים לֹא יֵשְׁבוּ לָמוֹ 'houses in which none dwell' (Job 15, 28).

וְיֵרִיחוֹ מִסָּבִיב "מִסָּבִיב" אֵין יוֹצֵא וְאֵין בָּא 'and Jericho was besieged . . . no
 one came out and no one went in' (Jos. 6, 1; cf. Lev. 26, 6;
 II Ki. 9, 10; Is. 1, 31; 5, 29; 14, 31; 22, 22*bis*; 34, 10; 59, 4*bis*;
 66, 4; Jer. 4, 4; 13, 19; Ezk. 34, 6*bis*; Ps. 50, 22; Job 11, 19;
 II Ch. 20, 24).

וְאֵין לָהּ מְנַחֵם מִכָּל-אֲהָבָהּ 'and of all her lovers she has none to
 comfort her' (Lam. 1, 2; cf. 1, 17; Dt. 28, 31).

וְאֵין הֹלֵךְ לַמִּלְחָמָה 'but no one goes to war' (Ezk. 7, 14; cf. Dt.
 32, 39).

וְאֵין יֹרֵד אַתֶּם 'and ye shall flee when no one pursues
 you' (Lev. 26, 17; cf. Gen. 40, 8).

וְאֵין רֹאֶה 'thou hast said, no one sees me' (Is. 47, 10).¹

וְאֵין יוֹצֵא וְאֵין יוֹבֵא 'that he might not allow any one to
 come out or go in to Asa' (II Ch. 16, 1; cf. Jer. 51, 62).

וְאֵין יֹשֵׁב 'and the cities of Judah I
 will make a wilderness so that no one dwells [there]' (Jer.
 9, 10; cf. 11).

וְאֵין מֵעֵד 'Zion's paths mourn because none
 come to her feasts' (Lam. 1, 4).

¹ The logical subject of אֵין is only apparently definite, but cf. p. 173, n.

לֹא יֵהְיֶה־לּוֹ יוֹשֵׁב עַל־כִּסֵּא דָוִד 'he shall have no one to sit on the throne of David' (Jer. 36, 30).

וְבִקְהָלֵיהֶם אֲלֵיהֶי יֹשֵׁב 'and let there be no dweller in their tents' (Ps. 69, 26; cf. 109, 12).

The same ideas are sometimes expressed by making a participle or verbal adjective derived from the same stem as the verb, the subject instead of leaving the subject entirely indefinite. The participle or adjective may stand in singular or plural, and with or without the article,¹ e. g.,

וְשָׁמַע הַשָּׁמַע וְאָמַר 'that some one will hear it and say . . .'
(II Sam. 17, 9).

וְהַשְׁרִידִים שָׁרְדוּ מֵהֶם 'and some of them escaped' (Jos. 10, 20).

וְכִי יָמוּת מֵת עָלָיו בְּפֶתַע 'and if any one dies near him suddenly'
(Num. 6, 9).

כִּי יִפֹּל הַנֶּפֶל מִמֶּנּוּ 'if any one falls from it' (Dt. 22, 8; cf. Is. 28, 24; Ezk. 33, 4).

בְּיִקְבֵּים לֹא יִדְרֶה הַדֶּרֶךְ 'in their presses no one will tread wine'
(Is. 16, 10).

לֹא יָנוּס לָהֶם נָס וְלֹא יִמָּלֵט לָהֶם פָּלִיט 'no one of them shall flee away, and no one of them shall escape' (Am. 9, 1).

כִּי לֹא אֶחְפֹּץ בְּמוֹת הַמָּוֶת 'for I have no pleasure in any one's death' (Ezk. 18, 32; cf. Num. 12, 12; Ps. 89, 11 הַחֲלָל).

A participle with or without article may stand as predicate in the protasis of a conditional sentence without conditional particle, in the sense of 'any one that', e. g.,

שֹׁפֵךְ דָּם הָאָדָם בָּאָדָם דָּמוֹ יִשְׁפֹּךְ 'if any one sheds man's blood by man shall his blood be shed' (Gen. 9, 6; cf. Ges.-Kautzsch, § 116*w*).

הַמְדַּבֵּר אֵלַיךְ וְהִבֵּאתָנִי אֵלַי 'if any one speaks to you bring him to me' (II Sam. 14, 10).

Not infrequently, the ideas 'some', 'any', 'no', particularly the last, are left without definite expression, e. g.,

נָתַתְּ תָתֵן לוֹ 'thou shalt surely give him something' (Dt. 15, 10).

וְאִקְוָה לְנֹדֶד וְאֵין 'and I sought for [some] to console me, and there was none' (Ps. 69, 21).

הָעוֹד עִמָּךְ 'have you any more' (Am. 6, 10).

¹ The same construction may have the force of the indefinite personal pronoun, cf. p. 165, n. 3, e. g.,

עַל־פִּי שְׁנַיִם עֵדִים אוֹ שְׁלֹשָׁה עֵדִים יָמוּת הַמָּוֶת 'one [a man] shall be put to death on the word of two or three witnesses' (Dt. 17, 6; cf. Is. 28, 4; Jer. 9, 23). Cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 144*e*.

אֶקַח 'I will be —ed if I take anything' (II Ki. 5, 16; cf. Ex. 22, 2; Num. 15, 24; 30; Dt. 15, 2).

הָעִירוֹתִי מִצָּפוֹן 'I will raise up some one from the north' (Is. 41, 25).

וְאָמַרְתָּ אֵין 'and thou shalt say there is no one' (Jud. 4, 20).

אֵין־לֶךְ מֵאֵת הַמֶּלֶךְ 'thou hast no one commissioned by the king' (II Sam. 15, 3; cf. II Ch. 20, 6; Esth. 5, 12 with כִּי אִם, cf. p. 183f.; II Sam. 7, 22 and Dan. 1, 19 with כִּי, cf. p. 185).

וְאֶבְקַשׁ מֵהֶם אִישׁ 'and I sought among them for a man, and found none' (Ezk. 22, 30).

וְלֹא הָיָה כַּיּוֹם הַהוּא לִפְנֵי וְאַחֲרָיו 'and there was no day like that day before it or after it' (Jos. 10, 14).

יִקַּן לְאוֹר וְאֵין 'let it look for the light when there is no light' (Job 3, 9; cf. Jer. 35, 14; Ezk. 7, 25).

וְלִמְנַחֲמִים וְלֹא מְצָאתִי 'and for some to comfort me, and I found none' (Ps. 69, 21; cf. Is. 34, 12).

וְלָבְנֵי קָהָת לֹא נָתַן 'and to the Kohathites he gave none [wagons and oxen]' (Num. 7, 9).

אִם אֵין לוֹ 'if he has nothing' (Ex. 22, 2; cf. Prov. 22, 27).

וְלֹא תָתֵן לוֹ 'and thou givest him nothing' (Dt. 15, 9; cf. Ex. 5, 8; Dt. 4, 2).

עָלָיו אֵין לְהוֹסִיף וּמִמֶּנּוּ אֵין לְלוּזוֹת 'there is nothing to be added to it and nothing to be taken from it' (Ecc. 3, 14).

לֹא חָסְרוּ 'they lacked nothing' (Neh. 9, 21; cf. Ecc. 6, 2).

וְלֹא כָתַד מִמֶּנּוּ 'and hid nothing from him' (I Sam. 3, 18).

נָשִׁיב וּמָהֶם לֹא נִבְקַשׁ 'we will restore them and ask nothing in return' (Neh. 5, 12).

אֵין לֹא אֵלֵיכֶם 'is it nothing to you' (Lam. 1, 12).

יָצְאוּ מִן־הָעָם לְלֶקֶט וְלֹא מָצְאוּ 'some of the people went out to glean, but they did not find any of it [manna]' (Ex. 16, 27; cf. 26).

'Some one',¹ 'any one,' 'no one' may be expressed by one of the words for 'man' אִישׁ, אָדָם, אָנוּשׁ, or by נֶפֶשׁ 'person'.² Occasionally the combination נֶפֶשׁ + genitive of 'man' is employed in the same meaning, e. g.,

אִם יִבָּל אִישׁ לְמִנוֹת אֶת־עֹפֶר הָאָרֶץ 'if any one could count the dust of the earth' (Gen. 13, 16; cf. Lev. 15, 18; 24; Dt. 23, 11; Jud. 4, 20; II Sam. 19, 8; II Ki. 4, 29; Ps. 49, 17).

¹ No examples of 'some' seem to occur.

² נֶפֶשׁ 'flesh' has occasionally a meaning very much like 'anyone', cf. קַל־נֶפֶשׁ used of Israel in Jer. 12, 12; Jo. 3, 1.

וַאֲמַר הֲיֵשׁ-פֹּה אִישׁ 'and says, is there anyone here' (Jud. 4, 20).
 בִּי־יָקוֹם עֲרֵי-חָסֶם בְּאִישׁ 'if a false witness rise up against any one'
 (Dt. 19, 16; cf. II Ki. 4, 29).

וְאִישׁ בִּי תִצֵּא מִמֶּנּוּ שִׁכְבַּת-זֶרַע 'and any man that has a seminal emission' (Lev. 15, 16; cf. 24, 17).

כִּשְׁכֹּשֶׁת בִּי תִחַטֵּא 'when any one sins' (Lev. 5, 1; cf. 2, 1).

אָדָם בִּי־יִקְרִיב מִכֶּם קָרְבָן לַיהוָה 'if any one of you bring an offering to JHVH' (Lev. 1, 2).

הַנִּגַּע בָּמֶת לְכָל-נֶפֶשׁ אָדָם 'if any one touches the dead body of any one he shall be unclean . . .' (Num. 19, 11).¹

אִם נִשְׁךְ הַנָּחָשׁ אֶת-אִישׁ 'if the snakes had bitten any one' (Num. 21, 9).²

וְאִישׁ לֹא-יִצִּילֶנָּה מִיָּדִי 'and no one shall deliver her from my hand' (Hos. 2, 12; cf. Gen. 24, 16; Ex. 16, 29; Jud. 11, 39; 21, 8; II Ki. 10, 19; 25; Ps. 49, 8).

וְאִישׁ לֹא יִזְנֶה 'and he oppresses no one' (Ezk. 18, 7).

אִישׁ לֹא נֶעְדָּר 'not one [star] is lacking' (Is. 40, 26).

כִּי אֵין אָדָם אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִחַטֵּא 'for there is no one that does not sin' (I Ki. 8, 46).

לֹא-יִפֹּל לִב־אָדָם עָלָיו 'let no one's heart fail him' (I Sam. 17, 32).

לֹא חָשַׁב אֶנֶשׁ 'he regards no one' (Is. 33, 8).

וְאִישׁ בִּי לֹא יִהְיֶה-לּוֹ גֹּאֵל 'and when any one has no Goel' (Lev. 25, 26).

וְלֹא הִגַּדְתִּי לְאָדָם 'and I told no one' (Neh. 2, 12).

כָּל-מַכֶּה-נֶפֶשׁ 'every one that smites any one' (Num. 35, 30; cf. Prov. 28, 17).

וְלֹא יִשָּׂא אֱלֹהִים נֶפֶשׁ 'for God respects no one' (II Sam. 14, 14).

The meaning of אִישׁ in these constructions may be emphasized, viz., 'any at all, any whatsoever, &c.', by repeating the אִישׁ. e. g.,

אִישׁ אִישׁ בִּי יִהְיֶה זֶב מִבְּשָׂרוֹ 'when any one [man] whatsoever has an issue from his flesh' (Lev. 15, 2; 17, 10; 13; 22, 4; 24, 15; Num. 5, 12; 9, 10).

אִישׁ אִישׁ אֶל-כָּל-שָׂאֵר בָּשָׂרוֹ לֹא תִקְרַב 'no one of you whatsoever shall approach to any near of kin . . .' (Lev. 18, 6).

The word אִישׁ with the meaning of 'any' may be followed by a correlative meaning 'other', just as when it means 'one' (cf. p. 137f.), e. g.,

¹ For כל cf. p. 180f. In Lev. 24, 17 נֶפֶשׁ אָדָם means rather 'the life of any man' cf. בהמה נֶפֶשׁ and נֶפֶשׁ תחת נֶפֶשׁ in v. 18.

² For use of את cf. p. 222.

וְכִי יִהְיֶה אִישׁ שֹׂנֵא לְרֵעֵהוּ 'and if any one [man] hate another' (Dt. 19, 11).

אֵת אֲשֶׁר יַחֲטֵא אִישׁ לְרֵעֵהוּ 'that in which any one trespasses against another' (I Ki. 8, 31).

וְאִישׁ אֶת־רָעַת רֵעֵהוּ אֶל־תִּחְשְׁבוּ 'let no one plot the evil of another . . .' (Zech. 8, 17).

The idea of 'some one' &c., used absolutely is also sometimes expressed by אֶחָד 'one', e. g.,

מִי יָמֵן מְטָהוּר מִמָּטָה לֹא אֶחָד 'who can make a clean thing from an unclean, no one' (Job 14, 4).

'Some' plural absolute referring to persons may be expressed by אַנְשִׁים 'men', e. g.,

וַיֹּזְתְּרוּ אַנְשִׁים מִמֶּנּוּ עַד־בֹּקֶר 'and some [men] left some of it till morning' (Ex. 16, 20; cf. II Ch. 30, 11).

The idea of 'something', 'anything', 'nothing', may be rendered by דָּבָר 'word, thing' or מְאוּמָה (once by אָמַר 'word, thing'), e. g.,

וַיֹּאמֶר דָּבָר לִי אֵלֶיךָ 'and he said, I have something [to say] to you' (I Ki. 2, 14; cf. Job 4, 12).

עָלוּ אֵלֵינוּ וְנוֹדִיעָה אֶתְכֶם דָּבָר 'come up to us [if you dare], and we will show you something' (I Sam. 14, 12; cf. 3, 11; I Ki. 14, 5; Jer. 38, 14).

וְלָקַחְתִּי מֵאֵתוֹ מְאוּמָה 'and I will take something from him' (II Ki. 5, 20).

יֵשׁ־דָּבָר שֵׂיֹאמַר 'is there anything of which one can say . . .' (Ecc. 1, 10; cf. Job 15, 11).

הֲיִפְלֵא מִיְהוָה דָּבָר 'is anything too wonderful for JHVH' (Gen. 18, 14).

אַל־יִמְהַר לְהוֹצִיא דָּבָר לִפְנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים 'don't be hasty in uttering anything before God' (Ecc. 5, 1; cf. I Sam. 3, 17; 22, 15; Ezk. 14, 9; Prov. 25, 2bis).

טוֹב אַחֲרִית דָּבָר מֵרֵאשִׁית 'the end of anything is better than its beginning' (Ecc. 7, 8; cf. 8, 1).

וַיִּפְלֵא בְעֵינֵי אַמְנוֹן לַעֲשׂוֹת לָהּ מְאוּמָה 'and it seemed difficult to Amnon to do anything to her' (II Sam. 13, 2; cf. Num. 22, 38).

לֹא יוֹתֵר דָּבָר 'nothing was left' (II Ki. 20, 17; cf. 15; 13; Ex. 5, 11; Esth. 6, 3; II Ch. 9, 2).

אַל־תִּכְחַד מִמֶּנִּי דָּבָר 'hide nothing from me' (Jer. 38, 14; cf. Gen. 19, 8; Dt. 2, 7; 22, 26; I Ki. 5, 7; Jer. 42, 4; Neh. 5, 8).

וְאַל-תַּעַשׂ לוֹ מְאוֹמָה 'and do nothing to him' (Gen. 22, 12; cf. 30, 31; 40, 15; I Sam. 12, 4; 5; 20, 26; 39; 25, 15; 29, 3; Jer. 39, 12; Jon. 3, 7; Ecc. 7, 14; 9, 5).

וְלֹא נִפְקַד לָהֶם מְאוֹמָה 'and nothing was missing to them' (I Sam. 25, 7; cf. Jud. 14, 6; I Ki. 18, 43; Jer. 39, 10; Ecc. 5, 13).

אֵין כֶּסֶף נִחְשָׁב 'silver was accounted as nothing . . . ' (II Ch. 9, 20; I Ki. 10, 21).

וְתִנָּה אִמְרָא וְיִקָּם לָךְ 'if thou decreest anything it shall be established for thee' (Job 22, 28).

'Some', 'any', 'no', used attributively may be expressed simply by the indefinite noun, singular or plural,¹ e. g.,

וְאִמְרָנוּ תִּיהִ רְעָה אֲכָלְתָּהוּ 'and we will say, some wild beast has devoured him' (Gen. 37, 20).

וּמִצָּאָנוּ עוֹן 'and some harm will come upon us' (II Ki. 7, 9).

כִּי אָמַר מִקְרָה הוּא [= it is some happening] (I Sam. 20, 26).

נִשְׁלָחָה אַנְשִׁים לִפְנֵינוּ 'let us send some men before us' (Dt. 1, 22; cf. Gen. 12, 20; Jos. 7, 2; I Ki. 11, 18; 24).

תֵּשֶׁב הַנֶּעֱר אִתָּנוּ יָמִים אֹז עָשׂוֹר or so [= some days or ten] (Gen. 24, 55; cf. 4, 3; I Ki. 17, 7; Is. 65, 20).

וּלְקֹץ שָׁנִים יִתְחַבְּרוּ 'and at the end of some years, they shall be joined together' (Dan. 11, 6; cf. 8; 13).

וְעִבְרִים עָבְרוּ אֶת-הַיַּרְדֵּן 'and some Hebrews crossed the Jordan' (I Sam. 13, 7; cf. 23, 19).

וְאִם יֵשְׁבִי עוֹן 'and if I have done any wrong' (II Sam. 14, 32).

וְאִם יָדַעְתָּ וְיִשְׁכֹּם אֲנִשְׁתִּיל 'and if thou knowest any men of force among them' (Gen. 47, 6; cf. Ob. 5; Job 33, 32).

אֵין כֶּסֶף 'there was no silver' (I Ki. 10, 21; cf. 18, 26; Ps. 36, 2; 119, 165; Job 20, 21).

אַל-יֵצֵא פְּלִיט מִן-הָעִיר 'let no fugitive come out of the city' (II Ki. 9, 15; cf. Gen. 13, 8).

וְלֹא יִהְיֶה אָסוֹן 'and no harm follow' (Ex. 21, 22; cf. Jer. 42, 17; 44, 14; Mi. 3, 11).

הֵן לִי לֹא נָתַתָּה וָרֵעַ 'behold to me thou hast given no offspring' (Gen. 15, 3; cf. Dt. 2, 34).

¹ The words for 'man' singular and plural, which are used absolutely for 'some one', 'any one', &c., belonged originally here meaning 'some man', 'some men', &c.

בְּתֵאֵנָה 'there are no grapes on the vine, and no figs on the fig tree' (Jer. 8, 13; cf. Ex. 14, 11; 34, 17).

וּבָנִים לֹא הָיוּ לָהֶם 'and they had no sons' (Num. 3, 4; cf. 26, 33; I Sam. 1, 2).

וְשָׁדִים אֵין לָהּ 'and she has no breasts' (Cant. 8, 8).

לֹא יִשְׁאֲרוּ עוֹלָלוֹת 'they will leave no gleaning-grapes' (Jer. 49, 9; cf. Lev. 26, 1).

When a noun of this type is a cognate accusative the construction sometimes expresses the idea of 'something', 'anything', 'nothing', e. g.,

וְכִי תִמְכְּרוּ מִמֶּכֶר 'and if ye sell anything [any selling]' (Lev. 25, 14).

יִצְלֶה צִלָּה 'he roasts something [a roast]' (Is. 44, 16).

וַיַּחְלֹם יוֹסֵף 'and Joseph dreamt something [a dream]' (Gen. 37, 5).

הַיֹּדֵעַ 'he that knows anything [has any sense] spares his words' (Prov. 17, 27).

Attributive 'some', &c., may also be expressed by the definite article used indefinitely,¹ e. g.,

כִּן תִּדְבַּקְנִי הָרָעָה וּמָתִי 'lest some evil befall me, and I die' (Gen. 19, 19).

וְהַיָּדָה הָאֲרִי 'and some lion will smite you' (I Ki. 20, 36).

וַתִּקְרָא לְאִישׁ 'and she called someone' (Jud. 16, 19).

וְהַיֹּשֵׁב עַל־הַכְּלִי אֲשֶׁר 'and anyone that sits on anything that ...' (Lev. 15, 6; cf. 23).

וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו הָאִישׁ 'and if any man said to him ...' (I Sam. 2, 16;² cf. האדם Lev. 5, 4).

¹ Besides the various meanings discussed in the text, viz., 'a certain' (p. 164), 'some', 'any', 'no' (p. 172) 'some other', 'some single one' (p. 173), at least one other variety of this indefinite definite article may be distinguished in the examples given by Gesenius (cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 126r), viz., in some cases it is almost equivalent to a possessive, e. g., הִנֵּה הִיא לוֹטָה בַּשָּׂמֶל 'behold it is wrapped up in the cloth [that pertains to it, its cloth]' (I Sam. 21, 10; cf. Gen. 15, 1; 50, 26; II Sam. 23, 21).

In other cases the article may be explained as definite from the context, e. g.,

הָאִשָּׁה (II Sam. 17, 19) = 'the woman [of the house]' (cf. בֵּית אִישׁ v. 18).

² האִישׁ is employed in the sense of indefinite pronominal subject in, לְקִנִּים בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל כִּי־אָמַר בְּהָאִישׁ 'in Israel they [one] formerly said' (I Sam. 9, 9).

וְכָל אֲשֶׁר לְאִישׁ יִתֵּן בְּעַד נַפְשׁוֹ 'and all that any one has, he will give for his life' (Job 2, 4; cf. Prov. 15, 23; 20, 3; 17).

וְחִי לֹא-יִרְאֵנִי הָאָדָם 'for no man [one] shall see me and live' (Ex. 33, 20; cf. Jer. 4, 25¹).

Occasionally this indefinite definite article has a somewhat more definite meaning 'some single one', 'same' about equivalent to אֶחָד 'same' cf. p. 121, e. g.,

וְאִישׁ וְאָבִיו יֵלְכוּ אֶל-הַנְּעָרָה 'and a man and his father shall have intercourse with some one maid' (Am. 2, 7).

It may also have the meaning of 'some other, different from this', e. g.,

נִרְאָה אֵלַי הָאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר בָּא בְיוֹם אֲלִי 'the man appeared to me who came to me the other day' (Jud. 13, 10).

This indefinite definite article is also employed in connection with other constructions for 'some', 'any', 'no' (cf. הָאָדָם, הָאִישׁ above, and p. 167), e. g.,

אֶל-נָא תְהִי כַמָּת 'be not as [some] one dead' (Num. 12, 12; cf. Ps. 89, 11).

וְשָׁמַע הַשָּׁמַע וְאָמַר 'that some one will hear it and say ...' (II Sam. 17, 9; Dt. 22, 8).

Attributive 'some' modifying a plural noun is occasionally expressed by the plural of the numeral 'one', (cf. Spanish *unos* 'some'), in the examples that occur, with the added sense of 'few', e. g.,

וְשָׁבַת עִמּוֹ יָמִים אֲחָדִים 'and thou shalt dwell with him some [a few] days' (Gen. 27, 44).

וַיִּהְיוּ בְעֵינָיו כְּיָמִים אֲחָדִים 'and they seemed in his eyes as a few days' (Gen. 29, 20; cf. Dan. 11, 20).

'Some', 'any', 'none', used in a partitive sense 'some of, &c.' is expressed by the preposition מִן 'from, of' before a definite noun, singular or plural, or pronoun of which the 'some, &c.' forms a part. When such an expression is predicate to a singular, the מִן has the force of 'some one of', &c., e. g.,

וְנָתַן הַכֹּהֵן מִדְּמַם עַל-קַרְנוֹתָא 'and the priest shall put some of the blood upon the horns of ...' (Lev. 4, 7).

וְלָקַח מִדְּמַם הַבָּקָר 'and let him take some of the blood of the bullock' (Lev. 4, 5; cf. II Ki. 10, 10; Ps. 72, 15; 137, 3).

¹ Here the logical subject of אֵין, which is regularly indefinite, takes this article, viz., הָאָדָם.

וְנָתַתָּה מִהוֹדֶךָ עָלָיו 'and thou shalt put some of thine honor upon him' (Num. 27, 20; cf. Lev. 2, 16^{bis}; 11, 25; 37; 38; Dt. 2, 5).

יָצְאוּ מִן־הָעָם לִלְקֹט 'some of the people went out to gather' (Ex. 16, 27).

אֲצִיגֶנָּה עִמָּךְ מִן־הָעָם אֲשֶׁר אִתִּי 'let me leave with you some of the people that are with me' (Gen. 33, 15; cf. II Ch. 16, 10).

וַיִּמָּצְאוּ מִבְּנֵי הַכֹּהֲנִים אֲשֶׁר " 'and there were some of the priestly-class that ...' (Ezr. 10, 18; cf. Jer. 52, 15; II Ch. 21, 4).

וּמִן־הַמְּשֻׁבָּלִים וַיִּפְּלוּ 'and some of those of understanding shall fall' (Dan. 11, 35).

וּמִנְעָרֵי הָעִמָּדָתִי עַל־הַשְּׁעָרִים 'and some of my young men I stationed at the gates' (Neh. 13, 19; cf. Ru. 2, 16; Dan. 8, 10).

וַיִּזְתְּרוּ אֲנָשִׁים מִמֶּנּוּ עַד־בֹּקֶר 'and some left some of it till morning' (Ex. 16, 20; cf. 16).

וַיִּלָּחֶם בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל וַיִּשָּׁב מִמֶּנּוּ שָׁבִי 'and he fought against Israel and took some of it captive' (Num. 21, 1).

וַיֵּשׁ מֵהֶם נָשִׁים 'and some of them had wives ...' (Ezr. 10, 44).¹

זֶה מִיִּלְדֵי הָעִבְרִים 'this one is one of the Hebrew children' (Ex. 2, 6; cf. Ru. 2, 20).²

וְאִם־יִזְתֶּר מִבֶּשֶׂר הַמִּלֻּאִים וּמִן־הַלֶּחֶם עַד־הַבֹּקֶר 'and if any of the flesh of the consecrations, or of the bread remain till morning' (Ex. 29, 34; cf. Lev. 11, 25; 37; 38).

וַיֵּרֶאוּ פְּנֵי־שִׂפָּה עִמָּכֶם מַעֲבְדֵי יְהוָה 'and see lest there be any of the servants of JHVH here with you' (II Ki. 10, 23).

וְלֹא יֵלֶין מִן־הַבֶּשֶׂר 'and none of the meat ... shall remain over ...' (Dt. 16, 4; cf. II Ki. 10, 10).

וּמִבְּנֵי לֵוִי לֹא מָצָאתִי שָׁם 'and I found none of the Levites there' (Ezr. 8, 15).

לֹא נָתַן לָהֶם מִהַשָּׁלָל 'let us not give them any of the spoil' (I Sam. 30, 22; cf. Ex. 12, 46; Dt. 2, 5).

¹ Here מהם, with מן = partitive 'some', is certainly the possessor, and should be preceded by ל viz., למהם. The omission is perhaps due to the fact that מן has here a certain possessive as well as a partitive force (cf. the acquisition of a partitive force by the possessive ל, p. 177), contrast Neh. 5, 5 where מן has only partitive force.

² With this use of the plural in a singular sense, 'one of', and the similar use of ב + pl. below, compare the plurals said to be used in a similar sense, Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 124o. These plurals, however, are generic, standing for a class, not for a number of individuals, e. g., אֶל־שַׁעְרֶיךָ (Dt. 17, 5) means not 'to thy gates', or 'to one of thy gates', but 'to the gate (a regular part of every city)'.

וְלֹא־אֶזְכֹּר עוֹד מֵהֶם שָׁם 'and I shall leave none of them there any more' (Ezk. 39, 28; cf. 7, 11).

לֹא־תִזְכְּרוּ מִמֶּנּוּ עַד־בֹּקֶר 'ye shall leave none of it until morning' (Lev. 22, 30; cf. Dt. 26, 14^{ter}).

In a few cases this מֵן may stand before a word denoting one single thing. So before the *nomen unitatis* שְׂעָרָה 'hair' in the sense of 'any one of, a single one of'; also before partitive אֶחָד (cf. p. 177), where it is pleonastic, e. g., אִם יִפֹּל מִשְׁעָרָתוֹ רֵאשׁוֹ אֶרֶצָה 'if a single hair of his head falls to the ground' (I Sam. 14, 45; cf. II Sam. 14, 11; I Ki. 1, 52).

This מֵן + suffix of third person singular masculine is sometimes used as a neuter pronoun in the sense of 'something', 'anything' or 'any such thing' (cf. p. 128),¹ e. g.,

וְהָרִים מִמֶּנּוּ בִקְמָצוֹ מִסֶּלֶת הַמִּנְחָה 'and let him raise in his hand some [something] of the meal of the sacrifice' (Lev. 6, 8).

אֵין לוֹ מִמֶּנּוּ בֶן אִו בַּת 'he had nothing [no one] either son or daughter' (Jud. 11, 34; cf. Jos. 1, 7).

וְהַנֹּכֵחַ הָאֹכֵל מִמֶּנּוּ עֲוֹנָה תִשָּׂא 'and the person that eats any such thing shall bear his iniquity' (Lev. 7, 18; cf. 27, 9).

The partitives expressed by מֵן may be used in connection with the indefinite participial construction (p. 167). In this construction ל may take the place of מֵן (cf. p. 177), e. g., וְהַשְּׂרִידִים שָׁרְדוּ מֵהֶם 'and some of them escaped' (Jos. 10, 20).

The preposition בְּ has developed a partitive meaning which is occasionally very similar to that of מֵן, tho it is usually more demonstrative than indefinite, e. g.,

וְהָיוּ בְּאֹכְלֵי שְׁלֹחַנְךָ 'and let them be of those that eat at thy table' (I Ki. 2, 7).

הַמָּה הֵיוּ בְּמַרְדֵּי־אֹר 'they are of those that rebel against the light' (Job 24, 13).

וְאַתָּה תִּיְיָ בְּעַכְרִי 'and thou art one of those that trouble me' (Jud. 11, 35; cf. Prov. 22, 26).

וְהָיָה כִּנְפֹל בָּהֶם בְּתֹחֶלֶת 'and it shall happen that when some of them fall at the beginning' (II Sam. 17, 9; cf. II Ki. 17, 25).

וְלֹא מָצְאוּ בָּהּ כִּי אֵם 'and they found nothing of her except ...' (II Ki. 9, 35).

¹ In all these cases and in Ex. 25, 15, מִמֶּנּוּ is said to stand for מִמִּנְהָ. Gesenius-Kautzsch states p. 461, n. that they may be otherwise explained, but does not give any explanation. In Ex. 25, 15 the suffix refers loosely to the masc. noun הָאֹרֶן 'ark'.

נַעֲשׂוּלִי וּבִין עֶשְׂרֵת יָמִים בְּכָל־יּוֹם '... was prepared for me, and every ten days some of all [kinds of wine]' (Neh. 5, 18).'

The idea of 'some one', &c., used partitively, may also be expressed by אֶחָד 'one', אִישׁ 'man', אַנְשִׁים 'men', governing the plural or collective in which it is included. אֶחָד may take its noun in the genitive, or after מִן or בְּ (here אֶחָד may be construct); אִישׁ, אַנְשִׁים only after מִן or בְּ. This construction is really a strengthening of the preceding. The meaning when אֶחָד is used is often equivalent to the singular of the dependent noun with the added attributive idea 'some, any, no', e. g.,

וְנִשְׁלָכֵהוּ בְּאַחַד הַבְּרוֹת 'and let us throw him into some pit [some one of the pits]' (Gen. 37, 20; cf. II Sam. 6, 20; 17, 9^{bis}; 12).

בְּמַעַט שָׁכַב אֶחָד הָעָם אֶת־אִשְׁתּוֹ 'some one of the people might easily have lain with thy wife' (Gen. 26, 10).

וְנָס אֶל־אַחַת מִן־הָעָרִים הָאֵלֶּה 'that he might flee to [some] one of these cities and live' (Dt. 4, 42; cf. Lev. 25, 48; I Sam. 9, 3; II Ki. 17, 27).

אֲשִׁים אֶת־נַפְשְׁךָ כְּנַפֵּשׁ אֶחָד מֵהֶם 'I will make thy life as the life of [some] one of them' (I Ki. 19, 2; cf. 22, 13; Dt. 25, 5).

הִדְבַּר דְּבַרְתִּי אֶת־אַחַד שְׁבָטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל 'have I spoken a word to any one of the tribes of Israel' (II Sam. 7, 7; cf. Dt. 19, 5; Jos. 10, 2; II Sam. 13, 13; Job 2, 10).

וְכִי יָבֹא הַלֵּוִי מֵאַחַד שַׁעְרֶיךָ 'and whenever any Levite comes from any one of thy gates' (Dt. 18, 6; cf. 13, 13).

וְעָשׂוּ אַחַת מִכָּל־מִצְוֹת יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר לֹא־תִעֲשֶׂנָּה 'and if they do any of the things prohibited by JHVH' (Lev. 4, 13; cf. 22; 27; 5, 17; 22; 26; Jud. 17, 11; II Sam. 9, 11).

אַחַת מֵהֵנָּה לֹא נִעְדְּרָה 'no one of these shall fail' (Is. 34, 16; cf. Num. 16, 15; Dt. 28, 55; Ps. 34, 21; 106, 11).

וְלֹא אֶחָד בָּהֶם 'when there was none of them' (Ps. 139, 16; cf. Ex. 14, 28).

לַעֲשׂוֹת לְךָ אַחַת מֵאֵלֶּה 'to do to thee any of these' (Ezk. 16, 5; cf. Lev. 5, 13).

הֵן הָאָדָם הֵהָּ, כְּאַחַד מִמֶּנּוּ 'lo, the man has become as [any] one of us' (Gen. 3, 22; cf. I Sam. 17, 36; Ob. 11).

אַנְשִׁים מֵאַשֵּׁר 'some of the Asherites' (II Ch. 30, 11).

הַחֲלֵצוּ מֵאִתְּכֶם אַנְשִׁים לַמִּלְחָמָה 'arm some of yourselves for the war' (Num. 31, 3).

וְאֵין אִישׁ מֵאֲנָשֵׁי הַבַּיִת שָׁם 'and there was no one of the house-servants there' (Gen. 39, 11).

וַיִּשְׁבוּ אֶת־הַנָּשִׁים" מִקָּטָן וְעַד־גָּדוֹל לֹא הָמִיתוּ אִישׁ 'and they took the women captive, they killed none at all' (I Sam. 30, 2).

"וְלֹא נֹתַר מֵהֶם אִישׁ" 'and none of them was left...' (Num. 26, 65; 31, 49; cf. I Sam. 30, 17; I Ki. 18, 40; II Ki. 10, 14).

"אִם־יִרְאֶה אִישׁ בָּאֲנָשִׁים הָאֵלֶּה" 'if any of these men see ...' (Dt. 1, 35).
וּבְאֵלֶּה לֹא־הָיָה אִישׁ מִמִּקְדָּרֵי מֹשֶׁה 'and among these there was no one of those numbered by Moses' (Num. 26, 64).

כִּי אֵין בָּנוּ אִישׁ יָדַע לְכַרֵּת־עֵצִים כַּצִּידֹנִים 'for there was no one among us that knew how to cut wood like the Sidonians' (I Ki. 5, 20; cf. I Sam. 14, 36; Is. 5, 27; Hos. 7, 7).

A partitive force is also sometimes given by placing אִישׁ, אִישׁ אִישׁ in apposition to a plural definite noun or pronoun in a negative sentence (in an affirmative the meaning of אִישׁ is 'each', 'every'), e. g.,

לֹא חָרַץ לְבָנִי יִשְׂרָאֵל לְאִישׁ אֶת־לִשְׁנוֹ 'no one moved his tongue against any of the Israelites' (Jos. 10, 21; אִישׁ אִישׁ Lev. 18, 6).

וְאַתֶּם לֹא תֵצְאוּ אִישׁ מִפֶּתַח בֵּיתוֹ 'and let none of you go out from the door of his house' (Ex. 12, 22).

In a few passages אֶחָד used partitively takes an additional מִן before it, the whole phrase being treated like a single noun made partitive by מִן (cf. p. 175),¹ e. g.,

נֶפֶשׁ בִּי־תִהְיֶה מֵאֵחַת מֵהֵנָּה 'if any one sins ... and does any of these things' (Lev. 4, 2; cf. 5, 13; Ezk. 18, 10).

כִּי יִהְיֶה בָךְ אֶבְיוֹן מֵאַחַד אֶחָיד" 'if there is among you any of thy brethren that is poor ...' (Dt. 15, 7).

Occasionally the preposition לְ is employed instead of מִן or בְּ in constructions of partitive 'some', 'any', 'no', the possessive idea having given way to the partitive,² e. g.,

לֹא יָנוּם לָהֶם נֶם וְלֹא יִמְלֹט לָהֶם פְּלִיט 'none of them shall flee away, and none of them shall escape' (Am. 9, 1).

אֶחַת לָהֶם 'some, any one of them' (cf. Ezk. 1, 6 'each of them').

Similar partitive ideas may be expressed by using the exceptive construction with אִם כִּי &c., after a definite noun or pronoun, e. g.,

¹ The מִן is not to be regarded as the מִן after אֶחָד transposed from its proper position; so Brockelmann, *Comp. Syntax*, p. 84. Cf. Arabic مِنْ أَحَدٍ *op. cit.*, p. 397.

² Examples like וַיִּקְחוּ לָהֶם אִישׁ שֶׂה 'and they took for themselves each a sheep' or 'each one of them took a sheep' (Ex. 12, 3; cf. Jud. 21, 21) show how לְ acquired this force, cf. p. 152.¹

¹ JAOS 34.

"בְּלֹאֵי כָלֶב" 'if any of the men . . . except Caleb see . . .' (Num. 32, 11—12).

"כִּי אֶחָדֶכֶם" 'if any of you enter the land except Caleb' (Num. 14, 30).

When one of these indefinite ideas 'some', 'any', 'no', is combined with an adjective it may be expressed by the indefinite adjective alone, either masculine or feminine. When the indefinite idea is 'some one' &c., the adjective is logically its predicate (cf. p. 165f.), e. g.,

"וְהָנִי עֹשֶׂה דְּבָרָה" 'lo, I will do something new' (Is. 43, 19; cf. Jer. 31, 22).

"כְּמוֹזֶז נִחְשְׁבוּ" 'they were considered as something strange' (Hos. 8, 12; cf. Ecc. 2, 24).

"מִי יֵרָאֵנִי טוֹב" 'who will show me anything good' (Ps. 4, 6).

"אֵין נָקִי" 'no one was exempt' (I Ki. 15, 22).

"אֵין קָדוֹשׁ כִּיהוָה" 'there is no one so holy as JHVH' (I Sam. 2, 2).

"כִּי אֵין בְּפִיהוּ נִכּוֹנָה" 'for there is nothing true in his mouth' (Ps. 5, 10; cf. 19, 7; Prov. 8, 8).

"וְשִׁלְחוּ מִנּוֹת לָאֵין נִכּוֹן לוֹ" 'and distribute to those that have nothing prepared' (Neh. 8, 10).

Or, the adjective or participle may be used as a modifier of the nouns expressing the indefinite idea, necessarily so when the indefinite ideas are attributive (cf. p. 171f.), e. g.,

"וַעֲנַן נִמְצָא־בּוֹ דָּבָר טוֹב אֱלֹהִיָּהוּ" 'because there was found in him something good towards JHVH' (I Ki. 14, 13).

"וְגַם בִּיהוּדָה הָיָה דְּבָרִים טוֹבִים" 'for even in Judah there were some good things' (II Ch. 12, 12; cf. 19, 3).

"לֵאמֹר עֲלֵי־לִבְךָ דְּבָר עֲלֵי־לִבְךָ" 'lest there should be anything worthless in thy heart' (Dt. 15, 9).¹

"וְדָבָר לֹא־עִמָּךְ" 'or is there anything in secret with thee' (Job 15, 11).²

"וְאֵין אִישׁ שָׁם עַל־לֵב" 'and no one lays it to heart' (Is. 57, 1; Jer. 12, 11; cf. Jud. 19, 15).

"אֵין אָדָם שְׁלִיט בְּרוּחַ" 'there is no one that has power over the spirit' (Ecc. 8, 8).

"אֲלֵי־לִבִּי לֹדָבָר רָע" 'incline not my heart to anything evil' (Ps. 141, 4; cf. I Sam. 20, 2; 22, 15; II Ki. 4, 41).

"מִכֶּן אֵין נָתַן לַעֲבָדֶיךָ" 'no straw is given to thy servants' (Ex. 5, 16).

¹ In this case דבר and its modifier, here a noun used as adjective are separated by another element.

² Here a prepositional phrase is used practically as an adjective.

לְכֹן 'and if there are no white hairs in it' (Lev. 13, 21).

The words דָּבָר and מְאוֹמָה may be used in the genitive after a noun, the sense being practically the attributive one of 'some', 'any', 'no',¹ e. g.,

דָּבָר 'because he has found in her some deformity [= a deformity in something]' (Dt. 24, 1; cf. 23, 15).

מְאוֹמָה 'when thou lendest another any loan [= a loan of anything]' (Dt. 24, 10).

They may also be used partitively, e. g.,

וְלֹאִישׁ הֵנָּה לֹא תַעֲשֶׂה דָּבָר הַנִּבְלָה הַזֶּה 'but to this man do nothing of such a shameful thing' (Jud. 19, 24; cf. Ps. 101, 3).

אִם־תִּכְתֹּד מִמֶּנִּי דָּבָר מִכָּל־הַדָּבָר אֲשֶׁר 'if you hide from me anything of all that . . . ' (I Sam. 3, 17; cf. Jos. 11, 15; 21, 43; Esth. 6, 10).

וְלֹא יָמוּת מִכָּל־לִבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל דָּבָר 'and nothing of all that belonged to the Israelites died' (Ex. 9, 4).

וְלֹא יִדְבַק בְּיָדְךָ מְאוֹמָה מִן־הַחֹרָם 'and let none of the tabooed stuff stick to thy hand' (Dt. 13, 18; cf. I Sam. 25, 21).

וְאִשָּׁה מִכָּל־מְעֹלָה לֹא יִשָּׂא בְעַמְלֹ 'and nothing of [the product of] his toil can he take' (Ecc. 5, 14).

Not infrequently several of these indefinite expressions are found in the same sentence, e. g.,

וַיֹּתֵרוּ אֲנָשִׁים מֵמֶנּוּ עַד־בֹּקֶר 'and some of them left some of it till morning' (Ex. 16, 20).

אִשָּׁה אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁכַּב אִישׁ אִתָּהּ 'any woman with whom any man lies' (Lev. 15, 18).

הֲדָבָר דִּבַּרְתִּי אֶת־אַחַד שְׂבָטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל 'have I said anything to any of the tribes of Israel' (II Sam. 7, 7; cf. I Ch. 17, 6).

אִישׁ אִישׁ אֶל־כָּל־שָׂאֵר בָּשָׂרוֹ לֹא תִקְרְבוּ 'no one shall approach any of his near relations . . . ' (Lev. 18, 6).

וְאִישׁ כִּי לֹא יִהְיֶה־לּוֹ גֹּאֵל 'and when any one has no Goel' (Lev. 25, 26).

וְלֹא יָבוֹא טָמֵא לְכָל־דָּבָר 'that no one unclean in anything might enter' (II Ch. 23, 19).

וְדָבָר אֵין לָהֶם עִם־אֶדָם 'and they had nothing to do with anyone' (Jud. 18, 7*bis*).

וְלֹא לָקַחְתָּ מִיֵּד אִישׁ מְאוֹמָה 'and thou hast not taken anything from any one' (I Sam. 12, 4).

¹ This is somewhat different from the use of these words in the genitive in the regular sense of 'something', &c., cf. Ecc. 7, 8; 8, 1.

דָּבָר אֵלָיו דָּבָר 'and no one said anything to him' (Job 2, 13).

The interrogative pronouns are occasionally used as indefinites in the sense of 'any', 'no', used absolutely, e. g.,

פֹּה עַד מִי־לְךָ פֹּה 'hast thou any here besides' (Gen. 19, 12).

וְרָאִיתִי מָה וְהַגַּדְתִּי לְךָ 'and if I see anything I will tell you' (I Sam. 19, 3).

וְכֵן יָדְעָה מָה 'and she knows nothing' (Prov. 9, 13; contr. Neh. 2, 12).

Sometimes they are strongly indefinite meaning 'any one whatsoever', 'anything whatsoever',¹ e. g.,

שְׁמֹרֵמִי בַנְעֹר בְּאֶבְשָׁלוֹם 'let any one at all [= everyone whatsoever] guard the young man Absalom' (II Sam. 18, 12).

יָעֹבֵד עָלַי מָה 'let come upon me what will [= anything whatsoever]' (Job 13, 13).

וַיֹּאמֶר וַיְהִי מָה אֲרָצָה־נָא 'and he said whatever may be [= let happen anything at all] let me run . . . ' (II Sam. 18, 22).

Sometimes the interrogative is employed as an enclitic particle to emphasize the indefinite meaning of one of the expressions for 'some', 'any', 'no', e. g.,

וְדַבֵּר מִה־יֵּרָאֵנִי וְהַגַּדְתִּי לְךָ 'if he shows me anything at all, I will tell you' (Num. 23, 3; cf. I Sam. 19, 3 *above*).

The idea of choice in 'any' and the idea of negation in 'no' may be emphasized by the use of כָּל employed in the same way as when it means 'every', 'all' (cf. pp. 158ff., 203ff.), usually in connection with one of the constructions already discussed, but occasionally alone. When used alone כָּל may refer either to individuals or to quantity, meaning, for example 'any one' or 'anything'; it may stand with or without article. A verb whose subject is modified by כָּל in this sense usually agrees with the noun, but may agree with כָּל. When כָּל has the constructions of 'all' the sense is partitive. This use of כָּל is comparatively rare in affirmative sentences, e. g.,

וְכָל־הַנִּגַּע בְּכָל אֲשֶׁר יִהְיֶה תַּחְתָּיו 'and everyone that touches anything that was under him' (Lev. 15, 10; cf. Jer. 42, 21).

כָּל־אִישׁ וְכֵן וְכֵן וְכֵן 'when any man whatsoever offered a sacrifice, the servant of the priest came . . . ' (I Sam. 2, 13; cf. Gen. 4, 15).

¹ These cases seem to stand midway between the interrogative and indefinite use of these pronouns, e. g., מִי in II Sam. 18, 12 means something between 'whoever it may be' and 'any one at all'.

כָּל־תְּפִלָּה" אֲשֶׁר תִּהְיֶה לְכָל־הָאָדָם" וְאֵתָה תִּשְׁמַע 'any prayer . . . whatsoever that any one shall make . . . hear thou' (I Ki. 8, 38—39; II Ch. 6, 29—30; cf. Dt. 14, 20).

הַמְּמַנִּי יִפְּלֵא כָל־דָּבָר 'is anything at all too hard for me' (Jer. 32, 27).

אֶקַּח מִכָּל־אֲשֶׁר־לְךָ אִם 'if I take anything at all of yours' (Gen. 14, 23; cf. II Sam. 14, 19).

לֹא יִשׁוּב מִפְּנֵי־כָל 'and does not turn aside for any [beast]' (Prov. 30, 30).

לֹא יֵצֵל לִכְל 'it is good for nothing' (Jer. 13, 7; 10; cf. Ps. 49, 18).

מִכְּלִי הִשְׁאִיר־לִי כָל בְּמִצּוֹר 'because there is nothing left him in the siege' (Dt. 28, 55; cf. 8, 9; Prov. 13, 7: כֵּן Dt. 4, 17).

לֹא־תַחְמוֹר אִשֶּׁת רֵעֶךָ" וְכָל אֲשֶׁר לְרֵעֶךָ 'thou shalt not covet another's wife . . . nor anything that is his' (Ex. 20, 17; Dt. 5, 18; cf. Gen. 11, 6).

וְדֹרְשֵׁי יְהוָה לֹא יִחְסְרוּ כָל־טוֹב 'those that seek JHVVH shall not want anything good whatsoever' (Ps. 34, 11; cf. Ecc. 1, 9; Ex. 12, 20).

לֹא־יִפְּלֵא מִמֶּךָ כָל־דָּבָר 'nothing is too hard for thee' (Jer. 32, 17; cf. II Sam. 15, 11).

מָקוֹם אֲשֶׁר אֵין־שָׁם מִחְסוֹר כָּל־דָּבָר" 'a place in which there is no want of anything at all . . . ' (Jud. 18, 10).

וְלֹא יָבוֹא טָמֵא לְכָל־דָּבָר 'that no one unclean in anything might enter' (II Ch. 23, 19).

נֹפֵשׁ אֲשֶׁר תִּגַּע בְּכָל־דָּבָר טָמֵא 'anyone that touches anything unclean' (Lev. 5, 2).

כָּל־הַמִּתְלַה אֲשֶׁר" לֹא אֲשִׁים עָלֶיךָ 'none of the diseases that . . . will I put upon thee' (Ex. 15, 26).

אִם" אֲמַעֵם לָחֶם אוֹ כְּלִי־מֵאֻמָּה 'if I taste bread or anything [else]' (II Sam. 3, 35).

אֵין שָׂר בֵּית־הַסֶּפֶר רָאָה אֶת־כָּל־מֵאֻמָּה בְּיָדוֹ 'the warden of the prison did not look into anything that was in his charge' (Gen. 39, 23).¹

לֹא־יֵשֵׁב בָּהֶן כָּל־אִישׁ 'no man dwells in them' (Jer. 51, 43; cf. Lev. 16, 17; אָדָם 7, 27).

כָּל־מְלָאכָה לֹא יַעֲשֶׂה 'no work at all shall be done' (Ex. 12. 16; cf. Ezk. 31, 8:—*obj.* Ex. 20, 10; Lev. 7, 27; Num. 35, 22; Dt. 14, 3; 21, 16, 21).

¹ For אֵין cf. p. 222.

‘the blood of no flesh shall ye eat’ (Lev. 17, 14).

‘thou shalt not eat from any tree at all in the garden’ (Gen. 3, 1; cf. Lev. 15, 22; 18, 6; Dan. 11, 37).
‘and none of the wicked shall understand’ (Dan. 12, 10; cf. Ps. 76, 6).

‘and with none of the diseases of Egypt will he afflict you’ (Dt. 7, 15; cf. Ex. 11, 7).

‘and choose none of his ways’ (Prov. 3, 31; cf. Ezk. 12, 28; 33, 16).

‘none of those that go in to her shall return’ (Prov. 2, 19; cf. Ps. 25, 3).

‘and none of those that trust in him shall be desolate’ (Ps. 34, 23).

‘and he let none of his words fall to the ground’ (I Sam. 3, 19; cf. Gen. 14, 23).

‘for in vain [for nothing] is a net spread in the sight of any bird’ (Prov. 1, 17).

A similar emphasis is sometimes expressed by using **אֶחָד** ‘one’ in conjunction with some other construction denoting ‘any’, ‘no’. Probably **אֶחָד** used alone (cf. p. 170) has sometimes a similar emphasis.

‘there failed nothing whatever [= not a single thing] of all the things’ (Jos. 23, 14*bis*; cf. I Ki. 8, 56).

‘and if any one at all sin . . .’ (Lev. 4, 27).

Another way of expressing such emphasis is by the use of the correlative adjectives **קָטַן**—**גָּדוֹל** ‘small’—‘great’, **טוֹב**—**רָע** ‘good’—‘evil’, either absolutely or attributively in connection with some construction denoting ‘any’,¹ ‘no’, e. g.,

‘fight not with any at all . . .’

(I Ki. 22, 31; cf. II Ch. 18, 30 “**אֶת־הַקָּטָן**”; *fem.* Num. 22, 18).

‘they killed none at all’ (I Sam. 30, 2).

‘for thy servant knew nothing whatever of all this’ (I Sam. 22, 15; **דָּבָר קָטַן וְגָדוֹל** 25, 36).

‘my father will do nothing whatever . . .’ (I Sam. 20, 2).

¹ For the various combinations of these correlatives cf. p. 220, n.

וְעַד-הַנֶּזֶל 'and there was nothing what-ever lacking to them' (I Sam. 30, 19).

לֹא נוֹכַל דַּבֵּר אֵלֶיךָ רַע או טוֹב 'we cannot say to you anything at all' (Gen. 24, 50; cf. 31, 24; 29; Num. 24, 13; I Sam. 13, 22; cf. *either* p. 147f.).¹

Two correlative verbs are sometimes employed instead of two adjectives, e. g.,

לֹא אָדַע צֵאת וְבֵאת 'I know not how to go out or come in [i. e. nothing]' (I Ki. 3, 7).

אֶרְ-טִיטִיבוּ וְתַרְעוּ 'yea, do good or do evil [*something*, anything at all]' (Is. 41, 23).

Still another way of emphasizing these ideas is by using the infinitive absolute as a verbal modifier, e. g.,

הֵיכַל אוֹכַל דַּבֵּר מֵאוֹמָה 'can I say anything at all' (Num. 22, 38).

וְאִם הִיוּ תְהֵיָה לְאִישׁ 'and if she has any husband at all' (Num. 30, 7).

וְאִם יִגְאֹל יִגְאֹל אִישׁ מִמַּעֲשָׁרוֹ 'and if a man will redeem anything at all of his tithes' (Lev. 27, 31).

An exception to an idea modified by 'any', 'no' is introduced by *מִבְּלָעִד* 'except, besides'. The noun expressing 'one', 'thing' is often omitted (cf. p. 167f.), e. g.,

כִּי אֶלְיָשָׁע יִגִּיד לְמֶלֶךְ 'no one ... but Elisha ... can tell the king' (II Ki. 6, 12).

אֵין בָּאָרוֹן רַק שְׁנֵי לְחוֹת הָאֲבָנִים 'there is nothing in the Ark except the two tables of stone' (I Ki. 8, 9; cf. 22, 16; II Ch. 18, 15; I Ch. 15, 2).²

אֵין זֶה כִּי אִם רַע לֵב 'this is nothing but sadness of heart' (Neh. 2, 3; cf. Gen. 28, 17).

אֵין זֹאת בְּלָתִי אִם חֶרֶב גִּדְעוֹן 'this is nothing else than the sword of Gideon' (Jud. 7, 14; cf. Gen. 47, 18).

לֹא בִקְשָׁה דַּבֵּר כִּי אִם אֶת-אֲשֶׁר יֹאמַר הִגִּי 'she asked for nothing but what Hegai ordered' (Esth. 2, 15).

וְלֹא חָשַׁךְ מִמֶּנִּי מֵאוֹמָה כִּי-אִם-אוֹתָךְ 'and he has kept back from me nothing except thee' (Gen. 39, 9; cf. 6; Esth. 5, 12).

¹ This pair of correlatives is employed in a different sense in sentence denoting discernment, discrimination; here the adjectives have their proper meaning (cf. Gen. 2, 9; 17; Dt. 1, 39; II Sam. 14, 17; 19, 36; I Ki. 3, 9: *also with different correlatives* Jon. 4, 11).

² From this use of *רק* with a negative is developed its use in an affirmative sentence in the sense of 'only', cf. e. g., Gen. 26, 29.

and the poor man had nothing but one little lamb' (II Sam. 12, 3; cf. Num. 11, 6 בלתי אל; I Ki. 15, 5 רק; II Ki. 4, 2).

'if any of these men except Caleb . . . see the land . . . ' (Dt. 1, 35—36).

'and none of them was left except Caleb . . . ' (Num. 26, 65; cf. I Sam. 30, 17).

'if any of the men . . . see the land . . . except Caleb . . . ' (Num. 32, 11—12).

'if any of you enter the land . . . except Caleb . . . ' (Num. 14, 30).

'and they gave no part in the land to the Levites except cities to dwell in' (Jos. 14, 4; cf. II Ch. 21, 17; Neh. 2, 12).

'let us not give them any of the spoil except to each his wife . . . ' (I Sam. 30, 22).

'fight not with any at all except the king of Israel alone' (I Ki. 22, 31).

'there is nothing good for me to do except to escape to the land of the Philistines' (I Sam. 27, 1; cf. Ecc. 8, 15 כי אם).

'and besides her his only child, he had not any one; son or daughter' (Jud. 11, 34).

'and besides me there is no savior' (Is. 43, 11; cf. 44, 6; 8; 45, 6).

'and if some other man beside thy husband has had intercourse with thee' (Num. 5, 20; cf. Jos. 22, 19).

'and there is no savior besides me' (Hos. 13, 4; cf. I Sam. 2, 2 בלתי + noun Jos. 11, 19).¹

'and I know there is no other besides thee to redeem' (Ru. 4, 4).

'and there is no other god besides thee' (II Sam. 7, 22; I Ch. 17, 20).

'besides me there is no other god' (Is. 45, 5; cf. 22; Hos. 13, 4).

'other lords besides thee have ruled us' (Is. 26, 13).

¹ In Ex. 22, 19 בלתי is a conjunction.

אִם-תִּקַּח נָשִׁים עַל-בָּנָתִי 'if thou takest other wives in addition to my daughters' (Gen. 31, 50).

An element modified by 'some', 'any', 'no' may be compared with another element, either in the comparison of equality¹ or in that of superiority. The indefinite element is sometimes completely omitted, e. g.,

אֵין כָּמוֹנִי 'there is no one like me' (Ex. 9, 14; cf. Is. 46, 9).

כִּי אֵין כָּמוֹךָ 'for there is no one like thee' (II Sam. 7, 22; cf. Jer. 10, 6; 7; I Ch. 17, 20).

אֵין קָדוֹשׁ כִּיהוָה "וְאֵין צוּר בְּאַלְהֵינוּ 'there is none so holy as JHVH, and there is no rock like our God' (I Sam. 2, 2; cf. Gen. 41, 39).

וְלֹא נִמְצָא מִכֻּלָּם כְּדָנִיֵּאל 'and none of them all were found like Daniel' (Dan. 1, 19).

כִּי אֵין כָּמוֹךָ אֱלֹהִים 'for there are no gods like thee' (I Ki. 8, 23; cf. II Ch. 6, 14).

אֵין כָּמוֹךָ בְּאֱלֹהִים 'none of the gods are like thee' (Ps. 86, 8*bis*).

אֲשֶׁר כָּמוֹךָ לֹא הָיָה לִפְנֵיךָ 'so that there was none like thee before' (I Ki. 3, 12*bis*).

אֲשֶׁר לֹא הָיָה כָמוֹךָ אִישׁ 'so that no one was like thee' (I Ki. 3, 13; cf. Job 35, 8).

וְלֹא הָיָה כִּיּוֹם הַהוּא לִפְנֵי וְאַחֲרָיו 'and there was no day like that day before it or after it' (Jos. 10, 14).

לֹא תַעֲשֶׂה כִּמְהוּ 'you shall not make any other like it' (Ex. 30, 32; cf. 33; 38; I Sam. 10, 24; 21, 10 *fem.*; II Ki. 18, 5; 23, 25; Jer. 30, 7; Ezk. 5, 9; Jo. 2, 2; Job 1, 8; 2, 3).

אֵינְנִי גָדוֹל בְּבֵית הַזֶּה מִמֶּנִּי 'there is no one in this house greater than I' (Gen. 39, 9).

אֵין טוֹב מֵאֲשֶׁר יִשְׂמַח הָאָדָם בְּמַעֲשָׁיו 'there is nothing better than that a man should rejoice in what he has done' (Ecc. 3, 22; cf. 2, 24;² cf. with אִם כִּי, 8, 15 and I Sam. 27, 1).

The idea of 'nothing' as an entity = 'nothingness' 'thing of nought' is expressed by a combination of negative and a word for 'anything', viz., לֹא-דָבָר; בְּלִימָה; by לֹא-יְהוֹן 'not substance', and by a number of nouns or negatives used as nouns.

¹ כ in these constructions followed by a pronoun is very similar to constructions of 'such' (cf. p. 129f.).

² If this passage belongs here מִן must have fallen out (cf. *Die Fünf Megillot; Der Prediger erklärt von D. G. Wildeboer, Freiburg i. Br. [= Kurz. Handc. zum AT., 17] p. 130f.*).

viz., אָנן 'falseness', אַין 'non-entity', אָפּם (אַפּע) 'ceasing, end', בִּלְתִּי 'not', הֶבֶל 'breath', רוּחַ 'wind', שְׁוֹא 'vanity, falseness', תֶּהוּ 'waste, emptiness', e. g.,

רְבֹר הַשְּׂמָחִים לֹא דָבָר 'oh ye that rejoice in nothingness [= a thing of no account]' (Am. 6, 13).

תִּלְךָ אֶרֶץ עַל-בִּלְיָמָה 'he hangs the earth upon nothing' (Job 26, 7).

תִּמְכַּר-עַמְּךָ בְּלֹא-הוֹן 'thou sellest thy people for nought' (Ps. 44, 13).

וּבֵית-אֵל יִהְיֶה לְאֵן 'and Bethel shall become nothingness' (Am. 5, 5).

וְחִלְדִּי כְּאֵין נִגְדָה 'my age is a nothing before thee' (Ps. 39, 6; cf. Is. 41, 11).

וְכָל שְׂרָיָהּ יִהְיוּ אָפָם 'and all her princes shall be nothing' (Is. 34, 12).

וְלִבְלֹתֵי רֹאי 'and they look to what is nothing' (Ezk. 13, 3).

הַכֹּל הֶבֶל וְרָעוּת רוּחַ 'all is nothingness and striving after wind' (Ecc. 1, 14; cf. 1, 2).

וְהַנְּבִיאִים יִהְיוּ לְרוּחַ 'and the prophets shall become nothingness' (Jer. 5, 13).

הַעֲבֹר עֵינֵי מְרֹאֵת שְׂוֹא 'turn aside my eyes from seeing things of nought' (Ps. 119, 37).

יָעֻזוּ בְּתֶהוּ וַיֵּאבְדוּ 'they go to nothing and perish' (Job 6, 18; cf. 26, 7; Is. 29, 21).

הֵן כָּלֶם אָנָּן אָפָם מַעֲשֵׂיהֶם רוּחַ וְתִהְיוּ נִסְפֵיהֶם 'behold they are all vanity, their works are nothing, their molten images are wind and emptiness' (Is. 41, 29; cf. 40, 17; 23; 41, 12; 24; 49, 4).

The idea 'for nothing, gratis'¹ in which 'nothing' is an entity like the expressions in the last paragraph, is expressed by חֵנָם, e. g.,

וְעַבַדְתַּנִּי חֵנָם 'shouldst thou serve me for nothing' (Gen. 29, 15; cf. Ex. 21, 2; Is. 52, 5; Job 22, 6).

יִרְא אֱלֹהִים חֵנָם 'does Job reverence God for nothing' (Job 1, 9).

חֵנָם נִמְכַּרְתֶּם 'ye have sold yourselves for nought' (Is. 52, 3).

¹ 'For nothing' = 'not for anything' is rendered according to the rules that apply in general to 'some', 'any', 'no'; cf. למאומה I Ki. 10, 21; II Ch. 9, 20; לֹכַל Jer. 13, 7; 10.

Much, Many.

These ideas used absolutely are expressed by the pronominal adjective רב, and by the infinitive absolute הִרְבָּה used as an invariable pronominal adjective.¹ The singular of רב, and הִרְבָּה are used for both 'much' and 'many'; 'many' is also expressed by the plural of רב, e. g.,

אִם אֶשְׂמַח בִּי רַב חֵילִי 'if I rejoice because my wealth is much' (Job 31, 25).

אֲכַל הָעָם רַב 'but the people are many, much' (Ezr. 10, 13; cf. Num. 13, 18; I Sam. 14, 6; Is. 31, 1).

וְיָדַעְתָּ בִּי רַב וְרַעַד 'and thou shalt know that thy offspring shall be many' (Job 5, 25).

אִם יֹאכַל וְאִם יִשְׂמַח 'whether he eats little or much' (Ecc. 5, 11; cf. Hag. 1, 6; 9).

וְיִזְכֹּר אֶת־יְמֵי הַחֹשֶׁךְ בִּי הִרְבָּה יְהוֹי 'and let him remember the days of darkness, for they shall be many' (Ecc. 11, 8).

יִרְאוּ רַבִּים וְיִירָאוּ 'many will see and fear' (Ps. 40, 4; cf. Job 11, 19; Neh. 6, 18).

בִּי רַבִּים רַחֲמָיו 'for his mercies are many' (II Sam. 24, 14; cf. Ezk. 33, 24).

לֹא תִהְיֶה יִפְרָת רַבִּים 'lo thou hast instructed many' (Job 4, 3).

בִּי שָׁמַעְתִּי דְבַת רַבִּים 'for I have heard the slander of many' (Ps. 31, 14).

אֲנִי כְמוֹתָהּ לְרַבִּים 'I was a wonder to many' (Ps. 71, 7).

רְאוּת רַבּוֹת וְלֹא תִשְׁמָר 'thou seest many things but dost not heed' (Is. 42, 20).

רַבּוֹת רְעוּת צַדִּיק 'many are the afflictions of the righteous' (Ps. 34, 20).

הֵן רַבִּים עִמָּה עַם הָאָרֶץ 'behold the people of the land are now many' (Ex. 5, 5).

The adjective רב may be used in the construct before a following genitive in the sense of having much of what the genitive denotes, e. g.,

רַב־חֶסֶד 'full of kindness [h. much kindness]' (Jo. 2, 13; cf. Ex. 34, 6; Ezk. 17, 7; Ps. 147, 5; Prov. 14, 29; 29, 22).

¹ כָּבִיר 'great, mighty', seems to be used in a sense very similar to 'much' in Job 31, 25; Is. 16, 14. Certain of the higher round numbers, especially אֶלֶף are employed at times in a somewhat indefinite sense very much like 'great number', 'very many'. They may stand either absolutely or attributively, e. g., Ps. 50, 10; 90, 4; 91, 7; Job 9, 3.

וּמַעְלִים עֵינָיו רַב־מָאֲרוֹת 'and he that hides his eyes shall have many curses' (Prov. 28, 27; cf. 16; 20; II Sam. 23, 20).

וְרַבַּת בָּנִים אֶמְלָלָה 'and she that has many children is become feeble' (I Sam. 2, 5).

הָעִיר רַבַּת־עַם 'the city that had many people' (Lam. 1, 1).

רַבַּת אוֹצְרוֹת בָּא קֶצֶף 'oh thou that hast many treasures [Babylon], thy end is come' (Jer. 51, 13).

יִתְקַלְסוּ בָּךְ רַבַּת הַמְּהוּמָה 'they shall mock thee . . . that art in much confusion' (Ezk. 22, 5; cf. Jer. 32, 19).

These ideas used attributively are expressed by the same words employed as adjectives. The singular of רַב is used with singulars and collectives, the plural with plurals, and הָרַבָּה (once הַרְבוֹת) with any noun,¹ e. g.,

וְהָב רַב 'much gold' (I Ki. 10, 2; cf. Dt. 28, 38 יָרַע; II Ch. 32, 29 רָכוֹשׁ).

בָּזָה רַבָּה 'much plunder' (II Ch. 14, 13; cf. I Ch. 18, 8 נַחֲשֶׁת).

עַם־רַב 'many people' (II Sam. 13, 34; cf. Jos. 11, 4; Ezk. 17, 9; II Ch. 30, 13; cf. Jos. 22, 8 מְקַנָּה).

עַם גָּדוֹל וְרַב 'a people great and many' (Dt. 2, 21).

טוֹבָה רַבָּה 'much good' (Ecc. 9, 18).

הַחֵמָה וְהַבִּינָה רַבָּה 'much wisdom and understanding' (I Ki. 5, 9).

שָׁנִים רַבָּה 'many years' (Ecc. 11, 8; cf. Ecc. 6, 11 דְּבָרִים; 12, 12 שְׁלֹמוֹת; Jos. 22, 8 סְפָרִים).

גּוֹיִם רַבִּים 'many nations' (Dt. 7, 1; 15, 6; 28, 12; cf. Gen. 21, 34 מִיָּמִים; Jos. 22, 8 נִכְסִים; II Sam. 22, 17 מִיָּמִים).

עַמִּים רַבִּים 'many peoples' (Is. 2, 3; 17, 12; Ezk. 3, 6; 32, 9; 10; 38, 9; 15; Mi. 4, 3; 13; 5, 7; Zech. 8, 22).

עָרִים רַבּוֹת 'many cities' (Zech. 8, 20; cf. Ps. 106, 43 פְּעָמִים; Neh. 9, 30; Ecc. 11, 8 הַרְבֵּה).

רָעוֹת רַבּוֹת וְצָרוֹת 'many evils and troubles' (Dt. 31, 17; 21).

אֲכַל דְּבַשׁ הָרַבּוֹת לֹא טוֹב 'eating much honey is not good' (Prov. 25, 27).

The plural of רַב sometimes precedes its noun, e. g.,

רַבִּים בָּנִים 'many sons' (I Ch. 28, 5; cf. Jer. 16, 16 צִידִים; Ps. 32, 10 מַכְאוּבִים; Prov. 7, 26 חֲלָלִים).

רַבּוֹת בָּנוֹת 'many daughters' (Prov. 31, 29; cf. Neh. 9, 28 עֵתִים).

¹ The adjective טוֹב 'good' may be employed just as in English, in a sense somewhat like 'much', viz., 'good with respect to size, quantity', cf. Gen. 15, 15; 25, 8; 30, 20; Prov. 31, 18; Ecc. 4, 9.

The ideas 'much', 'many' used attributively may also be expressed by the nouns **רַב**, **מְרִבִּית** (once) 'abundance' in the construct before a singular, or a plural or collective noun respectively,¹ e. g.,

רַב-אֶלָּ 'much food' (Prov. 13, 23; cf. Gen. 27, 28; Ps. 37, 11; 72, 7; Job 36, 18; Ecc. 1, 18*bis*).

רַב הָלָל 'many slain' (Nah. 3, 3).

רַב שָׁנִים 'many years' (Job 32, 7; cf. Prov. 14, 4; 20, 15).

רַב חַסְדֶּיךָ 'thy many kindnesses' (Ps. 106, 7).

חֲצֵי מְרִבִּית חֲכָמְתְּךָ 'half of the greatness of thy wisdom' (II Ch. 9, 6).

Similar ideas are expressed by the prepositional phrase **לְרַב** 'in abundance' placed after the noun. The construction is late, occurring chiefly in Chronicles (elsewhere I Ki. 1, 19; 25; Zech. 14, 14; Job 26, 3; Neh. 9, 25), e. g.,

לְרַב בַּרְזֶל 'much iron' (I Ch. 22, 3*bis*; cf. 8; II Ch. 9, 1; 17, 5; 18, 1; 24, 11; **הַמִּזְוֶן** II Ch. 11, 23).

לְרַב צֹאן 'many sheep' (I Ch. 12, 40; cf. II Ch. 14, 14; 16, 8; 18, 2; 29, 35; 32, 5; 29).

לְרַב זִבְחִים 'many sacrifices' (I Ch. 29, 21; cf. 22, 4; 29, 2; II Ch. 2, 8; 30, 24: *before noun* I Ch. 22, 15).

Occasionally **הַרְבֵּה** is employed instead of **רַב** in this construction, e. g.,

הַרְבֵּה כְּלִיָּין לְהַרְבֵּה 'abundance of all kinds of wine' (Neh. 5, 18).

הַרְבֵּה פָּרָשִׁים לְהַרְבֵּה 'many horsemen' (II Ch. 16, 8).

In a few passages these phrases with **לְ** are employed absolutely, e. g.,

הָיָה לְרַב הָיָה 'for it [iron] was much, in abundance' (I Ch. 22, 14; cf. II Ch. 20, 25; 31, 10).

Attributive 'much', 'many' is sometimes expressed by **כָּבֵד** 'heavy', e. g.,

כָּבֵד עַם 'many people, a large army' (Num. 20, 20; cf. Ex. 12, 38; I Ki. 10, 2; II Ch. 9, 1).

The expression **כְּדִי** 'as much as a sufficiency of' (cf. p. 194), is sometimes used in a sense closely approximating 'much', 'many', e. g.,

וְכָדִי בִצְיוֹן וְקֶזֶף 'and there will be enough [much] contempt and wrath' (Esth. 1, 18).

¹ For **הַמִּן** 'multitude' before a genitive in the sense of 'very much, many' cf. p. 192f.

Attributive 'many' is expressed by a species of repetition, singular + plural of same noun in—

שָׂדָה וְשָׂדוֹת 'I procured for myself . . . many concubines' (Ecc. 2, 8).

The plural of 'day' יָמִים is sometimes employed in the sense of 'a considerable time, many days',¹ e. g.,

וְהָאֵל וְהָאִשָּׁה וְהָרֶבֶת 'and she and he and her family had food for many days' (I Ki. 17, 15; cf. Ps. 34, 13; Dan. 10, 14; 11, 33).

The ideas 'much', 'many', used partitively are expressed by רַב or הַרְבֵּה + dependent noun after the prepositions מִן or בְּ, e. g.,

וְרַבִּים מֵעַמֵּי הָאָרֶץ מִתְּהוֹמֵיהֶם 'and many of the people of the land became Jews' (Esth. 8, 17; cf. Ezr. 3, 12; Dan. 12, 2).

וְגַם הַרְבֵּה נָפַל מִיָּהֶם 'and many of the people also have fallen' (II Sam. 1, 4).

וְנָפַל מֵהֶם רַב [עַם] 'lest many of them [people] fall' (Ex. 19, 21).

רַבַּת מֵאֶפְרַיִם 'much, many of Ephraim' (II Ch. 30, 18).

רַבַּת בְּקָהָל 'much, many of the congregation' (II Ch. 30, 17).²

The same idea may be expressed by using independently the definite noun or pronoun of which logically a part is taken, and following it by an expression for 'much, many', e. g., וַיַּעַשׂ בְּלִי־הַבָּלִים הָאֵלֶּה לְרַב מְאֹד 'and he made very many of all these vessels' (cf. II Ch. 4, 18).

רַב may be used attributively as the modifier of a definite noun in the sense of 'great in quantity; number'. In this case it has of course the definite article like any descriptive adjective,³ e. g.,

גָּאוֹן יְרוּשָׁלַם הַרֵב 'the great [amount of] pride of Jerusalem' (Jer. 13, 9).

וְכַסּוֹף הַמַּיִם הַרְבִּים 'and the many waters will cover thee' (Ezk. 26, 19).

עַל־הָעָם הַרֵב הַזֶּה 'upon this great [numerous] people' (I Ki. 5, 21; cf. II Ch. 20, 12; 15).

¹ From this use is developed the meaning 'year', cf. Gesenius-Buhl, p. 292.

² II Sam. 24, 16 also belongs here if we take רַב together with הַמְשַׁחֲתִית בָּעָם = 'the destroyer of many of the people', רַב, however, may also be taken separately = 'it is enough', cf. p. 201.

³ In וּמִקְדִּיֵּי הַרְבִּים (Dan. 12, 3) the article of course belongs to the whole expression 'turners of many to righteousness'.

וַיְהִי בַיָּמִים הָרַבִּים הָהֵם 'and it came to pass after those many days [after a long time]' (Ex. 2, 23).

בְּכָל־הַהֲמוֹן הָרַב 'in all the great [numerous] multitude' (Is. 16, 14).

טוֹבָךְ הָרַב 'thy great [much] kindness' (Neh. 9, 35).

רַחֲמֶיךָ הָרַבִּים 'thy many mercies' (Dan. 9, 18; Neh. 9, 19; 27; 31; cf. II Ki. 9, 22; Jer. 11, 15).

מִי הַנָּהָר הָעֲצֻמִּים וְהָרַבִּים 'the mighty and many waters of the river' (Is. 8, 7).

Used absolutely with the article the singular רַב is employed in a similar sense. The plural with article has sometimes the force of a superlative, sometimes apparently the same force as the form without article', e. g.,

מֵאַתַּת הָרַב הָרַב מִרְבּוֹ 'from [the tribe] that is numerous thou shalt take many [cities]' (Num. 35, 8; cf. 26, 54; 33, 54).

כִּי אַתֶּם הָרַבִּים 'for you are the most [more] numerous' (I Ki. 18, 25).

וּבְנֵי הָרַבִּים לֹא הָיָה מִלְּךָ כָמוֹהוּ 'and among [the] many nations [that exist] there was no king like him' (Neh. 13, 26).

וְהִמְשִׁילָם בְּרַבִּים 'and he will make them rule over many' (Dan. 11, 39; cf. Is. 53, 12).²

וַיְבִינוּ לְרַבִּים 'and they that understand among the people shall instruct many' (Dan. 11, 33: cf. 9, 27; Is. 53, 11; Esth. 4, 3).²

The ideas 'much', 'many' may also be expressed by various conjugations of the verbs רָבָה, רָבַב, and עָצַם (apparently only once and then in a construction meaning 'more' cf. p. 196), e. g., רְאֵה אֹיְבֵי כִי רַבּוּ 'consider my enemies, for they are many' (Ps. 25, 19; cf. I Sam. 14, 30; I Ch. 23, 17).

וַיִּרְבּוּ לָךְ שָׁנוֹת חַיִּים 'and the years of thy life shall be many' (Prov. 4, 10).

קִרְבּוֹ וְרַבּוֹ 'increase and be many' (Gen. 1, 22).

הַיּוֹם רַבּוֹ עֲבָדִים 'now-a-days there are many servants that...' (I Sam. 25, 10; cf. Is. 66, 16; Jer. 5, 6; 14, 7).

וַיְהִי כִי־הִתְחַל הָאָדָם לִרְבּוֹ 'and when men began to become many' (Gen. 6, 1).

¹ This article is perhaps the indefinite definite article, the sense being 'those that are many under the conditions that prevail' (cf. p. 172, n. 1).

² It is possible, of course, that in these examples רַב and רַבִּים are to read for רַבֵּן and רַבִּי.

רָבָה צָבָאֵךְ וְצֵאתָ 'make your army great [much] and come out' (Jud. 9, 29).

וְאֲשֶׁר הָרַבָּה אֶת־חַלְלֵינוּ 'and who slew many of us [made many our slain]' (Jud. 16, 24; cf. Hos. 8, 11).

וְתִרְבִּי לָךְ בְּרִית 'and tho thou takest much soap' (Jer. 2, 22; cf. Gen. 3, 16; Num. 26, 54; 33, 54; 35, 8; II Ch. 33, 23).

הָרַבָּה כּוֹשֵׁל 'he makes many stumble' (Jer. 46, 16).

וְלֹא הָעֲדִיף הַמְרַבָּה 'and he that gathered much had nothing over' (Ex. 16, 18; cf. 17; Ecc. 6, 11; Neh. 9, 37).

The ideas 'much', 'many' may be emphasized by the addition of the adverb מְאֹד 'very', e. g.,

כִּי רַב מְאֹד מַחֲנֵהוּ 'for his camp is very great' (Jo. 2, 11).

וְהָיָה הַדָּגָה רַבָּה מְאֹד 'and the fish shall be very numerous' (Ezk. 47, 9).

וְהָאָרֶץ נִשְׁאַרָה רַבָּה מְאֹד 'and the land remaining is very much' (Jos. 13, 1).

כִּי רַבִּים רַחֲמָיו מְאֹד 'for his mercies are very many' (I Ch. 21, 13).

וְהָיָה רַב מְאֹד 'very much gold' (I Ki. 10, 2).

מְקַנָּה רַב מְאֹד 'very much cattle' (Jos. 22, 8; cf. 11, 4; Ezr. 10, 1; II Ch. 32, 29).

נְחֹשֶׁת רַבָּה מְאֹד 'very much copper' (I Ch. 18, 8).

שְׁלֵמוֹת הָרַבָּה מְאֹד 'very many garments' (Jos. 22, 8; cf. Gen. 41, 49; Jer. 40, 12; II Ch. 14, 13).

תֵּיל לָרֹב מְאֹד 'a very great force' (II Ch. 24, 24; cf. 9, 9; 30, 13).

פָּרָשִׁים לְהָרַבָּה מְאֹד 'very many horsemen' (II Ch. 16, 8).

וַיַּעַשׂ כָּל־הַכֵּלִים הָאֵלֶּה לָרֹב מְאֹד 'and he made very many of all these vessels' (II Ch. 4, 18).

בְּתֵיל כְּבֹד מְאֹד 'with a very great force' (I Ki. 10, 2; II Ch. 9, 1; cf. Ex. 12, 38).

וְאֲשֶׁר תִּרְבּוּ מְאֹד 'and that ye may become very many' (Dt. 6, 3).

וַיִּרְבּוּ מְאֹד 'and [the water הַמַּיִם] became very much' (Gen. 7, 18; cf. 47, 27; Ps. 107, 38).

הַמֶּוֹן 'multitude' + genitive may be regarded as the emphatic form of רַב + genitive (cf. p. 189); the genitive may also be modified by רַב, e. g.,

וַיִּשְׁאַל הָמוֹן נָשִׁים 'and he desired a great many [very many] wives' (II Ch. 11, 23; cf. Is. 29, 5*bis*; Jer. 10, 13; 49, 32; 51, 16).¹

וְהָיִיתָ לְאָב הָמוֹן גּוֹיִם 'and thou shalt become a father of very many nations' (Gen. 17, 4; cf. 5).

הוּא הָמוֹן עַמִּים רַבִּים 'woe to the multitude of many nations' (Is. 17, 12; cf. Dan. 11, 10).²

For the expression of 'many such' cf. p. 130.

When these ideas 'much', 'many' modify the first term of a comparison of equality they need not be definitely expressed, the meaning being borne by the comparative construction. The second term in this case consists of *כִּי* + noun or *כַּאֲשֶׁר* + sentence. These ideas in such a comparison, however, may be more definitely rendered by the addition of the phrase *לְרַב* 'in quantity, in number'. Sometimes 'much', 'many' is definitely expressed by *רַב*, &c., in the first term. Sometimes *לְרַב* is added pleonastically to this construction, e. g.,

לְכָל-בְּנֵי אַהֲרֹן תְּהִיָּה אִישׁ כַּאֲחָיו 'it shall be for all the sons of Aaron, for one as much as the other' (Lev. 7, 10).

וְנִאֲחֲנוּ נִכְרֹת עֲצִים מִן-הַלְבָּנוֹן כְּכָל-צִדְקָה 'and we will cut trees from Lebanon as many as thou wantest [according to all thy desire]' (II Ch. 2, 15).

וְקַח לָךְ כַּאֲשֶׁר תִּאְוָה נִפְשָׁךְ 'and take for yourself as much as you want' (I Sam. 2, 16).

מִלֵּא אֶת-אֲמָתָחוֹת הָאֲנָשִׁים אֶכָּל כַּאֲשֶׁר יוּכְלוּן שָׂאת 'fill the men's sacks with as much food as they can carry' (Gen. 44, 1).

וְעַם כַּחוֹל אֲשֶׁר עַל-שֹׁפֶת הַיָּם לְרַב 'and people as many as the sand on the seashore' (I Sam. 13, 5; cf. Jud. 6, 5; 7, 12*bis*; II Sam. 17, 11).

וְהָיָנָם הַיּוֹם כְּכוֹכְבֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם לְרַב 'and you are this day as many as the stars in heaven' (Dt. 1, 10; cf. 10, 22; 28, 62; I Ki. 10, 27; II Ch. 1, 15; 9, 27).

עַם רַב כַּחוֹל אֲשֶׁר עַל-שֹׁפֶת הַיָּם לְרַב 'a people as numerous as the sand on the seashore' (Jos. 11, 4; cf. I Ki. 4, 20).

וַיֹּסֶף יְהוָה "אֶל-הָעָם כְּהֵם" 'and JHVH will add to the people as many again as they are . . .' (II Sam. 24, 3).

¹ In I Ki. 18, 41, הָמוֹן may mean either 'murmuring' or 'abundance' 'for there is the sound of the murmuring of [of very much] rain'; so also perhaps Jer. 10, 13; 51, 16.

² In Ps. 37, 16 הָמוֹן רָשָׁעִים רַבִּים means 'the abundant wealth of many wicked men'.

13 JAOS 34.

הַמָּוֶת 'if there is as much as a step between me and death' (I Sam. 20, 3).

וַיַּעֲמֹד הַשָּׁמֶשׁ 'and the sun stood still . . . and did not hasten to go down for as much as a whole day' (Jos. 10, 13; cf. Num. 11, 31; II Sam. 19, 37; Ru. 1, 4; 2, 17:—Is. 26, 20; Ezr. 9, 8; II Ch. 12, 7; Ps. 105, 12; I Ch. 16, 19).¹

'As much, many as' may also be expressed by דַּי 'sufficiency' + genitive, alone or preceded by כִּי לְרַב may be employed as in the last construction, e. g.,

וְאִם לֹא תִגִּיעַ יָדוֹ דַּי שֶׁהַצֹּאן 'and if his hand can not reach to as much as a sheep [if he cannot afford]' (Lev. 5, 7; cf. 12, 8; Jer. 51, 58bis; Hab. 2, 13bis).

וְהַשִּׁיגָה יָדוֹ וּמִצָּא כְּדֵי גְאֻלָּתוֹ 'and he can afford as much as its redemption [requires]' (Lev. 25, 26; cf. Dt. 25, 2).

קָנִינוּ אֶת־אֲחֵינוּ כְּדֵי כָּנוֹ 'we redeemed our brethren . . . as many as we could' (Neh. 5, 8).

וּבָאוּ כְּדֵי־אַרְבָּה לְרַב 'and they came as many as locusts in number' (Jud. 6, 5).

The idea of 'as much, many as' may be expressed also by מִסְפָּר 'number', e. g.,

כִּי מִסְפָּר עָרֶיהָ הָיוּ אֲלֵהֶיהָ 'for thy gods were as many as [the number of] thy cities' (Jer. 11, 13; 2, 28).

וּמִסְפָּר הָעֻצּוֹת יְרוּשָׁלַם שְׁמֹתָם מִזִּבְחֹת 'ye have erected altars as many as the streets of Jerusalem' (Jer. 11, 13; cf. Job 1, 5).

וַיִּשְׂאוּ נָשִׁים לְמִסְפָּרָם 'and they took as many wives as they themselves were' (Jud. 21, 23; cf. Jos. 4, 5).

The idea 'so much, such a great quantity, number' used without expressed second term of the comparison, may be rendered by רַב or רַב רַב, e. g.,

וַיְהִיו יָמִים שְׁלוֹשָׁה בַּיּוֹם אֶת־הַשָּׁלָל כִּי רַב הָיָא 'and they were three days taking the spoil, for it was so much' (II Ch. 20, 25).

לְמָה לִּי רַב וּבְחִיכָם 'for what purpose do you make so many [are your many] sacrifices to me' (Is. 1, 11).

עַל־רַב עֲוֹנֶךָ 'because thy transgressions are so many [on account of thy many]' (Jer. 30, 14; 15; cf. Hos. 9, 7; Lam. 1, 5).

¹ From this use of כִּי is developed the meaning 'about' both quantitative and temporal, cf. Gesenius-Buhl, p. 326: in many of the examples here given כִּי may be translated by 'about'. The same כִּי is found in כִּמָּה 'how much', כִּמְעַט 'almost'.

לֹא יִסְפָּר מְרַב 'it could not be counted, it was so much [for multitude]' (Gen. 16, 10; 32, 13; I Ki. 3, 8; cf. I Ki. 8, 5; II Ch. 5, 6; Dt. 28, 47; Jos. 9, 13; Ezk. 27, 12; 16; 18; 28, 18; Nah. 3, 4; Zech. 2, 8; Job 35, 9; Lam. 1, 3).

The idea '— times as much, many' may be rendered by a numeral expression followed by *כִּי*, but it is usually expressed as a comparative (cf. p. 196), e. g.,

וְיָסַפְתִּי עֲלֵיכֶם מִכָּה שִׁבְעַת כְּחַטֹּאתֵיכֶם 'and I will bring seven times as many plagues upon you as your sins deserve' (Lev. 26, 21).

יְהוָה יִסֶּף עֲלֵיכֶם כְּכֶם אָלֶיךָ קְצָמִים 'JHVH will make you a thousand times as many as you are' (Dt. 1, 11; cf. II Sam. 24, 3;¹ I Ch. 21, 3).

More.

This idea in the sense of 'in addition to' is the same as the idea 'other' that means 'in addition to' and is expressed by the adverb, *שֵׁנִית, עוֹד* (cf. p. 133f.).

The idea 'more' in the first term of a comparison of superiority is regularly expressed by the words that denote 'much', 'many' followed by the comparative preposition *בִּין*, tho they may be omitted, e. g.,

וְהָיָה עִמָּנוּ יְשָׂרָאֵל רַב וְעֲצִימִים מִמֶּנּוּ 'behold the Israelites are more numerous and mightier than we are' (Ex. 1, 9; cf. Dt. 20, 1; Am. 6, 2).

יֵשׁ לַיהוָה לָתֵת לָךְ הַרְבֵּה מִזֶּה 'JHVH is able to give thee more than this' (II Ch. 25, 9; cf. Ecc. 2, 7).

כִּי עִמָּנוּ רַב מִעִמּוֹ 'for there are more with us than with him' (II Ch. 32, 7).

כִּי רַבִּים אֲשֶׁר אִתָּנוּ מֵאֲשֶׁר אִתָּם 'for those that are with us are more numerous than those that are with them' (II Ki. 6, 16;² Is. 54, 1; I Ch. 24, 4).

כִּי תֹאמַר "רַבִּים הַגּוֹיִם הָאֵלֶּה מִמֶּנִּי 'if thou sayest . . . these nations are more numerous than I' (Dt. 7, 17).

¹ Here *קְצָמִים מִכָּה וְכֵהֶם* may mean 'as many as they are, and a hundred times as many as they are'. i. e. 'not only once but a hundred times as many'. Others think it means 'a hundred times and again a hundred times as many', cf. K. Budde, *Die Bücher Samuel*, Tübingen u. Leipzig, 1902 [= Kurz. Handc. zum AT., 8], p. 329.

² Read *אִתָּם* for *אִתָּם*, cf. *Crit. Ed. of Book of Kings* by B. Stade and F. Schwally. Leipzig, 1904 (= SBOT, 9) p. 207, l. 10.

‘and those *וַיְהִיו הַמָּתִים אֲשֶׁר הָמִית בְּמֹתוֹ רַבִּים מֵאֲשֶׁר הָמִית בְּחַיּוֹ* he killed in his death were more than those he killed in his life-time’ (Jud. 16, 30; cf. Jos. 10, 11).

‘the rich man shall not give more . . . than half a shekel’ (*הָעָשִׁיר לֹא יִרְבֶּה מִמִּחֲצִית הַשֶּׁקֶל*) (Ex. 30, 15).

‘they are more in number than the sand’ (*מְחֹל יִרְבּוּן*) (Ps. 139, 18; cf. I Ki. 5, 10).

‘my enemies are more numerous than the hairs of my head’ (*רַבּוּ מִשְׁעָרוֹת רֹאשִׁי שֹׁנְאֵי*) (Ps. 69, 5; cf. Jer. 46, 23).

‘they are more numerous than the hairs of my head’ (*עֲצָמוּ מִשְׁעָרוֹת רֹאשִׁי*) (Ps. 40, 13).

‘not because you were more numerous than any other people has JHWH loved you . . .’ (*לֹא מִרְבֶּכֶם מִכָּל־הָעַמִּים חֶשֶׁק יְהוָה בָּכֶם*) (Dt. 7, 7).

‘and thou hast made thy abominations more than they [did]’ (*וַתַּרְבִּי אֶת־תּוֹעֲבוֹתֶיךָ מֵהֵנָּה*) (Ezk. 16, 51; cf. Ex. 36, 5).

‘this has more rest than the other’ (*נַחַת לָזֶה מִזֶּה*) (Ecc. 6, 5; cf. Prov. 26, 12; 29, 20).

‘and he will stand more years than the king of the north’ (*וְהוּא שָׁנִים יַעֲמֹד מִמֶּלֶךְ הַצָּפוֹן*) (Dan. 11, 8; cf. Ezk. 16, 52; 23, 11 *bis*; Ps. 4, 8; Esth. 2, 17).

‘and Manasseh seduced to do more evil than did the nations . . .’ (*וַיִּתְּעַם מְנַשֶּׁה לַעֲשׂוֹת אֶת־הָרָע מִן־הַגּוֹיִם*) (II Ki. 21, 9).

‘my righteousness is more than God’s’ (*צְדִקְי מֵאל*) (Job 35, 2).

The idea ‘— times as much, many’ may be expressed by this same construction, e. g.,

‘and Benjamin’s portion was five times as much [more] as the portions of all [the others]’ (*וַתֵּרֶב מִשְׁאֵת בִּנְיָמִן מִמִּשְׁאֵת כָּל־הַמָּשׁ יְרוּת*) (Gen. 43, 34).

The ideas ‘more than’ ‘as much, many as’ may be rendered by a numeral expression followed by *עַל* ‘over’, e. g.,

‘and I will give thee one shoulder [of land] more than thy brothers’ (*וָאֲנִי נָתַתִּי לְךָ שֶׁכֶם אֶחָד עַל־אַחֶיךָ*) (Gen. 48, 22).

‘and it was double as much as they gathered every day’ (*וְהָיָה מִשְׁנָה עַל אֲשֶׁר יִלְקְטוּ יוֹם יוֹם*) (Ex. 16, 5).

‘and I will punish you seven times as much as your sins [deserve]’ (*שִׁבְעַת עַל־חַטֹּאתֶיכֶם*) (Lev. 26, 24; cf. 28).

The verb *יָסַף* ‘to add, do more, make more’ usually in the Hiphil, may express the idea of ‘more’. Sometimes it is combined with other constructions denoting ‘more’, e. g.,

יִסְרָאֵל 'these words JHVH spoke ... and no more' (Dt. 5, 19).

'JHVH do so to me and more also if ...' (Ru. 1, 17; cf. I Sam. 14, 44; 20, 13; II Sam. 3, 9; 3, 35; I Ki. 2, 23; 19, 2: with אִם I Sam. 3, 17; 25, 22; I Ki. 20, 10; II Ki. 6, 31: with אִם-לֹא II Sam. 19, 14—cf. also Ps. 120, 3; Ezk. 5, 16).

יִסְרָאֵל 'to make the guilt of Israel more, greater' (Ezr. 10, 10; cf. Ezk. 23, 14; Ps. 71, 14; Job 34, 32).

יִסְרָאֵל 'JHVH will increase you [= make you more]' (Ps. 115, 14).

יִסְרָאֵל 'thou hast added to the report that I heard' (II Ch. 9, 6).

יִסְרָאֵל 'and he that increases knowledge, increases pain' (Ecc. 1, 18; cf. Neh. 13, 18).

יִסְרָאֵל 'and what more can David say to you' (II Sam. 7, 20; cf. Prov. 11, 24).

יִסְרָאֵל 'then thou shalt get three more [other] cities besides these three' (Dt. 19, 9).

יִסְרָאֵל 'and Ahab did more ... than all the kings of Israel ...' (I Ki. 16, 32).

יִסְרָאֵל 'and I will chastise you seven times as much as your sins deserve' (Lev. 26, 18).

Most.

This idea may be rendered by making definite the expressions for 'much', 'many', e. g.,

יִסְרָאֵל 'for you are the most numerous' (I Ki. 18, 25).¹

יִסְרָאֵל 'most men will proclaim, each his own goodness' (Prov. 20, 6).²

This idea in the sense of partitive 'majority, greater number of' may also be expressed by מִרְבִּית followed by the definite genitive of the modified noun or pronoun, e. g.,

¹ Possibly also לְרַבִּים Esth. 4, 3; cf., however, רַב with article in an indefinite sense, p. 191. In Ex. 16, 17; 18, the article of הַמִּרְבָּה makes the participle definite, not the idea of 'much', in v. 18, however, לֹא הָעֲרִיף הַמִּרְבָּה 'and he that gathered much had nothing over' comes close to being a superlative and was perhaps felt as such (cf. הַמִּקְצִיעַ Num. 11, 32), tho it is more likely that it has the same force as הַמִּרְבָּה in v. 17, which is certainly not superlative.

² Here רַבִּי-אֱדָם is poetical for רַב אֱדָם with article.

לֹא הִטְהָרוּ 'for most of the people had not cleansed themselves' (II Ch. 30, 18).
 וְעַד-הֵנָּה מִרְבִּיתָם שְׁמֵרִים 'hitherto most of them had watched...'
 (I Ch. 12, 29).

A little, Few.

The idea of 'a little' both absolutely and attributively is expressed by מְעַט:¹ when used attributively it usually stands in the construct before its noun, but may stand after it in the genitive, e. g.,

אִם-מְעַט וְאִם-הֶרְבֵּה יֹאכַל 'whether he eats little or much' (Ecc. 5, 11; cf. Gen. 30, 15; 30; Dt. 28, 38; Jos. 22, 17; Hag. 1, 6; 9; 2, 6; Ps. 8, 6; 37, 16; Prov. 15, 16; 16, 8).

לֵב רָשָׁעִים כְּמְעַט 'the heart of the wicked is like a little [thing]' (Prov. 10, 20).

כִּי הַמְעַט 'is it a little thing that...' (Num. 16, 13).

מְעַט מַיִם 'a little water' (Gen. 18, 4; 24, 17; 43, 2; 11*bis*; 44, 25; I Sam. 14, 29; I Ki. 17, 12; Prov. 6, 10; 24, 33; Is. 26, 20;² Ezr. 9, 8²).

עֲזֹר מְעַט 'a little help' (Dan. 11, 34; cf. Ecc. 10, 1; Ezk. 11, 16).
 'A little' is also expressed by זָעִיר in—

זָעִיר שָׁם וְזָעִיר שָׁם 'here a little, there a little' (Is. 28, 10; 13).

The idea of 'few' used absolutely may be expressed by מְעַט, its plural מְעַטִּים, or by מִסְפָּר 'number': used attributively, it is expressed by מְעַט, מִסְפָּר, or מוֹזֵעַ (only once) used in the genitive, or as adjective after its noun; by מוֹזֵעַ in the construct before following genitive (only once); by אֲחֵרִים as adjective after a plural noun (cf. p. 173); by the dual or the numeral two in the sense of 'a couple', 'one or two', e. g.,

וְהָעָם מְעַט בְּתוֹכָהּ 'and the people in it were few' (Neh. 7, 4; cf. Ecc. 9, 14).

מְעַט וְרָעִים הָיוּ יָמֵי שְׁנֵי חַיֵּי 'few and evil were the years of my life' (Gen. 47, 9; cf. Job 10, 20).

כִּי מְעַט הֵמָּה 'for they are few' (Jos. 7, 3).

יָדָיו יִמְיוֹ מְעַטִּים 'his days shall be few' (Ps. 109, 8; cf. Ecc. 5, 1).
 וְאַל-יָמֹת וְיָהּ מָתוּ מִסְפָּר 'and let him not die and his men not be few' (Dt. 33, 6; cf. Is. 10, 19).

¹ שִׁמְץ 'whisper' is used in a sense somewhat like 'a little' in Job 4, 12; 26, 14.

² כְּמְעַט רִנָּה in these two passages means 'as much as a little bit of a moment', 'for a very little while' (cf. pp. 193*f.*, 194, n.).

רב 'whether they [העם the people] are few or many' (Num. 13, 18; cf. I Sam. 14, 6).

וְאִנָּשִׁים מְעַט עִמִּי 'and few men were with me' (Neh. 2, 12).

מִתִּי מְעַט 'a few men' (Dt. 26, 5; 28, 62).

יָמִים מְסָפָר 'a few days' (Num. 9, 20).

מִתִּי מְסָפָר 'a few men' (Gen. 34, 30; Dt. 4, 27; Jer. 44, 28; Ps. 105, 12; I Ch. 16, 19; cf. Job 16, 22).

אֲנָשִׁים מְעַט 'a few men' (Is. 24, 6).

מִצָּעַר אֲנָשִׁים 'a few men' (II Ch. 24, 24).

אוּ יָמִים אוּ חֹדֶשׁ אוּ יָמִים 'either a few days or a month or many days [a year]' (Num. 9, 22).

וְהִנֵּנִי מְקַשֶּׁשֶׁת שֵׁנִים עֲצִים 'and see I am gathering a stick or two . . . ' (I Ki. 17, 12).

The idea of 'few in number' may also be expressed by צָעִיר. Just as רב may take the genitive in the sense of 'having much, many', his word may take a dependent noun with לְ in the sense of 'having few, few in', e. g.,

וְרַב יַעֲבֹד צָעִיר 'and the numerous [people] will serve the one few in number' (Gen. 25, 23; cf. Mi. 5, 1; Ps. 68, 28).

וְהַצָּעִיר לִנְוִי עָצוּם 'and the one few in number [shall be] a mighty nation' (Is. 60, 22).

צָעִיר אֲנִי לְיָמִים 'I have but few days' (Job 32, 6; cf. 30, 1).¹

Like רב (cf. p. 191) מְעַט may take the article in the sense of 'small in number', and in the sense of a superlative, e. g., וְלַמְעַט תִּמְעַט נְחֻלָּתוֹ 'and to the [tribe] small in number thou shalt give a little portion' (Num. 26, 54; 33, 54; cf. 35, 8). כִּי אַתֶּם הַמְעַט מִכָּל-הָעַמִּים 'for you are the smallest in number of all the peoples' (Dt. 7, 7).

The idea of 'few' used partitively is expressed by one of the words for 'few' governing the modified noun with the preposition מִן or בְּ, e. g.,

וְהוֹתֵרְתִּי מֵהֶם אֲנָשִׁי מְסָפָר 'and I will leave a few of them' (Ezk. 12, 16).

כִּי נִשְׁאַרְנוּ מְעַט מִהֲרֹבָה 'for we are left a few of many' (Jer. 42, 2).

וְלָקַחְתָּ מִשָּׁם מְעַט בְּמִסְפָּר 'and thou wilt take from there a few of the number' (Ezk. 5, 3).

¹ From such cases as these, צָעִיר develops the meaning 'young', cf. Gesenius-Buhl, p. 683.

יִבְלֶה 'and if there remain but few of the years to the year of jubilee' (Lev. 25, 52).

The ideas 'a little', 'few' may also be expressed by verbal forms derived from the stem מעט, e. g.,

וְהִרְבֵּיתִים וְלֹא יִמְעוּ 'and I will make them many and they will not be few' (Jer. 30, 19; cf. Neh. 9, 32; *Piel* Ecc. 12, 3).

וְהִמְעִיטָה אֶתְכֶם 'and they [הַשָּׂדִי the wild beasts] will make you few in number' (Lev. 26, 22; cf. II Ki. 4, 3; Num. 26, 54; 33, 54; 35, 8).

וַיִּלָּקְטוּ הַמְרֻבָּה וְהַמְעֻיִט 'and gathered, both those that gathered much and those that gathered little' (Ex. 16, 17; cf. 18).

The ideas 'a little', 'few' are apparently emphasized by מְעַר used adverbially, just as 'much', 'many' are emphasized by מְאֹד 'very', e. g.,

עוֹד מְעַט מְעַר 'yet a very little [time] and . . . ' (Is. 10, 25; 29, 17).

וְשָׂאר מְעַט מְעַר 'and the rest shall be very few' (Is. 16, 14).

When the noun depending on מעט is also modified by a demonstrative, it may apparently stand either with or without article, e. g.,

מְעַט דְּבַשׁ הַזֶּה 'a little of this honey' (I Sam. 14, 29).

מְעַט הַצֹּאן הַהֵנָּה 'those few sheep' (I Sam. 17, 28).

Less.

The idea 'less' in the first term of a comparison of inferiority may be expressed by one of the words denoting 'a little', 'few' followed by the comparative preposition מִן. The word denoting 'a little', 'few', however, may be omitted, e. g.,

וְהַדָּל לֹא יִמְעִיט מִמִּחְצִית הַשֶּׁקֶל 'and the poor shall not give less than half a shekel' (Ex. 30, 15).

כִּי יִשָּׂה לְךָ אֱלֹהִים מַעֲוֹנָךְ 'that God exacts of thee [less] than thine iniquity [deserves]' (Job 11, 6).

מֵאֲפָס וְהֵוָה נִחְשְׁבוּלוֹ 'they are accounted by him [as less] than nothing' (Is. 40, 17).

וְעַתָּה שִׁחֲקוּ עָלַי צָעִירִים מִמֶּנִּי לְיָמִים 'and now those that have fewer days than I, mock me' (Job 30, 1).

Least.

This idea may be expressed by making the expressions for 'a little', 'few' definite, e. g.,

מְּכַל-הָעַמִּים הַמָּעוֹט ‘for you are the least of all peoples’, (Dt. 7, 7).

הַמִּמְעוֹט אִסְףָּה עֶשְׂרֵה חֲמֹרִים ‘and the one that gathered least gathered ten homers’ (Num. 11, 32).¹

וּמִשְׁפַּחְתִּי הַצְעָרָה מְּכַל-מִשְׁפָּחוֹת שְׁבָטֵי בִנְיָמִן ‘and my gens is the least numerous of all the gentes of the tribes of Benjamin’ (I Sam. 9, 21; cf. Jud. 6, 15).

לְמִצְעָר יְרֻשׁוֹ עִם קֹדְשְׁךָ ‘for the least little while thy holy people possessed it’ (Is. 63, 18).

Enough.

This idea used absolutely may be rendered by רַב ‘much’ or יָי ‘sufficiency’. When that for which anything is a sufficiency is expressed, the construction is either רַב with לְ + ‘that for which’, or יָי with possessive suffix or following genitive, e. g., רַב ‘it is enough’ (Gen. 45, 28; II Sam. 24, 16;² I Ki. 19, 4; I Ch. 21, 15; cf. Ex. 9, 28).

רַב לְךָ ‘it is enough for thee’ (Dt. 3, 26; cf. Ezk. 44, 6; 45, 9; Dt. 33, 7).

יֵשְׁלִי רַב אֹחִי ‘I have enough, my brother’ (Gen. 33, 9).

רַב לָכֶם שָׁכַת בְּהָר הַזֶּה ‘you have dwelt long enough on this hill [enough is your dwelling on this hill]’ (Dt. 1, 6; cf. 2, 3).

עַד-בָּלִי-י ‘until there is not enough [room to hold it]’ (Mal. 3, 10).

אֲכַל דִּבְךָ ‘eat enough for thyself’ (Prov. 25, 16).

הֲלוֹא יִגְנוּבּוּ דָּיִם ‘would they not steal enough for themselves’ (Ob. 5; cf. Ex. 36, 7; Jer. 49, 9).

וּלְבָנוֹן אֵין דֵּי בָעֵר וְחִיתוֹ אֵין דֵּי עֹלָה ‘Lebanon is not enough for a burning, nor its animals for a sacrifice’ (Is. 40, 16; cf. Dt. 15, 8; Nah. 2, 13; Jer. 51, 58^{bis}; Hab. 2, 13^{bis}).

וְאִם-לֹא מִצָּאָה יָדוֹ דֵּי הָשִׁיב לוֹ ‘and if his hand can not find enough to restore it to him’ (Lev. 25, 28).

The noun הוֹן ‘substance’ may be used absolutely with the meaning ‘it is enough’, like רַב; occasionally כֹּל seems to have a meaning very similar to ‘enough’,³ e. g.,

¹ In Ex. 16, 17; 18 הממעיט has probably a positive meaning ‘the one that gathered little’, tho in v. 18 it approaches closer to the superlative meaning cf. המרבה p. 197, n. 1.

² Cf. p. 190, n. 2.

³ In Jud. 21, 14, כֹּל is regarded by some (cf. Gesenius-Buhl¹³, Leipzig, 1899, p. 375) as having the meaning of ‘enough’, this meaning in this

יְהוָה אֵרְבַּע לֹא אָמְרוּ הוּן 'four things do not say *enough*' (Prov. 30, 15; cf. 16).

כֹּחַ-נָתַתְּ אֶת־בְּרַכְתִּי" כִּי יִשְׁלִיכֶל 'take, I pray, my present . . . for I have all [I need, enough]' (Gen. 33, 11).

As an attribute this idea may be expressed by שָׂבָעָה or נִי + the genitive of the noun of which there is a sufficiency.¹ Sometimes one of the expressions for 'enough' used absolutely has practically the force of an attribute, e. g.,

דִּי חֲלָב עֲזִים 'enough goat's milk' (Prov. 27, 27).

דִּי הַעֲבָדָה 'enough of the service' (Ex. 36, 5).

שֶׁבַעֶת לֶחֶם 'bread enough' (Ezk. 16, 49).

גַּם־תִּבֶּן גַּם־מִסְפּוֹא רַב עִמָּנוּ 'we have both straw and fodder enough [both straw and fodder are enough with us]' (Gen. 24, 25).

The idea of enough may also be expressed by the verbs שָׂפַק 'to be sufficient', מָצָא 'to reach', שָׂבַע 'to have enough, be sated', the last usually with reference to food, e. g.,

אִם־יִשְׁפַּק עָפָר שְׁמֶרֶן לְשָׂעֲלִים לְכָל־הָעָם if the dust of Samaria were enough for handfuls for all the people . . . ' (I Ki. 20, 10).

וְכָל־זֶה אֵינָנִי שָׂוָה לִי 'and all this is not enough for me . . . ' (Esth. 5, 13).

וְלֹא מָצְאוּ לָהֶם כֹּחַ 'and yet [even thus] they were not enough for them' (Jud. 21, 14; cf. Num. 11, 12^{bis}; Hos. 12, 9²).

לֹא יִמָּצָא לָנוּ הַהָר 'the mountain is not enough for us' (Jos. 17, 16; cf. Zech. 10, 10).

עֹבֵד אֲדָמָתוֹ יִשְׂבַּע־לֶחֶם וּמַרְדּוֹף רִיקִים יִשְׁבַּע־רִישׁ 'he that works his land will have enough bread, but he that follows vain things will have his fill of poverty' (Prov. 28, 19; cf. 30, 16).

וְתִאָּכַל וְתִשְׂבַּע 'and she ate and had enough . . . ' (Ru. 2, 14; cf. Ezk. 16, 28^{bis}; Hos. 4, 10; Prov. 30, 15; II Ch. 31, 10).

לֹא יֵדְעוּ שֶׁבָעָה 'they never have enough' (Is. 56, 11).

לֵאכֹל לְשֶׁבַעָה 'that they may eat enough' (Is. 23, 18; cf. Hag. 1, 6).

אֵת אֲשֶׁר הוּתַרְהָ מִשְׁבָּעָה 'what she left after she had enough' (Ru. 2, 18).

passage, however, is expressed by the verb מָצָא (cf. p. 202), כֹּחַ having its usual meaning 'thus, even so'. So regarded in Gesenius-Buhl¹.

¹ מָצָא + genitive is said to occasionally have the meaning of 'every', cf. p. 153, n. 2.

² To be read כָּל־יִנְיָיו לֹא יִמָּצְאוּ לְעוֹן אֲשֶׁר חָטָא 'all his goods are not enough for the sins he has committed' cf. K. Marti, *Dodekapropheton*, p. 96.

Too much, too little.

These ideas are ordinarily rendered by one of the expressions for 'much', 'a little', usually by **רַב** and **מְעַט**, either used absolutely or followed by the comparative preposition **מִן**: in the latter case **מְעַט** may be omitted, e. g.,

רַב הָעָם עוֹד הָעָם 'the people are still too many' (Jud. 7, 4).

רַב לָכֶם '[you take] too much upon you' (Num. 16, 3).

רַב לָכֶם מַעְלוֹת יְרוּשָׁלַם 'it is too much [long] for you to go up to Jerusalem' (I Ki. 12, 28; 19, 7).

כִּי הָיָה חֶלֶק בְּנֵי יְהוּדָה רַב מֵהֶם 'for the portion of the Judahites was too much for them' (Jos. 19, 9).

רַב הָעָם אֲשֶׁר אִתָּךְ מִתַּמִּי אֶת־מִדְיָן בְּיָדָם 'the people with thee are too many for me to give the Midianites into their hand' (Jud. 7, 2).

וְכִי־יִרְבֶּה מִנִּי הַדֶּרֶךְ 'and if the way is too much [long] for thee' (Dt. 14, 24).

וְאִם מְעַט 'and if it is too little' (II Sam. 12, 8; cf. Num. 16, 13[?]).

לְמַעַט 'but the priests were too few' (II Ch. 29, 34).

הַמְעַט מִכֶּם 'is it too little for you . . .' (Num. 16, 9; Is. 7, 13; Ezk. 34, 18; cf. Job 15, 11; Ezk. 16, 20[?]).

וְאִם יְמַעַט הַבָּיִת מִהוּיֹת מִשָּׁה 'and if the family is too few [in number] for a lamb' (Ex. 12, 4).

וַיֵּצֵא גְבוּל בְּנֵי דָן מֵהֶם 'and the boundaries of the Danites were too little for them' (Jos. 19, 47).

'Too much' may also be expressed by 'more than enough' (cf. p. 202), e. g.,

מִרְבִּים הָעָם לְהָכִיָּא מִדֵּי הָעֲבָדָה לְמַלְאכָה 'the people furnish more than enough service for the work' (Ex. 36, 5).

All.

This idea used absolutely in the sense of 'everything', 'all of it', 'all of them' referring either to all things in creation, or to all things in a certain class or set, is expressed by **כָּל** or **הַכָּל** apparently without difference of meaning. When **הַכָּל** stands as subject of a verbal sentence, the verb may be plural when the subject represents a plural idea,¹ e. g.,

¹ Cf. **הַכָּל, כָּל** 'every one' p. 158.

רָגְלוֹ 'thou hast put everything under his feet' (Ps. 8, 7; cf. Jer. 44, 18; Zeph. 1, 2; Prov. 16, 4; 28, 5; Job 13, 1; 42, 2).

כָּל אֶתְּתִי לָכֶם אֶתְּכֹל 'I have given you all [of them]' (Gen. 9, 3).
אֲנֹכִי יְהוָה עֹשֶׂה כָּל 'I am JHVH, the maker of all' (Is. 44, 24; cf. Prov. 26, 10).

כָּל בְּחֶסֶד 'in want of all things' (Dt. 28, 48; 57; cf. 47; Ezk. 44, 30 *bis*; Ps. 119, 128).

וַיִּתֵּן־לּוֹ מְעֹשֶׂר מִכָּל 'and he gave him a tenth of all' (Gen. 14, 20).
הַכֹּל הֶבֶל 'everything is vanity' (Ecc. 1, 2; cf. I Ki. 6, 18; 7, 33; II Ki. 24, 16; 25, 17; Jer. 52, 22; Ps. 119, 91; Ecc. 2, 16; 3, 20; 6, 6; 9, 2; Ezr. 2, 42; 8, 35; I Ch. 29, 16; II Ch. 28, 6; 29, 28; 35, 7).

הַכֹּל בָּא 'all came to pass' (Jos. 21, 43; cf. II Sam. 17, 3; Ecc. 3, 20 *bis*).

הַכֹּל בָּאוּ לָכֶם 'they all came to pass for you' (Jos. 23, 14).
וְהַקֹּהֵן יִשְׁחַט אֶת־הַכֹּל 'and the priest shall sacrifice all of it...' (Lev. 1, 9; cf. 13; 8, 27; Dt. 2, 36; Jos. 11, 19; II Sam. 19, 31; I Ki. 14, 26; Ecc. 3, 11; 7, 15; 10, 19; 11, 5; II Ch. 12, 9).

הַכֹּל הִשְׁבִּיב דָּוִד 'David recovered everything, all of them' (I Sam. 30, 19; cf. Ex. 29, 24; II Sam. 24, 23; Dan. 11, 2; Is. 65, 8; Ezk. 7, 14; Ezr. 1, 11; I Ch. 21, 23; 28, 19; 29, 19; II Ch. 36, 17; 18).

כִּי יוֹצֵר הַכֹּל הוּא 'for he is the former of all things' (Jer. 10, 16; 51, 19; cf. Is. 29, 11; II Ch. 31, 5).

וַיְבָרֶךְ אֶת־אֲבֹרָהֶם בְּכֹל 'and JHVH blessed A. in everything' (Gen. 24, 1; cf. II Sam. 23, 5; Ps. 103, 19; I Ch. 29, 12).

לְכֹל זְמַן 'everything has a time' (Ecc. 3, 1; 19; cf. I Ch. 29, 12; Job 24, 24).

The pronoun כָּל used absolutely may be modified by a relative clause, usually introduced by a relative pronoun. כָּל in this case never takes the article, tho it may be preceded by the *nota accusativi* אֵת, e. g.,

לָךְ תָּמוּת אֵתָּה וְכָל־אֲשֶׁר לָךְ 'thou shalt die and all that is thine' (Gen. 20, 7; cf. 6, 17; 13, 1; 31, 21; 43; 39, 3; 45, 11; Lev. 15, 20 *bis*; Num. 19, 14; II Sam. 16, 4; I Ki. 20, 4; Ezk. 47, 9).

וַיַּעַזֵּב כָּל־אֲשֶׁר־לּוֹ בְּיַד יוֹסֵף 'and he left everything that he had in Joseph's hand' (Gen. 39, 6; cf. 3; 8; 21, 12[?]; Jud. 13, 14; I Sam. 9, 19; Neh. 5, 19; 9, 6 *bis*).

שָׁמַרְתֶּם אֶת כָּל־אֲשֶׁר צִוָּה אֶתְכֶם מֹשֶׁה 'ye have observed everything that Moses 'commanded you' (Jos. 22, 2; cf. Gen. 12, 20; 24, 36; 25, 5; Ex. 20, 11; Num. 16, 30; Dt. 29, 8; I Sam. 3, 12; II Sam. 14, 20; I Ki. 2, 3*bis*; II Ki. 20, 15; Jer. 38, 9; Esth. 6, 13).

וְשִׁים לְבָךְ לְכָל אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי מֵרָאֶה אוֹתָךְ 'and put thy mind upon all that I shall show thee' (Ezk. 40, 4; cf. Ex. 36, 1; Jos. 22, 2).

אֱלֹהִים עִמָּךְ בְּכָל אֲשֶׁר־אַתָּה עֹשֶׂה 'God is with thee in all that thou doest' (Gen. 21, 22; cf. 39, 5; Ex. 23, 13; I Ki. 2, 26; 11, 37; Ecc. 9, 3).

וְתָרַע לַעֲשׂוֹת מִכָּל אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ לְפָנַי 'and thou didst evil more than all that were before thee' (I Ki. 14, 9; cf. 22; 16, 30; II Ki. 21, 11; Ecc. 2, 7:—Gen. 6, 2; Jud. 13, 13; Ezk. 43, 11).

הִפְקִיד אוֹתוֹ בְּבֵיתוֹ וְעַל כָּל־אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁלֹ 'and he placed him over his house and over all that he had' (Gen. 39, 5; cf. Num. 1, 50).

וַיַּעַשׂ נֹחַ כְּכָל אֲשֶׁר צִוָּה אוֹתוֹ אֱלֹהִים 'and Noah did according to all that God commanded him' (Gen. 6, 22; cf. 7, 6; Ex. 29, 35; 31, 11; 39, 32; 42; 40, 16; Num. 2, 34; 8, 20; 9, 5; 30, 1; Dt. 1, 3; 41; II Ki. 11, 9; II Ch. 23, 8:—Dt. 12, 8; I Ki. 21, 26; 22, 54; II Ki. 14, 3; 18, 3; 23, 32; 37; 24, 9; 19; Ezk. 24, 24; II Ch. 26, 4; 27, 2; 29, 2:—Jos. 1, 17; 11, 23; I Ki. 8, 56; II Ki. 10, 30; Jer. 42, 20).

וְכָל־יֵשְׁלֹ נָתַן בְּיָדוֹ 'and all [that] he had he put in his hands' (Gen. 39, 4; cf. Ex. 9, 4).

This idea in an attributive sense may be expressed by כָּל in the construct before, or by כָּל + retrospective suffix after, the modified definite noun. When the noun is singular the expression denotes quantity, when the noun is plural or collective it refers to number. The article is often omitted in poetry, e. g.,

כָּל־הָאָרֶץ 'all the land, the whole land' (Jos. 11, 23; Gen. 13, 9).

כָּל־הַיּוֹם 'all the day, the whole day' (Is. 65, 2; 28, 24).

כָּל־הָאֵיל 'the whole ram' (Ex. 29, 18; Lev. 8, 21).

כָּל־הַגּוֹיִם 'all the nations' (Is. 2, 2; cf. Jer. 42, 17).

כָּל־הַיָּמִים 'all the days' (Job 1, 5).

כָּל־הַנָּשִׁים 'all the women' (Ex. 15, 20).

כָּל־הָעָם 'the whole people, all the people' (Gen. 19, 4; cf. 3, 14; Ps. 116, 11).

כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל 'all Israel, all the Israelites' (I Ch. 11, 1; cf. Gen. 45, 9).

בְּלִשְׁהֲנוֹת 'all the tables' (Is. 28, 8; cf. Jer. 25, 23; Ps. 89, 48; 64, 9; Cant. 4, 14^{bis}).

בְּלִרְאֵשׁ 'the whole head' (Is. 1, 5^{bis}; cf. 9, 11; II Ki. 23, 3^{bis}; Ezk. 7, 17; 29, 7; 36, 5).¹

כָּל־הָעוֹלָם 'the whole world' (Job 34, 13).

כָּל־הָעָם 'all the people' (Is. 9, 8; cf. Mal. 3, 9).

כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל 'all Israel' (II Sam. 2, 9; cf. Jer. 48, 31).

כָּל־מִצְרַיִם 'all Egypt' (Ezk. 29, 2; cf. 36, 5; Jer. 13, 19).

כָּל־עַמִּים 'all peoples' (Mi. 1, 2; Ps. 67, 4; 6; II Ch. 18, 27; cf. Is. 43, 14; 44, 9; Ezk. 32, 12; 30).

כָּל־עַמְּךָ 'all thy people' (Is. 60, 21).

כָּל־מִבְּחַר בְּנֵי אַשּׁוּר 'all the best Assyrians' (Ezk. 23, 7).

The idea of 'all' may be emphasized by using both constructions with כָּל together, e. g.,

כָּל־בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל 'the whole house of Israel' (Ezk. 11, 15; 20, 40; 36, 10).

כָּל־אֶדְוֹם 'the whole of Edom' (Ezk. 35, 15).

כָּל־מַלְכֵי נֹזִים 'all the kings of the Gentiles' (Is. 14, 18).

כָּל־הָעֵדָה 'the whole congregation' (Num. 16, 3).

כָּל־צֹרֶיךָ 'all thy enemies' (Jer. 30, 16).

'All' in the sense of 'everything' may also be expressed by בְּלִהְדָּבָר, בְּלִהְדָּבָרִים (cf. p. 160f.), and בְּלִהְדָּבָרִים 'all the things' e. g., בְּלִהְדָּבָרִים 'all things are continually laboring' (Ecc. 1, 8) — וַיֹּסֶפֶר אֵת כָּל־הַדְּבָרִים אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה 'and he told everything that he had done' (Gen. 24, 66; cf. Lev. 8, 36; Dt. 1, 18).

When the idea of 'all' modifies a demonstrative pronoun, the demonstrative is treated just like a modified noun. When the demonstrative is singular the feminine זאת is usually employed. These expressions ordinarily take אֵת in the accusative, e. g.,

כָּל־זֹאת *nom.* 'all this' (Jud. 6, 13; Mi. 1, 5; Ps. 44, 18).

אֵת־כָּל־זֹאת *acc.* 'all this' (Gen. 41, 39; *without* אֵת Dt. 32, 28).

בְּכָל־זֹאת 'in all this' (I Sam. 22, 15; II Sam. 14, 19; Is. 5, 25; 9, 11; 16; 20; 10, 4; Hos. 7, 10; Ps. 78, 32; Job 1, 22; 2, 10; Neh. 10, 1; cf. II Ch. 21, 18).

כָּל־זֶה *nom.* 'all this' (Esth. 5, 13).

¹ The article is said to be often omitted with parts of the body after כָּל cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 127c. This is probably simply the frequent poetical omission of the article, so that these cases do not differ in kind from those in the preceding example.

אֶת־כָּל־זֶה *acc.* 'all this' (Ecc. 8, 9; 9, 1 *bis*).

כָּל־זֶה *acc.* 'all this' (Ecc. 7, 23).

כָּל־אֵלֶּה *nom.* 'all these' (Gen. 49, 28).

אֵת־כָּל־אֵלֶּה *acc.* 'all these things' (Gen. 15, 10).

בְּכָל־אֵלֶּה 'in all these things' (Job 12, 9).

כָּל־אֵלֶּה *nom.* 'all these' (Hab. 2, 6).

כָּל + singular demonstrative has sometimes the force of 'every one of them' (cf. p. 159).

The noun modified by כָּל may take other nominal modifiers (possessive suffix, descriptive adjective, demonstrative, genitive, relative clause)¹; כָּל + suffix stands after all other modifiers (cf. p. 206), e. g.,

כָּל־טוֹבִי 'all my goodness' (Ex. 33, 19; cf. Dt. 5, 13).

כָּל־עֲצָמוֹתַי 'all my bones' (Ps. 22, 18; cf. Num. 31, 10; Jer. 35, 8; Ezk. 43, 11).

כָּל־עַמָּהּ 'all her people' (Lam. 1, 11; cf. Gen. 41, 40).

כָּל־הַדְּבָרִים הַטּוֹבִים 'all the good things' (Jos. 23, 14).

כָּל־הָעָרִים הַנִּמְצָאוֹת 'all the cities that they found' (Jud. 20, 48).

כָּל־הַתּוֹעֲבוֹת רָעוֹת 'all the evil abominations' (Ezk. 6, 11).

כָּל־הַדָּבָר הַטּוֹב 'all the good [thing]' (Jos. 23, 15 *bis*).

כָּל־שְׁכְנֵי הָרָעִים 'all my evil neighbors' (Jer. 12, 14).

כָּל־הָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת 'this whole land' (Jer. 25, 11; cf. 45, 4).

כָּל הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה 'all these things' (Dt. 4, 30; I Ch. 17, 15).

כָּל־הָעָרִים הָאֵלֶּה 'all these cities' (Num. 21, 25).

כָּל־מְלָכֵי הָאָרֶץ 'all the kings of the earth' (Ps. 102, 16).

כָּל־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל 'all the Israelites' (Lev. 21, 24).

כָּל־אֲנָשֵׁי בֵיתוֹ 'all the men of his house' (Gen. 17, 27).

כָּל־הָאֲנָשִׁים אֲשֶׁר שָׁמוּ אֶת־פְּנֵיהֶם 'all the men that turned their faces . . . ' (Jer. 42, 17; cf. 16, 15; Gen. 6, 17; Num. 35, 7; Dt. 4, 3).

When the idea of 'all' modifies a personal pronoun the pronoun is expressed by affixing a possessive suffix to כָּל. If the pronoun is singular, the expressions indicate quantity or extent; if plural or collective, number. These expressions may stand in apposition to a preceding noun or pronoun, e. g.,

אָסַף אֶתְּכָם יַעֲקֹב כָּל־ו 'I will assemble all of thee, oh Jacob' (Mi. 2, 12).

¹ In Ps. 89, 51 כָּל and רַב appear to be used together, viz., כָּל־רַבִּים עַמִּים, but the passage is corrupt, cf. B. Duhm, *Die Psalmen*, Freiburg i. B. 1899 (= Kurz. Handc. zum AT., 14) p. 224.

כָּלֶךְ אֶל־תִּשְׁמְחִי פִלְשֶׁת כָּלֶךְ 'let none of thee rejoice, oh Philistia' (Is. 14, 29; cf. 31).

כָּלֶךְ יָפָה רַעֲיָתִי 'all of thee is fair, my sweetheart' (Can. 4, 7).

כָּלֶךְ לָגַזְתָּ לְגִגְוֹת כִּי עָלִיתָ כָּלֶךְ 'for thou, all of thee, hast gone up to the house-tops' (Is. 22, 1).

וַיֵּצֵא הָרִאשׁוֹן אֲדָמוֹנִי כָּלֹ בְּאֶדְרֵת שַׁעַר 'and the first came out red, all of him was [he was all] like a hairy mantel' (Gen. 25, 25; cf. Lev. 13, 13; Nah. 2, 1; Job 21, 23; Cant. 5, 16).

וְהָרִאשׁוֹן כָּלֹ סִינַי עָשָׂן 'and Mt. Sinai, all of it, smoked' (Ex. 19, 18; cf. Prov. 24, 31; Jer. 2, 21; 48, 38).

וַיֵּצֵא חֲצִץ כָּלֹ 'yet all go out keeping time [אַרְבֵּה 'locusts']' (Prov. 30, 27).

" אֶת־כָּל־כֶּבֶד הַיַּרְדֵּן כִּי כָלָה מִשְׁקָה "... the whole plain of Jordan, that all of it was well watered' (Gen. 13, 10; cf. Ex. 25, 36; 37, 22; Is. 48, 6; Jer. 6, 6; 50, 13; Am. 8, 8; 9, 5; Nah. 3, 1; Ps. 139, 4; Job 38, 18).

כָּלָה מְנוֹרַת וְהָבָה כָּלָה 'behold a candle-stick, all of it gold' (Zech. 4, 2).¹

כָּלֵנוּ בְּנֵי אִישׁ אֶחָד נָחֵנוּ 'we are all of us the sons of one man' (Gen. 42, 11; cf. Ex. 12, 33; Dt. 5, 3; II Sam. 19, 7; Is. 64, 7; 8).

כָּלֵנוּ אֶבְדָּנוּ 'all of us are lost' (Num. 17, 27; cf. II Sam. 13, 25; Is. 53, 6; 59, 11; 64, 5*bis*).

כָּלֵנוּ אֶל־מִי 'to which of us' (II Ki. 9, 5).

כָּלֵנוּ אֶבְדָּנוּ 'have not all of us one father' (Mal. 2, 10; cf. Prov. 1, 14; *gen.* Is. 53, 6).

כָּלֵנוּ חַיִּים 'and you ... are all of you alive this day' (Dt. 4, 4; cf. 29, 9; Jud. 20, 7; Is. 50, 11; Ps. 82, 6; Job 13, 4; 16, 2).

כָּלֵנוּ בָּאוּ אֵלַי 'and all of you came to me' (Dt. 1, 22; cf. Jos. 8, 4; I Sam. 22, 8; Is. 48, 14; 65, 12; Jer. 2, 29; Ps. 62, 4; Job 27, 12).

כָּלֵנוּ לִסְגִּים 'because ye are all become dross' (Ezk. 22, 19).

כָּלֵנוּ יִתֵּן בְּנֵי־יֵשׁוּעַ שָׂדוֹת וְכַרְמִים 'will the son of Jesse give to all of you fields and vineyards' (I Sam. 22, 7*bis*).

¹ The whole sentence כָּלָה מְנוֹרַת וְהָבָה is *nomen rectum* to construct מְנוֹרַת, cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 130*d*.

וַיִּפְּלוּ כָּלֶם לְפִי חֶרֶב עַד־תִּמָּם 'and all of them fell by the sword until there were none of them left' (Jos. 8, 24; cf. I Sam. 22, 11).

"אֲנִכִּי נָתַן אֶת־כָּלֶם חַלְלִים 'I will deliver them all slain . . . ' (Jos. 11, 6; cf. Is. 57, 13; Ecc. 2, 14; 7, 18[?]; 9, 11).

כָּלֶם אֲנָשִׁים רָאשֵׁי בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הֵמָּה 'all of them were men, chiefs of the Israelites' (Num. 13, 3; cf. I Sam. 26, 12; II Ki. 19, 35; Ezk. 7, 16; I Ch. 9, 22; I Ch. 2, 6; 7, 3).

וַיִּתֵּן שׁוֹפְרוֹת בְּיַד כָּלֶם 'and he put trumpets in the hands of all of them' (Jud. 7, 16; cf. Gen. 43, 34; Nah. 2, 11; Prov. 22, 2).

וְיִהְיֶה אֶחָד וְיִמְלֹךְ אֹחֶד 'and all of them shall have one king' (Ezk. 37, 22; cf. 24; I Sam. 6, 4).

יִצְרִי פֶסֶל כָּלֶם תֵּהוּ 'all those that make idols are nothing' (Is. 44, 9; cf. 43, 14; 60, 21; Jer. 30, 16).

וַיִּבְצַעֵם בְּרֹאשׁ כָּלֶם 'and cut them in the head, all of them' (Am. 9, 1).

עָלֵי הֵיוּ כְלָנָה 'all [these things] are against me' (Gen. 42, 36).

וְאַתָּה עֲלִית עַל־כְּלָנָה 'but thou excellest all of them [בְּנוֹת daughters]' (Prov. 31, 30).

"קָצַב אֶחָד לְכָל־הֵנָּה 'they all had . . . and the same form' (I Ki. 7, 37).

In a number of cases the article is omitted in constructions of כל, viz.:

a) with כל used absolutely; always before אֲשֶׁר; אֵת may be used in the accusative, e. g.,

כל 'all' (cf. p. 203f.).

אֶת־כָּל acc. 'all' (Gen. 9, 3).

כָּל־אֲשֶׁר 'all that' (cf. p. 204f.).

אֶת־כָּל־אֲשֶׁר acc. 'all that' (cf. p. 205f.).

b) in poetry with a noun modified by attributive כל (cf. p. 205f.).

c) with collectives modified by כל, probably because the idea of the individuals (*every*) in the collective is more prominent than the collective idea, e. g.,

כָּל־בָּשָׂר 'all flesh, living things' (Gen. 6, 12 &c.; with אֵת Is. 66, 16; *with article, only* Gen. 7, 15; Is. 40, 6).

כָּל־עֵץ 'all trees' (Neh. 10, 36; 38; cf. II Ki. 3, 19; 25; Ezk. 20, 28).

כָּל־עוֹף 'all birds' (Ps. 50, 11; with אֵת Gen. 1, 21).

כָּל־חַי 'all living things' (Gen. 3, 20; Job 12, 10; 28, 21; 30, 23;

Ps. 145, 16; with אֵת Gen. 8, 21; *with art.*, Gen. 6, 19).

d) with noun modified by כל followed by a determinate adjective, e. g.,

הַחַיִּים אֵת כָּל־נֶפֶשׁ הַחַיָּה 'all living creatures' (Gen. 1, 21; 9, 10; cf. Lev. 11, 10).¹

וּבְכָל־תְּחִיָּה הִרְמִישָׁת עַל־הָאָרֶץ 'and over all creatures that crawl upon the earth' (Gen. 1, 28; cf. Ezr. 10, 17).

The expressions כָּאִישׁ אֶחָד 'as one man', and the correlative adjectives² קָטָן—גָּדוֹל 'small—great', נָעַר—זָקֵן 'young—old', —רִאשׁוֹן אַחֲרוֹן 'first—last', קָרוֹב—רָחוֹק 'near—far' (cf. below), are often used in a sense very similar to כָּל³, e. g.,

וְהִמַּתָּה אֶת־הָעָם הַזֶּה כָּאִישׁ אֶחָד 'if thou slayest this people as one man [all this people]' (Num. 14, 15; cf. Jud. 6, 16; 20, 1; Ezr. 3, 1).

וַיַּךְ אֶת־אֲנָשֵׁי הָעִיר מִקָּטָן וְעַד־גָּדוֹל 'and he smote the men of the city, both small and great' (I Sam. 5, 9; cf. Gen. 19, 11; Dt. 1, 17; Jer. 16, 6; Ps. 104, 25; 115, 13; Job 3, 19; Esth. 1, 20; I Ch. 26, 13; II Ch. 31, 15).

וְאֲנָשֵׁי כָדָם נִסְבּוּ עַל־הַבַּיִת מִנָּעַר וְעַד־זָקֵן 'and the men of Sodom, young and old, surrounded the house' (Gen. 19, 4; cf. Is. 20, 4; Jer. 51, 22; Lam. 2, 21).

וְדִבְרֵי רַחֲבֹעַם הָרִאשׁוֹנִים וְהָאַחֲרוֹנִים 'and the acts of Rehoboam, the first and the last [all the acts of R.]' (II Ch. 12, 15; 16, 11; 35, 27).

Occasionally two correlative verbs are employed in a somewhat similar sense, e. g.,

יִשְׁמְרֵצֶאתָךְ וּבֹאֶךָ יהוה 'may JHVH guard thy going out and thy coming in [all that thou dost]' (Ps. 121, 8; cf. Lam. 3, 63).

Sometimes קֶצֶה 'end', מִקְצֵה 'from the end, all together', (also קֶצֶת 'end' cf. מִקְצֵת 'some of all' p. 212) have the meaning of 'all', e. g.,

וּמִקְצֵה אָחָיו לָקַח חֲמִשָּׁה אָנָשִׁים 'and from all his brothers he took five men' (Gen. 47, 2; cf. Ezk. 33, 2; Is. 56, 11[?]).

וַיֵּרָא מִשָּׁם קֶצֶה הָעָם 'and he saw from there all the people' (Num. 22, 41).

¹ Contrast חַיִּים כָּל־נֶפֶשׁ in Gen. 9, 12; 15; 16.

² For other correlative expressions of a somewhat similar character, cf. p. 221, n. at end. None of these, however, express the idea of 'all' so explicitly as the above.

³ For the various combinations of these correlatives cf. p. 220, n.

מִקְצָה בִּינְלָכָה עִירוֹ 'that his city is all captured' (Jer. 51, 31; cf. Gen. 19, 4).

Rarely רב 'much' has a meaning similar to 'all', e. g.,
וְרַב עֲצָמוֹתַי הִפְתִּיר 'and it shook all my bones' (Job 4, 14; cf. 33, 19).

The ideas of 'all', 'every' may be emphasized by the repetition of כל. The two may stand as the modifiers of a single noun (cf. p. 206), or one may stand in the construct before the noun, the other either absolutely or attributively in a genitive depending on the noun, e. g.,

כָּל-צִפּוֹר כָּל-כָּנָף 'all birds of all kinds [wings]' (Gen. 7, 14; Ezk. 17, 23; cf. Neh. 10, 36).

עַל-כֵּן כָּל-פִּקְדוֹנֵי כָל יִשְׂרָאֵל 'therefore all [thy] commandments concerning all things I will consider right' (Ps. 119, 128; cf. Ezk. 44, 30).

כָּל-תְּרוּמַת כָּל 'every oblation of everything' (Ezk. 44, 30).

The expressions ראשון-אחרון, נער-זקן; קטן-גדול; באיש אחד, ראשון-אחרון, נער-זקן; קטן-גדול, באיש אחד may be employed for emphasis together with כל, e. g.,

וַיָּקָם כָּל-הָעָם בְּאִישׁ אֶחָד 'and all the people rose up as one man' (Jud. 20, 8; cf. Neh. 8, 1).

וַיָּקָמוּ כָל-הָעָם מִקָּטָן וְעַד-גָּדוֹל 'and all the people rose up both small and great' (II Ki. 25, 26; cf. 23, 2; Esth. 1, 5; II Ch. 15, 13; 34, 30; 36, 18).

לְאַבֵּד אֶת-כָּל-יְהוּדִים מִנֶּעַר וְעַד-זָקֵן 'to destroy all the Jews, young and old' (Esth. 3, 13; cf. Jos. 6, 21).

וְכָל-דֶּרֶכָיו הָרִאשִׁימִים וְהָאַחֲרֹנִים 'and all his ways, first and last...' (II Ch. 28, 26).

כָּל-מַלְכֵי הַצָּפוֹן הַקָּרְבִּים וְהַרְחֵקִים 'all the kings of the north, near and far...' (Jer. 25, 26; cf. Esth. 9, 20; Dan. 9, 7).

כָּל-הָעָם מִקְצָה 'all the people together' (Gen. 19, 4).

Expressions containing כל 'all', 'every' may also be emphasized by יחדו, יחד 'together', e. g.,

הַכֹּל כָּר יַחְדוֹ 'all have gone aside together' (Ps. 14, 3).

יָגוּעַ כָּל-בָּשָׂר יַחַד 'all flesh will perish together' (Job 34, 15).

כָּל-אֲנָשָׁיו בְּיוֹם הַהוּא יַחְדוֹ 'all his men together on that day' (I Sam. 31, 6; cf. Jer. 31, 24).

כָּלֹּ כֶּן יַחְדוֹ 'every one has gone aside together' (Ps. 53, 4).

וְיַחְדוֹ כָּלָם יִקְלִיו 'all of them together shall perish' (Is. 31, 3; cf. Neh. 4, 2).

כל 'all', 'every' may be combined with the various constructions denoting partitive 'some', 'any', 'no',¹ 'each', e. g.,
 אִם אֶקַּח מִכָּל-אֲשֶׁר לְךָ 'if I take anything of all thou hast' (Gen. 14, 23; cf. Num. 6, 4).

וְלֹא נִמְצָא מִכֵּלָם כְּדָנִיֵּאל 'and none of them were found like Daniel ...' (Dan. 1, 19).

וּבִין עֶשְׂרֵת יָמִים בְּכָל-יֵין לְהִרְבֵּה 'and every ten days some of all sorts of wine in abundance' (Neh. 5, 18).

וְאֵינֶנּוּ חָסֵר לְנַפְשׁוֹ מִכָּל אֲשֶׁר יִתְאַוֶּה 'and there is not lacking to him anything of all he wants' (Ecc. 6, 2).

לְכֵלָם נָתַן לְאִישׁ חֲלֻפּוֹת שְׂמָלָת 'and he gave to each of them all changes of raiment' (Gen. 45, 22; cf. p. 161 and p. 156).

וַיִּתֵּן אֶלָּנִי בְּיָדוֹ אֶת-יְהוֹיָקִים "וּמִקְצֵת כְּלֵי בֵית-הָאֱלֹהִים 'and the Lord gave into his hand Jehoiakim ... and some of the vessels of the temple' (Dan. 1, 2; cf. 5[?]; Neh. 7, 70 [contrast Ezr. 2, 68]).

The partitive meaning of the מֵן in these constructions is sometimes lost, e. g.,

וַיִּקְחוּ לָהֶם נָשִׁים מִכָּל אֲשֶׁר בָּחֲרוּ 'and they took wives, all that they wanted' (Gen. 6, 2[?]).

כָּל אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁמַת רוּחַ חַיִּים בְּאַפָּיו מִכָּל אֲשֶׁר בְּחֶרְבָה מָתוּ 'all in the nostrils of which was the breath of life, all that was on the dry land, died' (Gen. 7, 22; cf. 8, 17).

מִכָּל בֶּן-נֶכֶד 'every stranger' (Gen. 17, 12; cf. Cant. 3, 6).

The idea 'all' may be combined with the idea of partitive 'other, rest', e. g.,

וְכָל יֹתֵר הָעָם 'and all the rest of the people' (Jud. 7, 6).

כִּי-תִמְאָה "יֹאכֵל כָּל-הַנוֹזֵר בְּקֶרֶב הָאָרֶץ 'for cream ... shall all those left in the land eat' (Is. 7, 22).

וְשָׂאָר דְּבָרֵי שְׁלֹמֹה הָרִאשִׁימִים וְהָאַחֲרֹנִים 'and the rest of the acts of Solomon, first and last [all the rest of]' (II Ch. 9, 29; cf. 20, 34; 25, 26; 26, 22).

The idea 'in all' in summing up after an enumeration is expressed either by כל alone or by כל + suffix as subject with a numeral as predicate, e. g.,

¹ In connection with 'any', 'no' this כל is similar to emphatic כל cf. p. 180f.

מִקְצֵה may belong here, but the meaning 'all' may also be due to the fact that it is an abbreviation of מִקְצֵה עַר-קֶצֶה, cf. Gesenius-Buhl, p. 714.

כל שלשים ושבעה 'in all thirty seven' (II Sam. 23, 39; cf. Jos. 21, 26; 37; 38[?]; הכל Ezr. 2, 42).¹

כלם חמשה 'five in all' (I Ch. 2, 6).

כלם חמשה ראשים 'five chiefs in all' (I Ch. 7, 3).

When a noun or pronoun modified by כל is employed as the logical subject, the predicate regularly agrees with the modified word (for pronouns cf. p. 207 ff.), tho occasionally it agrees with the grammatical subject כל,² e. g.,

ויהיו כל־ימי אדם 'and all the days of Adam were . . . ' (Gen. 5, 5).

והצאן כל־הנשים אחריה 'and all the women went out after her' (Ex. 15, 20).

כל־הנשמה תהלל יה 'let all that has breath praise JAH' (Ps. 150, 6).

ויהי כל־ימי־נח 'and all the days of Noah were . . . ' (Gen. 9, 29).³

כל־אכליו יפרת 'all that eat it shall be destroyed' (Lev. 17, 14; cf. Nah. 3, 7).

כל־מחמדניו היה לחרפה 'all our pleasant things are laid waste' (Is. 64, 10).

כל־דרכי־איש נק בניניו 'all a man's ways are clean in his own eyes' (Prov. 16, 2).

Indefinite Ordinals.

*Next.*⁴

This idea is usually expressed, absolutely and attributively, by the definite ordinal שני 'second', or by אחר 'other', both regularly with the article, e. g.,

ויהי יחַת הראש וזִיזָה השני 'and Yahath was the first born and Zizah was the next [the second]' (1 Ch. 23, 11).

¹ In the passages in Joshua כל־ערים is to be read כל ערים 'in all—cities'.

² This use of the singular with reference to a plural, however, is probably best explained like the constructions on p. 157.

³ Examples in which a singular verb precedes, as here, are not conclusive, as the rules of concord are often suspended when the verb comes first, cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 145o—r.

⁴ 'Next' in the sense of 'next, nearest to' without regard to any special order is expressed by קרוב (cf. Gesenius-Buhl, p. 721) and על־יך (cf. Neh. 3, 2; 4; 5 ff.).

הַשָּׁנָה 'and he went out the next day' (Ex. 2, 13; cf. Jos. 6, 14; Ezk. 43, 22; Neh. 8, 13; Gen. 47, 18).

וְאָמַר אֵלֶיהָ בַּיּוֹם הָאֶחָד 'and the next day I said to her' (II Ki. 6, 29).

אֲשֶׁר תֵּלֵד לָהּ שָׂרָה לְמוֹעֵד הַזֶּה בַּשָּׁנָה הָאֶחָדָה 'that Sarah would bear a child at this festival next year' (Gen. 17, 21).

בְּדוֹר אַחֵר יִמַּח שֵׁמֶם 'in the next generation let their name be blotted out' (Ps. 109, 13).

The same idea is expressed by אַחֲרָיו, which usually means 'last', in—

לְמַעַן תִּסְפְּרוּ לְדוֹר אַחֲרָיו 'that ye may tell it to the following generation' (Ps. 48, 14).

With reference to 'day' this idea may be expressed by מָחָר 'morrow, the day after', used either absolutely or as a genitive modifying יוֹם, e. g.,

בַּעֲלוֹת הַשָּׁחַר לַמָּחָר 'when the dawn broke the next day' (Jon. 4, 7; cf. I Sam. 30, 17; Gen. 19, 34).

וְכָל יוֹם הַמָּחָר 'and all the next day' (Num. 11, 32).

'Next' in the sense of 'second in rank' may be expressed by the noun מִשְׁנֶה, e. g.,

וַיְהִי שֵׁם־בְּנוֹ הַבְּכוֹר יוֹאֵל וְשֵׁם מִשְׁנֶהוּ אֲבִיָּה 'and the name of his first born was Joel and the name of his second born was Abijah' (I Sam. 8, 2; cf. 17, 13; II Sam. 3, 3; I Ch. 16, 5; Neh. 11, 17; I Ch. 5, 12: *pl.* I Ch. 15, 18).

וַעֲלִיָּהֶם נָגִיד בּוֹנִיָּהוּ וְשִׁמְעִי אַחֲיהוּ מִשְׁנֶה 'and Conaniah was ruler over them and his brother Shimei was next in rank' (II Ch. 31, 12).

מִשְׁנֶה הַמֶּלֶךְ 'the one next to the king, second in rank [a title]' (II Ch. 28, 7; *with* ל Esth. 10, 3; *absolute* I Sam. 23, 17).

Middle.

This idea is expressed by the adjective תְּיִכוֹן used either absolutely or attributively, e. g.,

וְהַתִּיכְנָה שֵׁשׁ בָּאַמָּה רֻחְבָּה 'and the middle one six cubits in width' (I Ki. 6, 6; cf. Ezk. 41, 7; 42, 5; 6).

וַיָּלֶזְלוּ יָעֲלוּ עַל־הַתִּיכְנָה וּמִן־הַתִּיכְנָה אֶל־הַשְּׁלֵשִׁים 'and they went up by winding-stairs to the middle [chamber], and from the middle to the third row' (I Ki. 6, 8).

רֵאשׁ הָאֲשֻׁמֶרֶת הַתִּיכּוֹנָה 'the beginning of the middle watch' (Jud. 7, 19; cf. I Ki. 6, 8; Ex. 26, 28; 36, 33).

Sometimes the idea in its attributive use is expressed by the genitive of תָּוֶךְ 'midst' depending on the modified noun, e. g., אֶת־שְׁנֵי עַמּוּדֵי הַתֶּהֱוֹ (Jud. 16, 29; cf. Jer. 39, 3).

*Last.*¹

This idea is expressed, absolutely and attributively, by the adjective אֲחֵרֹן, e. g.,

אֲנִי רִאשׁוֹן וְאֲנִי אֲחֵרֹן 'I am the first and the last' (Is. 44, 6; cf. 48, 12).

מִן־הַיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן עַד־הַיּוֹם הָאַחֲרֹן 'from the first day to the last' (Neh. 8, 18).

וְאֵלֶּה דְּבָרֵי יְדוּד הָאַחֲרֹנִים 'and these are the last acts of David' (II Sam. 23, 1; cf. I Ch. 23, 27).

וְדְבָרֵי יְדוּד הַמֶּלֶךְ הָרִאשׁוֹנִים וְהָאַחֲרֹנִים 'and the acts of David first and last' (I Ch. 29, 29; II Ch. 9, 29; 12, 15; 16, 11; 20, 34; 25, 26; 26, 22; 28, 26; 35, 27).

General Discussion.

The indefinite pronominal ideas, as we have seen, are expressed partly by special words, partly by the use of certain grammatical categories and principles, partly by the mere construction.

The following is a list of all special words so employed, viz.:

אֶחָד—(man) *some one, any one, no one*, cf. p. 168f.

אֲוֵן—(falseness) *nothing* as entity, cf. p. 185f.

אֶחָד—(brother) *other* as correlative to *one*, cf. p. 137ff.

אֶחָד—(one) *same*, cf. p. 121; correlatives *one, other*, cf. p. 137f.; *each*, cf. pp. 148ff., 152; *such and such*, cf. p. 162; *certain*, cf. p. 163ff.; *some one, &c.*, cf. pp. 170, 176; *at all*, cf. p. 182; plural, *same*, cf. p. 121; *some, few*, cf. p. 173; אֶחָד אֶחָד *one another*, cf. p. 140.

אֶחָת—(sister) fem. of *other* as correlative to *one* (see אֶחָד), cf. p. 137ff.

אֶחֶר—*other*, cf. pp. 132f. 137ff.; *next*, cf. p. 213f.

אֲחֵרֹן—*last*, cf. p. 215; *next*, cf. p. 214; רִאשׁוֹן אֲחֵרֹן *all*, cf. p. 210; emphatic, cf. p. 211.

¹ The expression 'next to last, last but one' does not occur in Biblical Hebrew.

- אין—(nonentity, not) *nothing* as entity, cf. p. 185f.
- איש—(man) *one* as correlative to *other*, *other* as correlative to *one* (איש), cf. p. 137ff.; *each*, cf. p. 148ff.; *some one*, *any one*, *no one*, cf. pp. 168f., 176f.; plural אנשים, *some*, cf. pp. 170, 176; *certain*, cf. p. 163f.
- איש איש—*some one*, *any one*, *no one*, cf. p. 169; *each*, *every*, cf. p. 156.
- אחד איש—(one man) *each*, cf. pp. 148ff., 152; *certain*, cf. pp. 163, 164: פֶּאִישׁ אֶחָד *all*, cf. p. 210; *emphatic*, cf. p. 211.
- איש אחיו—(man his brother) *one another*, cf. p. 151.
- אלה—(these) used twice for correlatives *some—some*, cf. p. 137ff.
- אמר—(word, thing) *anything*, cf. p. 170f.
- אנוש—(man) *some one*, *any one*, *no one*, cf. p. 168f.
- אנשים—cf. איש.
- אפס—(end) *nothing* as entity, cf. p. 185f.
- אפע—by-form of אפס.
- אשה—(woman) fem. of *one* as correlative to *other*, cf. p. 137ff.
- את—(nota accusativi) *same*, cf. p. 122.
- ב—(in, among) *some of*, &c., cf. p. 175f.
- בגוף—(in body) with suffix *by—self*, cf. p. 127.
- בלימה—(not anything) *nothing* as entity, cf. p. 185f.
- בליתי—(not) *nothing* as entity, cf. p. 185f.
- בשר—(flesh) *self*, cf. p. 126, n.; *any one*, cf. p. 168, n. 2.
- גדול—cf. קטן.
- גדרם—(bone) *self*, cf. p. 128.
- דבר—(word) *something*, *anything*, *nothing*, cf. pp. 170f., 179.
- די—(sufficiency) *enough*, cf. p. 201f.; *as much*, *many as*, cf. p. 194; *much*, cf. p. 189.
- הכל—(breath) *nothing* as entity, cf. p. 185f.
- הון—(riches, goods) *enough*, cf. p. 201f.
- המון—(murmuring, multitude), *very much*, *many*, cf. p. 192f.
- הרבה (הרבות)—(inf. abs. Hiph. of רבה) *much*, *many*, cf. p. 187f.; לְהִרְבֶּה cf. p. 189.
- זה—(this) used twice as correlatives *one—other*, cf. p. 137ff.
- ועיר—*a little*, cf. p. 198.
- זקן—cf. נער.
- זר—(stranger) *other*, cf. p. 135.
- תנם—*for nothing*, *gratis*, cf. p. 186.

- טוב—(good) good in respect to size, quantity, *much*, cf. p. 188, n.; טוב—רע *anything at all*, cf. p. 182f.
- יִתְרֹן—(act. part. of יתר) *other*, cf. p. 136.
- יִתְרֹן—(rest, remainder) *other part of, others of*, cf. p. 135f.
- כִּי—(as, like) *as much, many as*, cf. p. 193f.: used with pronominal suffix, e. g., כִּימֹהוּי, כִּימֹהוּי, or with following demonstrative in the sense of *such*; כִּי may be separated from the demonstrative or joined to it as one word, viz., כִּימֹהוּי, כִּימֹהוּי, cf. p. 129f.
- כִּי—כִּי—followed by demonstratives 'so and so', cf. p. 161f.
- כִּבֵּד—(heavy) *much, many*, cf. p. 189.
- כִּבִּיר—(great, mighty) *much*?, cf. p. 187, n.
- כִּכָּה, כִּה—(thus) *such*, cf. p. 131f.
- כֹּל—*all*, cf. p. 203ff.; *every*, cf. p. 159ff.; *all sorts of*, cf. p. 159; *at all*, cf. p. 180ff.; *enough*, cf. p. 201f.
- כָּל־אִישׁ—(every man) *every one*, cf. p. 160.
- כָּל־דָּבָר—*everything*, cf. pp. 160f., 206.
- כָּלֹ—*every one*, cf. p. 158.
- כֵּן—(thus) *such*, cf. p. 131f.
- לֹא־דָבָר—(not a thing, non-thing) *nothing* as entity, cf. p. 185f.
- לֹא־הוּן—(non-substance) *nothing* as entity, cf. p. 185f.
- לֵב—(heart) *self*, cf. p. 126, n.; p. 127.
- לְבַד—(in separation) with suffix *by—self*, cf. p. 127.
- מִאֲמֹרָה—*something, anything, nothing*, cf. pp. 170f., 179.
- מִאֲחַד—*one of*, cf. p. 177.
- מָה—(what?) *anything, any*, cf. p. 180.
- מִזְעָר—(littleness) *little, few*, cf. p. 198f.; emphatic, cf. p. 200.
- מִחֶרֶת—*next* day, cf. p. 214.
- מִי—(who?) *any one*, cf. p. 180.
- מִן—(from, of) *some of, any of, none of*, cf. p. 173ff.; מִמֶּנּוּ *something, &c.*, cf. p. 175.
- מִסְפָּר—(number) *few*, cf. p. 198f.; *as much, many as*, cf. p. 194.
- מִזְעַט—*little, few*, cf. p. 198ff.
- מִזְעָר—(something small, unimportant) *few*, cf. p. 198f.
- מִקְצָה—cf. קֶצֶה
- מִרְבִּית—(multitude) *much, many*, cf. p. 189; *most*, cf. p. 197f.
- מִשְׁנָה—(repetition, copy, second) *next*, cf. p. 214.
- נֹתֵר—(part. Niph. of יתר) *other*, cf. p. 136.
- נָכְרִי—(stranger) *other*, cf. p. 135, n.
- נָעַר—(young—old) *all*, cf. p. 210; emphatic, cf. p. 211.
- נַפֶּשׁ—(soul, life) *self*, cf. p. 125f.; *some one, &c.* cf. p. 168f.

- נִשְׁאָר—(part. Niph. of שָׁאר) *other*, cf. p. 136.
 עוֹד—(still, again) *other*, cf. p. 133ff.; *more*, cf. p. 195.
 עֵצֶם—(bone) *self*, cf. p. 128; *same*, cf. p. 121 f.
 כָּלִי אֶלֶמֶנִי (כָּלִי מֶנִי)—*so and so*, cf. p. 161 f.
 צָעִיר—(small) *few*, cf. p. 199.
 קָטָן—(small—great) *all*, cf. p. 210; emphatic, cf. pp. 182 f., 211.
 קֶצֶה—(end) *all*, cf. p. 210: מִקְצֵה *all*, cf. p. 210 f.; emphatic
 cf. p. 211.
 קֶצֶת—(end) *all*, cf. pp. 210, 212.
 קֶרֶב—(interior) *self*, cf. p. 127.
 קָרוֹב—(near) קָרוֹב—רְחוֹק emphatic, cf. p. 211.
 אֶחָד—(first) cf. אֶחָד.
 רַב—*much, many*, cf. pp. 187 f., 190 f.; *enough*, cf. p. 201.
 רַב—(muchness, multitude, abundance) *much, many*, cf.
 p. 189; *most*, cf. p. 197; *all*, cf. p. 211; לָרַב cf. p. 189.
 רֵיחַ—(wind) *nothing* as entity, cf. p. 186.
 רְחוֹק—(far) cf. קָרוֹב.
 רָע—(evil) cf. טוֹב.
 רֵעַ—(friend) with suffix: in sense of *another man*, cf.
 p. 135; as correlative *other* to *one*, cf. p. 137 ff.
 רֵעוּת—(fem. friend) with suffix: *another woman*, cf. p. 135;
 as fem. correlative *other* to *one*, cf. p. 137 ff.
 שָׁבָע—*enough*, cf. p. 202.
 שָׂאר—(rest, remainder) *other part of, others of*, cf. p. 135 f.
 שָׁוָא—(vanity, falseness) *nothing* as entity, cf. p. 185 f.
 שִׁמְץ—(whisper) *a little*, cf. p. 198, n.
 שָׁנָה—(act. part. of שָׁנָה) *different*, cf. p. 122.
 שֵׁנִי—(second) *other*. simple and as correlative to *one*, cf.
 pp. 132 f., 137 ff.; *next*, cf. p. 213 f.
 שֵׁנִית—(secondly) *other*, cf. p. 133 f.
 שְׁנַיִם—(two) *both*, cf. p. 145 ff.; *either*, cf. p. 148.
 תֵּהוּ—(waste, emptiness) *nothing* as entity, cf. p. 185 f.
 תֵּינִיךְ—(midst) *middle*, cf. p. 215.
 תֵּיכוֹן—*middle*, cf. p. 214.

The grammatical categories or principles employed in expressing indefinite pronominal ideas are the following.

- 1) The indefinite state of a noun denotes besides simple indetermination (indefinite article), *certain*, cf. p. 162 f.; *some*, *any*, *no*, cf. p. 171 f.
- 2) The singular referring to a plural sometimes has the force of *one* or *each* of the plural, cf. pp. 137 f., 149 f., 157 f., 159, 213.

- 3) The dual occasionally has the sense of *both*, cf. p. 145.
- 4) The plural is occasionally used for *every*, *various*, apparently as a substitute for repetition, cf. pp. 154, 122; for *many*, cf. p. 190.
- 5) The article in its definite use may express the idea of *each*, *every*, cf. p. 154f.; in its indefinite use it may express the ideas *certain*, cf. p. 164; and *some*, *any*, *no*, cf. p. 172f.
- 6) The personal pronouns are employed in the sense of *self* in both verbal and non verbal sentences, cf. p. 123ff.; the pronoun of the third person denotes attributive *self*, cf. p. 127f.; and absolute *such*, cf. p. 128; the third person singular denotes absolute and attributive *same*, cf. pp. 118—121; in connection with כִּי 'as' they denote *such*, cf. כִּי above.
- 7) The demonstratives may be employed in the sense of *same* and *such*, cf. pp. 118, 119, 128f.; as correlatives *one—other*, *some—some*, cf. $\text{וְהַ$ and $\text{וְהַ$ above; *so and so*, cf. p. 162; in connection with כִּי 'as' they denote *such*, cf. כִּי above.
- 8) Certain verbs may express indefinite pronominal ideas, viz., Niphals, Hithpael, and occasionally other forms—*self*, cf. p. 126f.; *one another*, cf. p. 143f.
 הִתְאַחַד —*either*, cf. p. 147, n.

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{רַב־} \\ \text{רַבָּה} \\ \text{עֲצֻם} \end{array} \right\}$	<i>be much, many</i> , cf. p. 191f.
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 מְעַט —*be little, few*, cf. p. 200.
 יִסֵּף —*add, make more*, cf. p. 196f.

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{מָצָא} \\ \text{סָפַק} \\ \text{שָׂבַע} \\ \text{שָׂוֶה} \end{array} \right\}$	<i>reach, be enough,</i> <i>suffice, be enough,</i> <i>be satisfied, have enough,</i> <i>be enough,</i>	} cf. p. 202.
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correlative verbs—*anything at all, all*, cf. pp. 183, 210.
- 9) Repetition is employed to denote the correlative ideas *one—other*, cf. p. 140ff., *each, every*, cf. p. 152ff., *different, various*, cf. p. 122. Special forms of this repetition are masc. and fem. of the same stem = *all kinds of*, cf. p. 154; sing. and pl. = *many*, cf. p. 190.
- 10) The various constructions for the expression of the indefinite subject, are also employed to express the ideas *some*, *any*, *no* in the subject, cf. p. 165, n. 3.
- 11) The cognate accusative occasionally gives the force of *something*, cf. p. 172.

12) The partitive idea is expressed by placing a part in apposition to the whole in the case of *both*, cf. p. 145f.; *each*, cf. p. 149f.; *some, any, no*, cf. p. 177; *many*, cf. p. 190.

In a number of cases there is no formal expression of the indefinite pronominal idea, it being simply indicated by the construction. The chief cases are, viz.,

a) *self* in subject of sentence, cf. p. 123.

b) *such* modified by a dependent clause, &c., cf. pp. 131, 128.

c) *other* in contrasts, cf. p. 132.

in connection with prepositions meaning 'except, besides', cf. p. 136.

d) *both* in apposition to two nouns or pronouns, cf. p. 144.

e) *either, neither*, cf. p. 147f.

f) *every* with numerals, cf. pp. 155, 156.

g) *some, any, no* used absolutely. cf. p. 165f.

used attributively in connection with prepositions meaning 'except, besides', cf. p. 183.

in comparisons of equality, cf. p. 185.

h) *much, many* in comparisons of equality, cf. p. 193.

i) *more, less*, cf. pp. 195, 200.

j) *too little*, cf. p. 203.

Several of these indefinite pronominal ideas may be emphasized or strengthened in various ways, viz.,

both, by

יחדו, יחד 'together', כאיש אחד 'as one', cf. p. 147.

some, any, no by

כל 'all', cf. p. 180ff.; אחד 'one', cf. p. 182; קטן—גדול 'small—great',¹ רע—טוב 'good—evil',¹ cf. p. 182f.; infinitive absolute, cf. p. 183.

all by repetition of כל, cf. p. 206, 211; by קטן—גדול, כאיש אחד,¹

מקצה,¹ קרוב—רחוק,¹ ראשון—אחרון,¹ גשע—גון

by יחדו, יחד 'together', cf. p. 211.

¹ These correlatives occur in a variety of combinations. With regard to קטן—גדול the connectives may be,

מן—ועד (Gen. 19, 11; I Sam. 5, 9; 30, 2; 19; II Ki. 23, 2; 25, 26; Esth. 1, 5; 20; II Ch. 15, 13; 34, 30; in II Ki. 23, 2; II Ch. 15, 13 ל precedes מן without special force; in Esth. 1, 5; 20 with dative force).

ב—ב (Dt. 1, 17; I Ch. 26, 13; II Ch. 31, 15).

ו—ו (I Sam. 25, 36; I Ki. 22, 31; Jer. 16, 6; Job 3, 19; II Ch. 18, 30; 36, 18).

א—א (Num. 22, 18; I Sam. 22, 15; 20, 2).

עב— (Ps. 104, 25; 115, 13).

much, many by מְאֹד 'very', cf. p. 192: הַמֶּזֶן 'multitude', cf. p. 192f. *little, few* by מְעַט 'little', cf. p. 200.

Sometimes these pronominal expressions, tho they have, of course, a certain indefiniteness of meaning, are grammatically definite, and are treated as such. These definite indefinites are, viz., many of the indefinite demonstratives, the superlative indefinite cardinals *most, least*, the comprehensive indefinite cardinal *all*, the indefinite ordinals. *Same* and *self* are often expressed by definite pronouns, personal and demonstrative, cf. pp. 118f., 123ff. אֲחֵר *other* may take the article in the sense of *the other*, רֵעַ 'friend' and אָח 'brother' are made grammatically definite by the suffix in the sense of 'another man'; the correlatives אֲחֵר and שְׁנֵי may take the article, cf. p. 137; יֵתֵר, נֶשֶׁאֶר, נוֹתֵר in the sense of *other* regularly take the article. *Both* expressed by שְׁנֵי is definite both when used absolutely and when used attributively, cf. p. 145ff. אֵישׁ *each, every* is occasionally treated as definite, cf. p. 156; similarly, כָּל *every*, cf. pp. 158, 160; *every* is sometimes expressed by the article itself, cf. p. 154f. *Most, least* are definite by virtue of being superlatives, cf. pp. 197f., 200f. כָּל *all* may take the article, cf. pp. 203f., 205, or suffix, cf. p. 207ff., and may also be treated as definite when it stands without

The two adjectives may be used—

in indefinite singular (Gen. 19, 11; I Sam. 5, 9; &c; *fem.* Num. 22, 18).

in indefinite plural (Jer. 16, 6; *fem.* Ps. 104, 25).

in definite singular (all exs. under כ—כ; I Sam. 30, 19; II Ch. 18, 30).

in definite plural (Ps. 115, 13; II Ch. 36, 18).

They are used attributively—

with noun repeated with each (I Sam. 20, 2).

with one noun (I Sam. 22, 15; 25, 36; Ps. 104, 25; II Ch. 36, 18).

גִּדּוּל may stand first (Jer. 16, 6; Esth. 1, 5; 20; II Ch. 31, 15; 34, 30; 36, 18).

With regard to נֶעֱרַב—וְקֵן, the connectives are

—וְעַד (Gen. 19, 4; Jos. 6, 21; Esth. 3, 13).

—וְ (Is. 20, 4; Jer. 51, 22; Lam. 2, 21).

The plural is used only in Is. 20, 4; the feminine and definite forms apparently not at all; וְקֵן precedes in Jer. 51, 22).

With regard to טוֹב—רַע, the following combinations occur, viz.,

טוֹב רַע אוֹ טוֹב

טוֹב רַע (Num. 24, 13).

טוֹב מִטּוֹב עַד רַע

טוֹב לְמַרְעַע וְעַד טוֹב (II Sam. 13, 22).

קָרִיב—רָחוֹק and רָחוֹק—אֲחֵרִי take article and are connected by וְ. For similar correlative expressions with meanings somewhat like the above cf. Ed. König, *Syntax*, p. 30.

the article, cf. p. 209f. The indefinite ordinals are grammatically definite in most cases, cf. pp. 213—215.

The pronominally used words in the list above (p. 215ff.) which are found with the article when used pronominally are, viz.,

אֶדָם—indef. definite article, cf. p. 172f.

אֶחָד—cf. p. 137ff.

אֶחֶר—the other, cf. p. 132f.; the next, cf. p. 213f.

אֶחָרוֹן—the last, cf. p. 215.

אֵישׁ—each, cf. p. 156; indef. definite article, cf. p. 172f.

דָּבָר—cf. pp. 160f., 206.

וְיֹתֵר—the rest, cf. p. 136.

כָּל—cf. pp. 158, 203f.

מֶעַט—the one small in quantity or number, cf. p. 199.

מִשְׁנֶה—the next in rank, cf. p. 214.

נוֹתֵר—the other, rest, cf. p. 136.

נִשְׁאָר—the other, rest, cf. p. 136.

צָעִיר—the one small in, cf. p. 199.

רַב—the one great in quantity or number, cf. p. 191.

שְׁנֵי—the other, cf. p. 132f.; the next, cf. p. 213f.

תִּיכוֹן—the middle, cf. p. 214.

The correlative adjectives קָטָן—גָּדוֹל, &c., cf. p. 220, n.

The *nota accusativi* אֵת may of course be employed with those pronouns standing with article, cf. above; with those expressed by the demonstratives הֵן, אֵלֶּה; and with those defined by a suffix, viz., אֵת, אֶחָד, אֶחֶר, רַע, בָּלֹ, אֶחָד, אֶחָד, אֶחָד. It is also found with several which are without any formal mark of determination, viz.,

אֵישׁ Num. 21, 9.

כָּל Gen. 9, 3.

כָּל־מְאוֹמָה Gen. 39, 23.

With regard to the concord of the indefinite pronouns, some are practically adjectives and are varied for gender, viz.,

אֶחָד in all meanings.

אֶחֶר other, next.

אֶחָרוֹן next.

כָּבֵד much, many.

נוֹתֵר } other.
נִשְׁאָר }

רַב much.

שְׁנֵי in all meanings.

שְׁנֵה *different*.

תִּכּוֹן *middle*.

The correlative adjectives קָטָן—גָּדוֹל, &c., cf. p. 220, n.

All of these except שְׁנֵי have also plural forms, masculine and feminine (אֶחָד only masc.); moreover, מָעַט occurs in the masculine plural, viz., מְעַטִּים.

Some are pronouns or nouns which have a special feminine form, viz.,

זֹאת — זֶה	} as correlatives, cf. p. 137 ff.
אֶחָת — אֶחָד	
אִשָּׁה — אִישׁ	
רְעִית — רֵעַ	

שְׁתֵּי — שְׁנֵי *both*, cf. p. 145 ff.

In the expressions for *such* the demonstrative or personal pronoun after כִּי usually agrees with the gender and number of the noun referred to. The suffixes after *all* agree in gender and number with the noun to which they refer. For the concord of שְׁנֵי and its suffix with its antecedent, cf. p. 145. A verb whose subject is absolute *such*, agrees in gender and number with the demonstrative or personal pronoun after כִּי, אֵלֶּה being treated as feminine, cf. p. 129. A verb whose subject is *one, each*, or absolute *all, every* may stand either in the singular or plural masculine, cf. pp. 148, 149, 158, 203f. For the concord of a verb whose subject contains attributive כֹּל cf. pp. 180, 213. The correlative *one* in the expressions meaning *one—other*, שְׁנֵי + suffix *both*, and אִשָּׁה, אִישׁ *each* may stand in apposition to a plural noun or pronoun, or an equivalent copulative expression. The constructions in which a singular refers to each individual of a plural (cf. p. 157) are of a similar character.

The feminine form is used for the neuter in כִּי אֵלֶּה 'such things' (treated as feminine), כָּל-זֹאת, כָּל-זֹאת, 'all this', 'in all this', cf. pp. 129, 206.

It has been stated that the indefinite pronouns lie midway between the demonstratives and the numerals. The close relation between the demonstratives proper, and the indefinite demonstratives is shown by the use of the former in the sense of *same*, cf. pp. 118, 119, *such*, cf. p. 128f., and the correlatives *one—other, some—some*, cf. p. 137 ff.

The fact that the plural of רַב may stand before its noun

is probably due to the analogy of the closely allied cardinal numerals, cf. p. 188.

'Some', 'any', 'no' and 'a certain' modifying a singular noun are not sharply distinguished from simple indetermination (i. e. the indefinite article), cf. pp. 162, 163 and n., 171. 'Some', 'any', 'no' as subject are not sharply distinguished from the indefinite personal pronoun (*they, man, on*), cf. p. 165, n. 3.

Among themselves the various categories of indefinites are not separated by any hard and fast boundary line. *Same* and *self* may both be expressed by personal pronouns, cf. pp. 118ff., 123ff.; by עַצְמָם, cf. pp. 121f., 128; *so and so, such and such* may be expressed by simple *such*, cf. p. 162; and by אֶחָד 'a certain', cf. p. 162; the correlative *one* and *each* are both expressed by אֶחָד, or by אִישׁ, which often wavers between the two meanings, cf. pp. 137ff., 148ff., 151; the ideas *each* and *every* are often not kept distinct, cf. pp. 148—158; the negative of *each, every* falls together with *no, none*, cf. p. 177; *other* and *more* in the sense of 'in addition to' are both expressed by עוֹד, cf. pp. 133f., 195; repetition of words employed originally to denote the correlatives *one—other*, cf. p. 140ff., passes over on the one hand to the meaning of *each*, cf. p. 152ff., and on the other to that of *different*, cf. p. 122; כֹּל means both *all* and *every*, and the constructions of the two are at times confused, cf. pp. 159, 160, 206, n., 209; *certain* and *some, any, no* are often expressed in the same way, cf. pp. 162ff., 168—173, 176f.; רַב means not only *much*, but also, a large quantity being considered as sufficing, *enough*, cf. pp. 187f., 201; and רַב 'abundance' in a few cases means practically *all*, cf. pp. 189, 211.

Each of the different constructions for rendering the same idea usually express only a certain phase of the idea, or the idea under certain conditions. For example the demonstratives and personal pronouns mean 'same' in the sense of 'the one just mentioned' while אֶחָד means 'one and the same, identical'; עוֹד means 'other, in addition to', אֲחֵר means 'other, different', שֵׁנִי means 'other, second'; אִישׁ and אֶחָד denote 'each' absolute and partitive, repetition denotes attributive 'each', &c., &c.

Not infrequently, however, the different constructions for the same idea interchange just as do the constructions for different ideas. For example הוּא may mean 'one and the same' (Job 3, 19); אֶחָד may be used for שֵׁנִי (cf. p. 132); a re-

peated noun followed by a singular referring to it may be used very much as *איש* 'each' (II Ki. 17, 29); &c.

Sometimes two of these constructions are used together, viz.,
such—*כָּן* and *כָּמֹהוּ*, p. 132.

other—*אֲחֵר* and *עוֹד*, p. 134.

one—other—reciprocal verb and correlatives, p. 143f.

each, every—article + other constructions, p. 156f.

—repetition + other constructions, p. 156f.

—*כָּל* + other constructions, p. 161.

some, any, no—indef. definite article and other constructions,
p. 173.

—indef. participle and partitive *מִן*, p. 175.

—*אֶחָד*, *אֶחָד* + partitive *מִן*, *ב*, p. 176f.

much, many—*הַמֶּוֹן* and *רַב*, p. 192f.

—*רַב* and *לְרַב*, p. 193.

—*רַב* and *דִּי*, p. 194.

more—*יֶסֶף* and other constructions, p. 196f.

all—*כָּל* before and after noun, p. 206.

—*כָּל* + *כָּאִישׁ אֶחָד*, *מִקְצֵה*, p. 211.

—*כָּל* + correlative adjectives, p. 211.

Occasionally we can trace by means of intermediate stages the shift from one construction or category to another, viz.,
from 'same' to copula, p. 118, n. 117.

from *את* note acc. to *את* 'that, same', p. 122, n.

from *אתו* + noun (acc.) = 'same' to *אתו* + def. noun (any case)
= 'same' in later Hebrew, p. 122, n.

from *לב* 'in heart, mind' to *לב* 'self', p. 127 and n.

from extens. repetition to intens. repetition, p. 142, n. at end.

from *אֶחָד*—*אֶחָד* 'one—other' to *אֶחָד* *אֶחָד* 'one another', p. 151.

from 'a certain' to indef. article, p. 163, n.

from possess. *ל* to partitive *ל*, p. 177, n. 2.

from interrogatives to indefinites, p. 180 and n.

Cf. also the half pronominal nouns in the list p. 215ff. viz.,
שָׂמֵן, *נָכְרִי*, *לֵב*, *כְּבִיר*, *בֶּשֶׂר*.

Moreover, when the pronominal idea is expressed by a word that is ordinarily a noun, the nominal idea is always latent in the word used pronominally, and ready to emerge whenever the mind of the user becomes conscious of it. This is especially true of the words *אִישׁ* (and other words for 'man' used pronominally), *אִשָּׁה*, *אֶחָד*, *רַב*, *אֶחָד*, *רַב*, and the numerous nouns denoting *nothing* as an entity. Cf., for example—

אִישׁ—Gen. 24, 16; Ex. 34, 3; 24.

רָעָה—Ex. 2, 13; I Sam. 28, 17.

וְ—Prov. 11, 15; 20, 16; 27, 13.

אִישׁ—אִישׁ—I Sam. 2, 25.

רָעָהוּ—אִישׁ—Ex. 11, 2; 33, 11; Jer. 31, 34; Ru. 4, 7.

אִישׁ—אִישׁ—Jo. 2, 8; Mal. 2, 10.

כָּל-אִישׁ—Esth. 1, 22.

כָּל-אֶדְרָם—Jer. 10, 14; 51, 17.

דָּבָר—Jos. 8, 35.

אֵן, &c.—Is. 40, 17; 23; 41, 12; 24; 29; 49, 4.

Many of these indefinite pronominal categories are closely related to adverbs of quantity, the same word being often employed for both. The expressions for *such* are closely related to the adverbs כֵּן, כָּכָה, כֹּה 'thus, so', which are sometimes practically equivalent to *such*; כַּדְּבָר הַזֶּה 'is employed adverbially in Neh. 6, 4. *Other* in the sense of 'in addition to' is expressed by the adverb עוֹד 'still, yet', מְאוֹמָה *something*, &c. seems to be employed as an adverb in I Sam. 21, 3. The feminine of רַב (Ps. 62, 3; 78, 15; 89, 8; רַבָּת Ps. 65, 10; 120, 6; 123, 4), and also הַרְבֵּה (II Ki. 10, 18), are employed adverbially in the sense of 'much'. מְעַט, וְעֵיר, and מוֹעֵר are both indefinite pronouns and adverbs; for examples of adverbial use cf. מְעַט II Ki. 10, 18; Zech. 1, 15; Job 24, 24; Ru. 2, 7: וְעֵיר Job 36, 2; מוֹעֵר, p. 200. Adverbial 'too-much' is expressed by הַרְבֵּה in Ecc. 7, 16; 17. כָּל seems to be used adverbially in II Sam. 1, 9; Hos. 14, 3; Ps. 39, 6; Job 27, 3.

In comparisons containing 'much', 'more', (cf. p. 193--197) some of the same constructions that are employed to denote a pronominal idea may be employed adverbially, e. g.,

בְּדֶרֶךְ עֲדוּתֶיךָ שִׂשְׁתִּי כָעַל כָּל-הוֹן 'in the way of thy testimonies I have rejoiced as much as in all riches' (Ps. 119, 14).

וַיִּסָּף לַחֲטֹא 'and he sinned more, again' (Ex. 9, 34; cf. Lev. 26, 18; II Ch. 28, 22).

וַיִּסְפוּ עוֹד שִׂנְאָה אֹתוֹ 'and they hated him still more' (Gen. 37, 5; cf. Ps. 78, 17).

וַיִּחְפְּרוּהוּ מִמְּטָמוֹנִים 'and they dig for it more than for hidden treasures' (Job 3, 21; cf. 23, 12; 35, 11 *bis*; 42, 12; Ezk. 16, 47; Ps. 19, 11; Cant. 1, 4; Ecc. 2, 9; 4, 2).

וְנִקְלָתִי עוֹד מִזֹּאת 'and I will be viler than this' (II Sam. 6, 22).

וַיִּמְצְאֵם עֶשְׂרִי יָדוֹת עַל-כָּל-הַחֲרָטְמִים 'and he found them ten times as [wise as] all the enchanters' (Dan. 1, 20).

Conclusion.¹

The article just concluded is an exemplification of the employment of a principle of syntactical study all too seldom applied. Such study is ordinarily carried on from the point of view of words and grammatical forms, the so-called formal method, and not by the so-called logical method, from the standpoint of the idea or grammatical category.² The formal method is

¹ In connection with this article it may not be amiss to give a list of some addenda and corrigenda to my former article on Comparative Syntax (cf. p. 117, n. 1), viz.:

p. 141, note, add Roumanian to Indo-Eur. languages with post-positive article.

p. 146, l. 3, for *ṣarû-u* read *ṣarrû-u*.

p. 159, l. 27, for רְשִׁיעָא read רְשִׁיעָא.

p. 159, ll. 36, 37; p. 160, l. 23 for *sanâi* read *šannâi*.

p. 161, l. 8, for אֲרִיכְתָא read אֲרִיכְתָא.

p. 162, l. 22f. change to—In Modern Egyptian Arabic an adjective agreeing with a strong feminine plural or with a broken plural denoting persons is put in the masculine plural in *in*.

p. 167, l. 23, for תְּשַׁרְיָן read תְּשַׁרְיָן.

p. 167, l. 30, insert *sometimes* before *only*.

p. 168, l. 4, for וְתָמִים read וְתָמִים.

p. 181, l. 28 for *mazâr'a* read *mazârë'a*.

p. 184, ll. 10, 11, for *matâti* read *mâtâti*.

p. 192, l. 30, for *mayâ'l* read *mayâ'ël*.

p. 192, l. 37, תְּשַׁמֵּים really occurs only as absolute pronoun, but it is quite probable that it was also employed attributively (cf. p. 198, above).

p. 194, l. 36, for آخر *'aḥarun* read آخر *'âḥaru*.

p. 195, l. 4, for אֲחֵרִין read אֲחֵרִין.

p. 195, l. 9, for آخر read آخر.

p. 195, l. 9, for *'aḥarun* read *'âḥaru*.

p. 195, l. 10, for الآخر read الآخر.

p. 195, l. 10, for 'l-*'aḥaru* read 'l-*'âḥaru*.

p. 195, l. 18, for אֲחֵרִין read אֲחֵרִין.

p. 200, l. 5 כִּי שֶׁה is not a good example, because it has only the meaning 'as much as a sheep', (so Lev. 5, 7; 12, 8); the meaning 'enough for a sheep', however, is a perfectly possible one (cf. p. 201, above).

p. 209, ll. 26, 27, cancel "in the case of those numerals that are without suffix *û*".

p. 259, note, for קציעות ואהלות read קציעות ואהלות.

p. 267, l. 11 for jocket read jacket.

In the present article, besides the discussion of the attributive use of these pronominal ideas in general, cf. the notes on pp. 119, 120, 121, 122, 139, 145, 157, 160, 162, 163, 172, 206, 208, 220ff.

² For a discussion of these two methods of syntactical inquiry, cf. G. von der Gabelentz, *Die Sprachwissenschaft* . . . 2., verm. und

in its way, of course, just as important and valuable as the logical, but as ideas are after all the ultimate things in language, it is evident that any study of a language from the logical point of view will get closer to the heart and genius of that language than one conducted along formal lines.

It is to be hoped that this method of syntactical inquiry will be followed more frequently in the future. Such investigations in the Semitic field can not fail to add largely to our knowledge of Semitic languages in general and of the Bible in particular, and to reduce greatly the amount of time required to gain a knowledge of any of these tongues.

verb. Aufl. herausg. von Dr. A. Graf von der Schulenburg, Leipzig, 1901, pp. 85, 86; H. Sweet, *The Practical Study of Languages*, N. Y. 1900, pp. 125, 126; and my *Comp. Syn. Noun and Mod.*, p. 135.

Addenda:—To list p. 215 ff. add—רַב, רַב so much, cf. p. 194 f.: כל in all, cf. p. 212 f.

To p. 219, (3) add—Dual = few, cf. p. 198 f.

To p. 210, l. 21 add—Omitting verbal constructions (cf. p. 209), the indefinite pronominal ideas used absolutely are represented; regularly by pronominal words; by a pronominal construction, cf. p. 165 ff.; by an adverb, cf. pp. 131 f., 133 f., 195: used attributively they are rendered; regularly by a pronominal adjective or appositive; by the indefinite state of the noun, cf. p. 218, and dual, cf. pp. 145, 198 f.; by the article, cf. p. 219; by repetition, cf. p. 219; by a construct, cf. pp. 121, 122, 125 f., 128, 146 f., 158 ff., 189, 198, 202, 205 f.; by a genitive (prepositional phrase, p. 189), cf. pp. 162, 179, 198, 214, 215; by an adverb, cf. pp. 131 f., 133 f., 195: used partitively they are expressed; regularly by pronominal words with ׀ or ׁ, rarely with ׀ (cf. p. 177); by pronoun + genitive, cf. pp. 135 f., 176, 179, 197 f., 205 ff.; by a singular (dual, p. 145 f.) referring to a plural antecedent, cf. pp. 149 f., 157 f., 177, 190; by a plural followed by an exception, cf. p. 177 f.

To p. 223 add—For double subject indicating *self*, and for concord of נפש *self* as subject, cf. p. 125 f. A verb with ׀ before subject agrees with subject, cf. p. 173 f.

To p. 126 end add—For the chief combinations of these pronominal ideas with each other and with other ideas, cf. pp. 130, 131, 134 f., 136; 147, 151, 159 f., 160 f., 161; 164 f.; 177 f., 178 f., 179 f., 183 f., 185; 193 f.; 200; 195—198, 200 f.; 203; 204 f.; 206 f., 207 ff., 212.

Atharvaprāyaścittāni.¹ — Vorwort und Einleitung von
Professor JULIUS VON NEGELEIN, University of Königs-
berg.

Vorwort.

Als Prof. G. M. Bolling, jetzt in Baltimore tätig, gemeinschaftlich mit mir die Atharvapariśiṣṭa zu bearbeiten beschloß, fiel ihm der Anfang dieses Werkes, mir das 37. und die folgenden Kapitel als spezielles Arbeitsgebiet zu. Die damit in meinen engsten Interessenkreis gerückten „*Samuccaya-prāyaścittāni*“, der erste der genannten Abschnitte, boten angesichts der Altertümlichkeit ihrer Sprache und ihres Inhalts einen geeigneten Ausgangspunkt für weitere Studien auf dem Gebiete der Sühneliteratur, innerhalb welcher sich ihrerseits wiederum die „*Atharvaprāyaścittāni*“ als ältestes und ihres Inhalts sowie ihrer Zugehörigkeit zum Atharvaveda wegen besonders bemerkenswertes Produkt abhoben. Obgleich bereits in Boehtlingk's Wörterbuch nicht ganz unberücksichtigt geblieben und von Prof. W. Caland eingehend untersucht (WZKM. 18. 197 ff.), waren sie bisher dem Wortlaut wie dem Gehalt nach unbekannt. Ich verarbeitete folgende Manuskripte, die mir bereits im Jahre 1907 zugänglich geworden waren und die ich in den Noten der Edition mit Buchstaben bezeichnet habe:

A: Ms. des Ind. Office, Cat. Eggeling 526 A.

B: Haug'sches Ms. (München) Nr. 62.

C: Anhang zu dem vorigen, von anderer Hand geschrieben.

D: Berliner Ms.

Am verhältnismäßig wertvollsten war Ms. A. Es scheint D näher zu stehen als BC. Im übrigen kann man von Handschriftengruppen nicht reden. Die Mss. stehen sich sehr nahe, sind recht jung und haben die meisten Fehler und Auslassungen völlig gemeinschaftlich. Die sprachliche Korruption hatte bei

¹ Text, notes, and indices were published in the preceding volume, 33, 121 and 217.

ihnen in den Prosa- wie in den Verspartien einen so hohen Grad erreicht, daß ich zeitweilig an der Lösung meiner Aufgabe völlig verzweifelte und die Hoffnung, einen irgendwie lesbaren Text zu rekonstruieren, bald als unerfüllbar aufgab. Nur darauf mußte es ankommen, die einigermaßen verständlichen Partien so zu geben, wie die letzten Abschreibergenerationen sie aufgefaßt haben konnten, und *inhaltlich* zu retten, was zu retten war. Gern will ich zugeben, daß Texte, wie der vorliegende, an der äußersten Grenze der Edierbarkeit stehen. Dafür verlange ich auch meinerseits das Zugeständnis, daß mit dem überlieferten Material nichts Besseres geleistet werden konnte. Nicht dies konnte mein Bestreben sein, ein durch tausendjährigen Abschreiberunverstand getrübt Textbild archaisierend aufzuputzen, sondern das älteste Erzeugnis eines wichtigen Gebietes der altindischen Religionsliteratur in der überlieferten Form zugänglich zu machen und seine sachliche Bewertung und Verarbeitung anzubahnen.

Um diesem Zwecke zu dienen, suchte ich nach weiteren Paralleltexten auf dem ungeheuren, noch völlig der Erforschung harrenden Gebiete der Prāyaścitta-Literatur. Hier erregten die *Brahmaprāyaścittāni*, zunächst schon ihres auf die Atharvan-Schule hindeutenden Titels wegen, meine Aufmerksamkeit. Sie sind in einem zu Benares unter Nr. 152 bewahrten Unikum durch die Freundlichkeit des India Office, dessen außerordentlicher Liberalität ich auch bei dieser Arbeit die ganze Studienmöglichkeit verdanke, mir zugänglich geworden. Trotz ihres sehr erheblichen Umfanges (117 Blätter) beschloß ich, sie zu kopieren. Sie lohnten diese Mühe durch oft wörtliche Wiedergabe von Partien der Ath. Prāy. und waren mir um so wertvoller, als sie in ihrem Comm. den Text *wiederholten*, diesen also bisweilen *mehrfach* gaben. Allerdings ist er hier wie dort überaus stark entstellt. Das Ms. gehört trotz seines verhältnismäßig hohen Alters (350 Jahre) zu den sorglosest geschriebenen und verderbtesten, die mir jemals vorgekommen sind; es ist außerdem durch Wurmfraß zerstört. Die Fragezeichen meiner Zitate desselben stehen hinter Akṣara's, die schlecht lesbar waren; bei Ausrufezeichen vermute ich grobe Flüchtigkeiten oder Auslassungen des Schreibers. Auf meine Kopie, die ich abermals mit dem Original verglich, habe ich gleichwohl um so größere Sorgfalt verwendet, als der Zustand des kostbaren Unikums dessen baldige Auflösung befürchten

ließ. Im übrigen lehrte mich gerade dieser Text, dessen auch nur ganz ungefähres Verständnis eine harte Arbeit voraussetzen müßte, daß es vielleicht geratener sei, sich mit jüngerem und deshalb klarer überliefertem Material zu beschäftigen. Wer die Eigenart der indischen Ritualliteratur, in konservativster Weise das Alte, kaum in neuem Gewande, sondern lediglich in bequemerer Form und dadurch leichter verständlich gemacht, zu geben, kennt, wird mein Bestreben billigen. Die von mir verwerteten Agnihotraprāyaścittāni der Apastambas (Ind. Off. 154c) und die in dem Sammelbande Nr. 1572 des Ind. Off. enthaltenen Texte bewahrheiteten die Vermutung, daß sich altes Gut, durch klarere und ausführlichere Sprachform wertvoller geworden, in diesen jüngeren Literaturprodukten erhalten habe. Ich mußte sie deshalb planmäßig heranziehen und brauchte kaum einen einzigen Passus, den sie boten, unberücksichtigt zu lassen. Natürlich handelt es sich bei ihnen um Rohmaterial, das ich ungeebnet gab, wie ich es fand.

Meinen Weg vorwärts zu gehen, wäre mir kaum möglich gewesen, kaum hätte ich es vermocht, das sachlich Zusammengehörige überall aneinanderzureihen, wenn mir nicht Bloomfields ausgezeichnete Concordance zur Hilfe gekommen wäre. Bisweilen benutzte ich sie, um von der im Texte zitierten Mantra-Partie aus die sachlich zugehörigen Prosa-Stellen der gedruckten Parallelen zu ermitteln, zuweilen zur Feststellung des Mantras selbst, wenn dessen fürchterliche Korruption seine Identifizierung auf anderem Wege unmöglich machte, — aber immer, ohne daß sie jemals durch eigene Schuld versagt hätte. Wir können in ihr ein Musterwerk philologischer Präzisionsarbeit sehen.

Ein zweiter Umstand war es, der mir in außerordentlichem Maße zu Hilfe kam. Unser Text streift in vielen Partien die verwickeltesten Fragen des Rituals, dessen Beherrschung die Sonderarbeit eines halben Lebens voraussetzt. Mit den einschlägigen Texten keineswegs unbekannt, wäre mir die Lösung vieler sich hier bietender Probleme, die Kenntnis einer großen Zahl von Einzeltatsachen, gleichwohl verschlossen geblieben, wenn sich Herr Prof. W. Caland nicht gütigst bereit erklärt hätte, die zweite, teilweise auch die dritte Korrektur des Satzes zu lesen. Er hat mich dabei vor einer Reihe von Mißgriffen bewahrt — standen ihm doch genaue Kopien des Textes zur Verfügung — und durch seine freundlichen Rat-

schläge den Wert der Arbeit erheblich gefördert. Ihm für seine im Interesse der Wissenschaft geleistete tätige Anteilnahme zu danken, ist mir Pflicht und Freude. Endlich hat Herr Prof. E. Sieg bei *dieser* ebensowenig wie bei *früheren* Arbeiten die Mühe gescheut, am Lesen der Korrekturen sich zu beteiligen und dabei viele Einzelheiten zu bessern.

Was die Wiedergabe des Textes anlangt, so verfuhr ich auch diesmal so konservativ wie möglich. Die Prosapartien desselben geben das Bild der Handschriften getreu wieder; die Mantra sind mit den Paralleltextrn verglichen, aber nicht auf Grund der Fassung dieser umgestaltet worden. Analoge Stellen sind zwar von mir in den Anmerkungen zitiert, doch habe ich mir darin große Beschränkung auferlegt, weil vermittelt Bloomfields Concordance das Zusammengehörige leicht gefunden werden kann, ich es deshalb verschmähen mußte, auf Grund dieses Werkes eine Scheingelehrsamkeit zu entfalten, welche die Schätzung der Verdienste anderer beeinträchtigen könnte. Wer immer auf dem einschlägigen Gebiete gearbeitet hat, wird die sehr große Summe von Mühe, die ich auf eine jahrelang gepflegte und während mancher Schickungen geförderte Arbeit verwandt habe, ohnehin zu würdigen wissen. Diese Sorgfalt würde Sache und Autor lächerlich erscheinen lassen, wenn ihr nicht *der Wert* des behandelten Gegenstandes entspräche, der nach des Verfassers reifstem Urteil sie rechtfertigt und erheischt: — durch den Urwald der außerordentlich umfangreichen und religionsgeschichtlich so wichtigen Literatur der Sühnehandlungen ist jetzt der erste Pfad geschlagen, der zweifellos nichts weniger als gerade und eben ist, aber hier und da weite Blicke gestattet und den späteren Generationen das Nachrücken erleichtert. Wie sollten wir eine Gruppe von Ideen und Lehren der Vergessenheit anheimfallen lassen, die, wenngleich in der durch die Weite der Zeitfernen verklingenden Rede eines engherzigen Priestertums verkündet, *die früheste Kunde von dem Streben des Menschenherzens nach Erlösung* uns vermitteln?

Ich werde den beschrittenen Weg weiter verfolgen. Die gegenwärtig vorliegende Arbeit ist die Erfüllung meines im „Traumschlüssel“ S. 121 Anm. 1 gegebenen Versprechens. Sie soll mit der Ankündigung einer Bearbeitung der ältesten *astrologischen* Literatur Indiens, auf die ich seit Jahren als auf eine sehr wichtige Gruppe religiöser Dokumente mein

Augenmerk gerichtet habe, schließen. Auch auf diesem Gebiet liegt, wie wir sehen werden, das Interessanteste und Beste in den Atharvapariśiṣṭa wie in einem großen Thesaurus verborgen.

Je mehr der Kreis der tätigen Mitarbeiter auf unserem Forschungsgebiete zusammenschmilzt, um so mehr ist es unsere Pflicht, sich des Ideenschatzes bewußt zu bleiben, dessen strenge Wahrung und Ausgestaltung der Pflege des Sanskritstudiums *allein* sein Recht zu geben vermag, und die Einwirkung eines in flacher Routine sich selbstgenügsam ergehenden Virtuositums auszuschalten, das unter dem Alleinanspruch auf äußere Exaktheit nur fehlgreifende innere Hohlheit verbirgt.

Einleitung.

Das Sanskritwort für Sühne. heißt in den ältesten Texten prāyaścitti. Nur selten kommt daneben in den Saṃhitā's und Brāhmaṇa's die erst der späteren Literatur geläufige Form prāyaścitta (s. A. Weber, *Omina und Portenta* § 3 Anm. zu S. 318; vgl. auch Petersb. Wb.) vor. Eine spielende Etymologie des Wortes gibt z. B. Kāty. Śr. S. 25. 1. 2. Daselbst befindet sich auch eine Äußerung über die Gelegenheit der Anwendbarkeit der Sühne: sie soll vollzogen werden bei einem „Mißgriff im Ritual“ (karmopapāte cf. Ath. Prāy. 1. 1: vidhyaparādhe). Ihrer Spezies nach gehört sie zu den Zweckopfern (cf. Āsv. Prāy. 1 b: prāyaścittāni naimittika-karma-viśeṣā abhidhiyante). Dem Begriffsinhalt nach ist prāyaścitta, wie Stenzler („On the Hindou doctrine of expiation“ Rep. Proc. 2 Congr. of Orientalists. Ldn. 1874. S. 23) richtig bemerkt, in ältester Zeit gleich pratikāra, d. h. „Abwehrmittel“, wobei zu erwägen ist, daß dem Menschen früherer Zeitläufte selbst Naturvorgänge, auf die wir tatsächlich keinen Einfluß haben, als abwehrbar galten. Später glaubte man zum mindesten durch geschickte Handgriffe, die in abermals jüngerer Zeit in den Kodex der sakralen Handlungen aufgenommen wurden und deshalb von einem Gebet begleitet werden mußten, die verhängnisvollen *Folgen* solcher Geschehnisse abwenden zu können. Diese Vorgänge selbst werden dann zum Omen. Demgemäß versuchte man bei sehr vielen Völkern der Erde die Sonnenfinsternis durch Lärm zu verscheuchen; später vollzog man Opfer, um die bösen Folgen, welche man von ihr fürchtete, wie z. B. die Zerstörung des durch sie heimgesuchten Reiches, zu bannen; abermals später begleitete man diese Opfer mit

Gebeten, die allmählich zu dessen notwendigem Bestandteil wurden; endlich sah man in dem Naturvorgang den Ausdruck des Zorns einer Gottheit, welche besänftigt werden mußte. — Als Beispiel hierfür nenne ich den Mythos Taitt. Samh. 2. 1. 4. 1, nach welchem die Götter dafür, daß die Sonne nicht scheint, eine Sühne erfinden; d. h.: die Himmlischen wollen nach ältester Auffassung dadurch diese Naturerscheinung selbst, nach späterer deren Folgen bannen. Dem entspricht die Definition des Komm. zu Āp. Śr. S. 9. 1. 1: „Sühne nennt man eine heilige Handlung, die dazu dient, eine Schädigung zu entfernen“ (doṣanirharanārtham karma prāyaścittam). — Eine besondere Beachtung kam den *beim Opfer* auftretenden Omina zu. Stand dieses doch in unmittelbarstem Bezuge zur Gottheit oder der unpersönlich gedachten Schicksalsmacht. Die Anzahl der Sühne verlangenden Möglichkeiten, welche hierbei zu Tatsachen werden konnten, war, wie der Schluß der Ath. Prāy. lehrt, unermesslich groß. Eine Reihe *besonders häufig wiederkehrender* Zwischenfälle aber wurde kodifiziert. Deshalb stehen den *bekannten* Wahrzeichen die *unbekannten*, nicht in den heiligen Schriften erwähnten, gegenüber. Keśava zu Kauś. S. (s. Bloomfields Ed. p. 372) sagt deshalb sehr klar: yad granthe na paṭhyate tat sarvam anājñātam ity ucyate; vgl. Comm. zu Āp. Śr. S. 14. 17. 1 zur Erklärung von anājñāta: aśrutāni viśeṣa-prāyaścittāni yatra doṣāṇām so 'vijñāta-prāyaścittāḥ somaḥ | etad uktam bhavati | puruṣa-pramāḍā-*lasyā-*”dibhis tatra prāyaśo bhavanty eva 'nye 'nye doṣāḥ | na ca te sarve śruta-prāyaścitta-viśeṣā eva bhavanti | vicitratvāt teṣām | tasmād adṛṣṭa-doṣa-vighātā-rthā etā āhutir juhoti 'ti (wobei die Zurückführung der Ritualfehler auf die psychologischen Momente der *Fahrlässigkeit* und *Trägheit* bemerkenswert ist). Die Besorgnis, neben den erkennbaren Mißgriffen möglicherweise unerkennbare, verborgen bleibende und deshalb doppelt gefährliche Fehler begangen zu haben, führt in allen heidnischen Kulte zu jener charakteristischen Furchtempfindung, der die „unbekannte Gottheit“ der Paulinischen Araeopag-Rede das Dasein verdankt. Daher die fast heimisch anmutende Formel des Sühnegebetes. „Erlöse mich von dem Bösen, was ich unwissentlich und was ich wissentlich getan habe“ — so heißt es mehrfach, z. B. Āp. Śr. S. 6. 1. 7 (cf. Bloomfields Concordance); ganz ähnlich sagt schon Ath. V. 6. 115. 1—2, wo auch von der *im Traum* begangenen Sünde geredet

wird. Sie ist keine „Gedankensünde“, am allerwenigsten geschlechtlicher Art, wie moderne christliche Weltauffassung sie unterscheiden könnte, sondern „Tatsünde“, denn der Traum galt als eine zweite Wirklichkeit, dessen befleckende Verfehlungen als leiblicher Makel an dem Erwachten haften blieben und mit Wasser oder Lehm abgewaschen wurden. — Der Charakter jenes „Nichtwissens“ als einer rituellen Unerfahrenheit zeigt sich besonders deutlich in Ath. V. 6. 119. 3: anājānan manasā yācamāno yat tatrai 'no apa tat suvāmi; d. h.: wenn ich, ohne [das richtige Gebet] zu kennen, nur im stillen [dem Sinne, nicht dem Wortlaut nach] die Gottheit anflehe... In allen Fällen solcher Gebete an die unbekannte Macht pflegte man sich auf die Vyāhrti-Formel zu beschränken, die in drei Lauten Himmel, Luftraum und Erde umfassen sollte. Deshalb heißt es Kāty. Śr. S. 25. 1. 4: wo keine besondere Anweisung gegeben ist, finde das Große-Vyāhrti-Opfer statt. Der Vergleich dieser Stelle mit Ath. Prāy. Anm. 1139; Śāṅkh. Śr. S. 3. 21. 6; Āp. Śr. S. 14. 32. 7; ferner dem korrupten anājñātā von Ath. Prāy. 4. 1 Text S. 36 Z. 4 und dem inhaltlich sehr klaren Passus von Agn. Prāy. 1b in Ath. Prāy. Anm. 6 ergibt zur Evidenz die völlige Identität zwischen dem „unbekannten“ und „nicht kodifizierten“ Omen.

Über den *Umfang* der Sühne-bedürftigen Verfehlungen der Opferpraxis unterrichten uns Āśv. Prāy. 1b; s. Ath. Prāy. Anm. 2; dort wird von der Möglichkeit, *einen* Opferbestandteil durch *einen anderen* zu ersetzen, also von der so wichtigen Substitutionshandlung, gesprochen, und dabei als zur heiligen Handlung gehörig, also dem menschlichen Irrtum unterworfen, genannt: das Opfermaterial, die Gegend und Zeit seiner Vollziehung, der Opferlohn, die Priester und die Gattin. Tatsächlich können wir aus unseren Texten den Umstand belegen, daß an jede einzelne dieser Eventualitäten gedacht ist.

Der Grad von Sorgfalt, welchen man dem Erlernen und Ausgestalten dieses Gebietes zuwandte, war keinesfalls geringer, als die Mühe, mit der man das weltliche Recht pflegte und ausbaute (cf. Komm. zu Āp. Śr. S. 9. 1. 1). Ja, es scheint, als ob der junge Brahmanenschüler als Studiosus utriusque iuris auch in diesem Punkte die Kirche über den Staat stellen sollte, denn — für die älteste Zeit gilt dies kaum — zum mindesten die Lehre von der *Reinhaltung*, die auch im Opfer eine so große Rolle spielt und im profanen Leben angesichts der beständigen

Möglichkeit, mit Vertretern niederer, befleckender Kasten in Berührung zu kommen, von äußerster Wichtigkeit war, mußte ihm schon zu Anfang in Fleisch und Blut übergehen. Agnipurāṇa 153. 12 heißt es: „Sobald der Lehrer den Schüler aufgenommen hat, möge er ihn *zunächst* in [den Bestimmungen über die] Reinhaltung unterrichten . . .“ Allerdings scheinen die umständlichen Sühnezeremonien innerhalb und außerhalb des Opferkreises in ihrer ganzen Ausdehnung erst dem *reiferen* Jünger beigebracht worden zu sein. Dementsprechend sagt Chambers 650 Bl. 3: vicārya dharmasāstrāṇi prāyaścittam prakalpayet; d. h. „erst wenn man die Rechtsbücher studiert hat, soll man die Lehre von der Sühne durchnehmen.“ Wie weit weltliches und geistliches Recht sich ergänzten oder ablösten, wird sich schwerlich entscheiden lassen, weil hier die Autorität des Fürsten, die natürlich in den verschiedenen Ländern und Zeiten sehr verschieden war, den Ausschlag gab. Auch sind die uns diesbezüglich unterrichtenden Quellen trotz ihrer gelegentlichen Fingerzeige nicht immer vertrauenswürdig. Berichten sie doch von brahmanischem Standpunkt aus häufig das den Priestern *Genehme* als *wirklich Vorhandenes*. Gleichwohl ist hervorzuheben, daß, angesichts der ungewöhnlichen Härte der „Kirchenstrafen“, ihre Bevorzugung oft keinen Vorteil bot, und daß (vgl. Agnip. 170. 30ff.) die Verletzung der religiösen Pflichten beim *Brahmanen* bisweilen am *schwersten* bestraft wurde. Sehr interessant ist in dieser Hinsicht *ibid.* 168. 1: Der Regent möge denjenigen Männern, welche die Buße nicht [freiwillig] vollziehen, sie auferlegen. Möge ein solcher Mensch wollen oder nicht — der festgesetzten Buße soll er nicht entgehen (prāyaścittam kṛtam caret). — Der Verstoß gegen das Ritual schädigte den Staat zwar nicht unmittelbar, aber um so schwerer Staat und Familie mittelbar. Ein Mißgriff bei den großen Opfern konnte nach orthodoxer Auffassung dem Lande den Untergang bringen. Dies war namentlich bei dem Entweichen des Opferrosses im Aśvamedha (dem Pferdeopfer) der Fall. Doch schon das bloße Umfallen des Pfostens, an welchen das geweihte Tier vor der Schlachtung gebunden wurde, hatte nach der Auffassung der Gläubigen fürchterliche Folgen. Der umgefallene Stössel im Mörser wird zum Donnerkeil, der die Verwandten erschlägt (Ath. Par. 37. 1. 1). Wenn ein Vogel, der Fleisch im Schnabel hat, sich auf den Opferplatz herabstürzt, soll man den Vers

sprechen: „Welcher furchtbare Donnerkeil, von Gott geschleudert, uns ereilte . . .“ (Kauś. S. 129). Kleine Vergehen oder Versehen machen oft das ganze Opfer nichtig und seine Wiederholung notwendig (Ath. Prāy. Anm. 257). Ein klassisches Beispiel für diese Veräußerlichung der religiösen Ideen und kultischen Formen ist die halb ergötzliche Erzählung von dem während einer heiligen Handlung mit unterlaufenen, verhängnisvollen Akzentfehler, der in dem Verse Rgveda 1. 32. 6. bei dem Worte *indraśatruḥ* aus: „dem, dessen überlegener Feind Indra ist,“ einen „Besieger Indras“ machte und damit den Segen des Opfers in einen Fluch verkehrte, — eine Begebenheit, die seit alter Zeit oft dazu benutzt wird, die Notwendigkeit der richtigen Akzentbetonungen zu lehren.

Solche Auswüchse sind natürlich verhältnismäßig jüngeren Datums. Daß man aber bereits dem ersten aller Opfer Wahrzeichen entnahm, lehrt uns die Kain- und Abel-Legende; dies bestätigt auf indischem Boden das Vorhandensein offenbar alter Fragmente, wie Ath. Pariś. 37. 9. 1, 11. 1., die vom Erlöschen des Hochzeitsfeuers als einem Omen künden, während der gleiche Text in 70c. 23—5 von der Beobachtung *sakraler* Feuer spricht. Von einer eigentlichen *Geschichte* der Sühnehandlungen auf dem Gebiete der Vedatexte zu reden, verbietet uns deren Kasuistik, ferner die Möglichkeit der Abhängigkeit der einzelnen Texte voneinander und des Verschweigens vieler Einzelheiten, die unsere Auffassung bestimmend verändern könnten. Auf der einen Seite sehen wir bereits im Ait. Brāhm. ziemlich wunderliche und entlegene Fälle gestreift, wie z. B. in 7. 9: *ya āhitāgnir yađi hiraṇyaṃ naśyet . . .*; auf der andern Seite scheinen noch die Ath. Pariś. eine ganze Kette von Einzelheiten, die in unseren Ath. Prāy. umständlich differenziert werden, zusammenzufassen, so z. B., wenn das Ath. Pariś. 45. 2b. 4 des Falles gedenkt: *yasyā 'gnihotradhenv-ādi vyāpadyeta . . .* Das eben erwähnte Beispiel des *Ausgehens eines Opferfeuers* ist für die Umständlichkeit und Gewissenhaftigkeit, mit welcher die alten Priester den schwerfälligen Opferapparat im Kreise herumdrehten, bezeichnend: wenn gleich hierbei die Schulmeinungen im einzelnen auseinandergehen, scheinen sie sich doch in dem hauptsächlichsten Ideen-gang zusammenzufinden, indem sie nämlich, von der Tatsache ausgehend, daß das *Gārhapatya-Feuer* als *Stammfeuer* in Brand erhalten bleiben soll, es bei seinem unvermuteten Erlöschen

„aus seinem eigenen Mutterschoß“ von neuem sich heraus entwickeln lassen (Ath. Prāy. Anm. 79), während sie das *Āhavanīya-Feuer* als „das zu Entflammende“ bei seinem vorzeitigen Erlöschen nicht durch Quirlen, sondern durch Übertragung aus dem Gārhapatya abermals ins Leben rufen. Der Sühneprozeß ahmt also den vorgeschriebenen Opferverlauf ängstlich nach. Allerdings soll man nach Taitt. Brāhm. 1. 4. 7. 2 in dem letzteren Falle das Agnidhra-Feuer zur Neuerzeugung benutzen; wenn dieses erlöschen sollte, es aus dem Gārhapatya nehmen; das letztere aber nötigenfalls durch Quirlen wiederbeleben. — Um derartige Umständlichkeiten zu verstehen, muß man sich erinnern, daß das Opfer als ein von der Gottheit geoffenbartes *Naturphänomen* angesehen, also jeder Veränderlichkeit entrückt gedacht wurde; daß mithin die Aufgabe der Priester im Falle eines Mißlingens bei demselben darin bestehen mußte, das alte Gleis wieder zu gewinnen. Darin liegt eines der wesentlichsten psychologischen Motive aller Sühnehandlungen innerhalb, ja selbst außerhalb des Opferkreises.

Von der größten Wichtigkeit ist es, die Sühnezeremonien *so schnell als möglich* darzubringen; „der richtige Zeitpunkt für die Sühnehandlungen liegt dicht hinter dem ominösen Vorgang“ Agn. Prāy. 1b in Ath. Prāy. Anm. 6; vgl. Kāty. Śr. S. 25. 1. 1: karmo-’papāte prāyaścittam tatkalām; Āśv. Prāy. 1b: prāyaścittāni nimittā -’nantaram kartavyāni. Vernachlässigt man beim Opfervollzug versehentlich das böse Wahrzeichen, so soll man eingreifen, sobald man sich der Unterlassungssünde erinnert, resp. des Irrtums gewahr wird (s. Ath. Prāy. Anm. 760). Je schneller man handelt, um so größer ist die Leichtigkeit des Loskaufs durch die Sühnezeremonie. Namentlich ist es wichtig, ob die Vernachlässigung *dem Hauptopfer* voraus liegt oder umgekehrt (Kāty. Śr. S. 25. 5. 16: smarane pradhānayaḡāt pūrvam smrtvā . . . vgl. Ath. Prāy. Anm. 257): wer seine Spende mit verunreinigter Opferspeise dargebracht hat, soll, wenn dies *vor* dem samistayajus (Schlußopferspruch) geschehen ist, lediglich eine „Neuopferung“ mit Schmelzbutter vornehmen; wenn nachher, das Opfer von Anfang an völlig wiederholen.

Die Frage der *Schuld* des Opferveranstalters, wie sie dem modernen Dogma der Willensfreiheit entwächst, wird nirgends erörtert. Nur der Enderfolg, die nackte Tatsache des Vorhandenseins des rituellen Mißgriffs, entscheidet; die ihn verursachende *Gesinnung* des Opferveranstalters wird zwar bis-

weilen angedeutet, aber nirgends für die moralische Beurteilung des Falles in Betracht gezogen. Es ist mithin gleichgiltig, ob der der Sühne bedürftige Verstoß aus „menschlicher“ oder „göttlicher“ *Fahrlässigkeit* (Ath. Prāy. Anm. 249; sogar bei dem Entweichen des Opferpferdes sind beide Möglichkeiten gegeben: Anm. 1110), aus *Verwirrtheit* (bhrāntyā) oder *Zerstreuung* (vismaraṇāt) resultiert, ob Vorsatz oder Fahrlässigkeit vorliegt, wie ja auch im profanen Recht zwischen Mord, Totschlag und fahrlässiger Tötung kein Unterschied konstruiert wurde. Selbst die Verzögerung oder Verschiebung des Opfers durch unvorhersehbare Umstände und höhere Gewalt — durch Revolution, Krieg; durch Ausgehen des nötigen Opfermaterials; durch den Tod des Veranstalters — begründeten keine Ausnahme im Sinne dieser Lehre. Zwischen *Vergehen* und *unbeabsichtigtem Mißgriff* macht selbst die alte Sprache keinen Unterschied. Beide heißen apacāra (cf. z. B. Kāty. Śr. S. 25. 5. 13, 27 ff.).

Wenngleich also, wie wir sahen, eine psychologische Bewertung des sühneerheischenden Mißgriffs nicht statthatte, so wurden im *Vollzug* der Sühnezeremonie gewisse Empfindungen, die wir mit bona fides und mala fides im römisch-rechtlichen Sinne bezeichnen können, geradezu als Zaubermittel angesehen und für den Enderfolg der Sühnehandlung in Frage gezogen. Um ein Beispiel zu geben, sei folgendes erwähnt: wenn ein Regentropfen in den Opfertrank fällt und ihn dadurch vermehrt, so gilt dieses als ein böses Omen, denn das *himmlische* Naß ist ungeweiht, muß also dem geweihten Opferkreise fernbleiben. Nach Śat. Brāhm. 12. 4. 2. 10 schadet aber der auf die (bereits in den Opferlöffel gegossene) Agnihotra-Spende fallende Regen dieser und dem Opfer selbst garnichts, *wenn der den Ritus Vollziehende sich dabei denkt*: „Von oben kam zu mir der [Regen als der himmlische] Soma herab; der Gott hat mich gestärkt; mein Glücksstand wird zunehmen.“ — Als Beispiel für die *mala fides* diene folgende Einzelheit: Ich nehme an, das Opferfeld sei durch das profanierende Eindringen eines Hundes in zwei Teile „zerrissen“ worden. Hier greifen Zaubermittel volkstümlicher Art in den Opferritus ein. Dadurch, daß man nämlich die beiden durch jenes Dazwischentreten entweihten Opferteile (etwa: zwei heilige Feuer) miteinander vermittelt eines aus Asche oder Wasser gebildeten „Fadens“ verbindet, *flickt* man gewissermaßen das zerrissene Opfergewebe (Ath. Prāy. Anm. 64, Text zu Anm. 811). Nun rät jedoch der vor-

sichtige Verfasser von Śat. Brāhm. 12. 4. 1. 4 folg. von der Anwendung von *Asche* ab, weil sich ein böswilliger Zuschauer oder Priester unter ihr die [aus dem Leichenbrande herrührende] *Asche des Opferveranstalters* denken könnte. Ist dies aber erst einmal der Fall gewesen, so liegt nach jenem Autor die Gefahr sehr nahe, daß ein solcher „frommer Wunsch“ in Erfüllung gehen könnte. — Auch hier begegnen uns im fremden Gewande volkstümliche Vorstellungen der nächstliegenden und greifbarsten Art. — Psychologisch interessant sind Stellen wie Kāty. Śr. S. 25. 5. 26 f.; 25. 9. 3. Wenn man *zuviel* Opfermaterial ergriffen hat, soll man das Überschüssige gleichwohl zum Opfer verwenden, und zwar „um die Befleckung zu verhüten, die durch einen abirrenden Wunsch anderenfalls hervorgerufen würde“ (mithyā-saṃkalpa-doṣa-parijihīṣayā resp. saṃkalpa-doṣa-pariharāya). Das kann doch nur heißen: damit der Priester nicht auf den schlechten Gedanken kommt, das überschüssige Opfergut in die eigene Tasche zu bringen, weil dadurch der heiligen Handlung geschadet würde. Mit dieser vorsichtigen Andeutung ist das einzige, allenfalls *ethisch* zu nennende Element des Sühneopfers, dem es im übrigen an den Begriffen von Schuld und Sühne, von schlechtem Gewissen und Reue so gänzlich fehlt, erwähnt.

Was die *Notwendigkeit des Vollzuges* der Sühnehandlungen anlangt, so wird sie, wenn es sich um unwichtige Einzelheiten handelt, bisweilen *allgemein* verneint; in eben diesen Fällen bisweilen von *einzelnen Autoritäten bestritten* oder ganz allgemein nur für *Opfervollzieher, welche religiöse Überängstlichkeit zeigen*, zugegeben. — Beispielsweise schadet eine Krähe, welche sich zwar in den Opferbezirk drängt, aber alsbald wieder von dannen fliegt, der heiligen Handlung ebensowenig als die Zufälligkeit des Herabfallens der Opferstreu (Ath. Prāy. 4. 1) oder das nur stellenweise Anbrennen des Opferkuchens (Ath. Prāy. Anm. 653). Der freigeistigen Richtung, welche eine Hauptquelle des Śatapathabrāhmaṇa so deutlich kennzeichnet, entspricht es, daß selbst das Omen der eben erwähnten „Opferzerreißung“ nur eine „Loskaufszeremonie“ (niṣkṛti) und eine Spende (iṣṭi) erheischt. Nach noch liberalerer, eben dort erwähnter Auffassung soll man auf das Eindringen fremder Dinge oder lebender Wesen in keinem Falle, selbst dann nicht achten, wenn eine ganze Schar (grāma) es verübte¹

¹ Eine Ausnahme machte ihrer Natur nach die kultische bahiṣpavamāṇa-Zeremonie, bei welcher sämtliche Beteiligten, in geduckter Haltung sich

(Śat. Brāhm. 12. 4. 1. 2 folg.). — Von der Opfersubstanz wird in der gleichen Quelle gesagt, daß sie, falls sie verunreinigt sei, nach einigen Autoritäten gegen reine ausgetauscht werden müsse, nach anderen nicht. Es kommt in diesem Falle auf die Beurteilung der strittigen Vorfrage an, ob die Götter, denen sie vorgesetzt wird, vor unsauberer Speise *Ekel empfinden*, — was manche Autoritäten verneinen (Śat. Brāhm. 12. 4. 2. 2).¹ Das psychologische Moment der religiösen Überängstlichkeit wird endlich bei der Lösung der Frage der Opfer*notwendigkeit* in Stellen wie Śat. Brāh. 12. 4. 3. 4—5, 4. 2 in die Wagschale geworfen; nur so kann ich die dortige Wendung: „yady u asya hrdayam vy eva likhet“ verstehen. — Endlich haben Schulen und Textgruppen über diese Frage verschieden gedacht (s. Ath. Prāy. Anm. 856 und ibid. 4. 1). Durchaus ist aber festzuhalten, daß die Anzahl dieser nach irgendeiner Richtung hin *strittigen* Punkte bezüglich ihrer Zahl wie ihrer Bedeutung hinter der festgefügt Gruppe der seit uralters durchaus *unbestrittenen* Fälle völlig zurücktritt. Der große Bau der Sühnehandlungen konnte wohl gewisse Auskleidungen oder Verzierungen erfahren, sein Plan und Fundament aber standen unerschütterlich fest.

Welches war die leitende Idee seines Grundrisses? Es war die Lehre von der Notwendigkeit der restitutio in integrum, dem Bewußtsein entwachsen, daß das beim Opfer Ausgefallene nachgeholt, das bei der Darbringung Mißglückte in korrekter Form aufs neue der Gottheit angeboten werden müsse. Dementsprechend heißt es z. B. Ath. Prāy. 2. 4: „Die Opferkuh *brüllt*. Was ist dafür die Sühne? Nun, sie brüllt, weil sie des Opferveranstalters Hunger und Durst ansagen will. Darum soll man ihr Heu geben. Das ist dafür die Sühne.“ — Vielfach müssen analogen Überlegungen Vorschriften ent-

fortbewegten. Wenn die Kette durch Eindringlinge zerrissen wurde, waren stets strenge Sühnen (Neuwahl eines Priesters und Opfergeschenke, die ursprünglich angeblich in der Austeilung der ganzen Habe bestanden haben sollen [sarvavedasadaśiṇā; s. Ath. Prāy. 6. 5]) notwendig.

¹ Auch in dieser Hinsicht glichen die Götter zweifellos den sie formenden Brahmanen. Śāṅkh. Śr. S. 3. 20. 5 sagt: „[Nur] was ein Brahmane aus Ekel nicht genießen kann, ist mit dem Kennzeichen der Unreinheit behaftet.“ Das heißt umgekehrt: „Unreine Speise darf ein Brahmane nicht genießen.“ Andererseits wurde wiederum gelehrt: „dem Magen eines Brahmanen schadet nichts.“ Die gelehrte Kontroverse stritt also um Priester und Götter in gleicher Weise.

wachsen sein, wie z. B. die, daß man die herabgefallene Kohle des Opferbrandes wieder aufschütten (ibid. 2. 6; cf. Anm. 667); das vorzeitig erloschene heilige Feuer erneuern (6. 1); an Stelle der verlorengegangenen Frühmilch die Abendmilch (oder umgekehrt) in zwei Teilen opfern (Anm. 607); das eingebüßte sāmṇāyā durch neues Melken abermals gewinnen (Anm. 665); von dem angebrannten Opferkuchen das genießbare Stück darbringen (4. 1) oder diesen gegen einen gutgeratenen austauschen (Anm. 653); an Stelle der besudelten Opferrüstung (Streu usw.) eine reine beschaffen (Anm. 646); das leck gewordene Opfergefäß durch ein festeres ersetzen (5. 5) soll. Diese Regeln sind mit einer bis ins kleinste gehenden Gewissenhaftigkeit ausgestaltet. Nach dem Komm. zu Āp. Sr. S. 14. 26. 2 möge man, wenn ein Opfergefäß platzt, die vorgeschriebenen Sühnezeremonien vollziehen und das Gefäß mit Bindemitteln (saṃdhānīya-dravyaiḥ) haltbar werden lassen; falls es aber dennoch leckt (dhāraṇā-samārthatve), es wieder dicht machen; sollte aber das pūtabhṛt- oder ādhavanīya-Gefäß zerspringen, zuvor mit der sarvaprāyaścitta-Zeremonie opfern. — Zu dem „Körper des Opfers“ gehört auch die Spendung des Priesterlohnes. Wer deshalb das Opferhonorar auszuteilen unterläßt, soll „reiches Land“ (urvarā samṛddhā) als sühnenden und ausgleichenden Gegenentgelt geben (Maitr. S. 1. 4. 13). — Schon im älteren Ritual nehmen die Sühnezeremonien bisweilen einen theatralischen Anstrich an. Wenn über dem noch nicht (aus dem Gārhapatya-Feuer) herausgenommenen Āhavanīya-Feuer die Sonne untergeht, so soll man in westlicher Richtung mit einem Faden aus darbha-Gras ein Goldplättchen befestigen; tritt das Analoge beim Sonnenaufgang ein, in östlicher Richtung auf gleiche Art eine silberne Scheibe aufhängen (Ath. Prāy. 1. 2); — Śat. Brāhm. 12. 4. 4. 6—7 läßt keinen Zweifel darüber, daß in dem Goldstück die Sonne, in dem Silberstück der Mond dargestellt ist, welche, wenn sie in Wirklichkeit schon untergegangen sind, über dem Opfer wenigstens in effigie dastehen sollen, um noch solange zu scheinen, als sie der Priester für die korrekte Vollziehung seiner Handlung braucht. — Bisweilen treten *Renovatio* oder *Iteratio* des Opfers *neben* die Sühnezeremonie, welche letztere dann in einer Handlung der Abstinenz bestehen kann. Wenn z. B. der Hausherr die morgendliche Vollziehung des Agnihotra-Opfers nicht rechtzeitig vorgenommen hat, so möge er den Tag über samt

seiner Gattin *schweigend* (auch der Bruch der Schweigepflicht verlangt Sühne: Ath. Prāy. Anm. 749) und *fastend*, die Reibhölzer in den Händen haltend, dasitzen, des Abends aber das versäumte Opfer nachholen, indem er die Milch *zweier* Kühe darbringt (Ath. Prāy. 4. 4). Auch zur Zeit von Viehseuchen wird, wie es scheint, die den Göttern gespendete Milchmenge verdoppelt (ibid. Anm. 754).

Als Läuterungsmittel verunreinigter Opfersubstanzen und Opfergeräte galt, soweit es dafür anwendbar war, in erster Linie das Wasser. Es dürfte unter ihm bereits in ältester Zeit, wie nachweislich in jüngerer, zunächst das *fließende* Wasser verstanden worden sein (cf. Agnip. 156. 9: śuddham nadigatam toyam puṇyam tadvat prasāritam). Daß es „das Heilmittel des Opfers“ war, lehrt Āp. Śr. S. 14. 21. 2 in einem alten Zitat: „āpaḥ prajāpateḥ prāṇā yajñasya bheṣajam“. Ähnlich sagt Śat. Brāhm. 12. 4. 1. 5: „yad vai yajñasya riṣtam yad aśāntam āpo vai tasya sarvasya śāntiḥ.“ Danach ist also das Wasser „das Sühnemittel für alles“. Neben dem Wasser ist *Lehm* möglich. Ein Zitat zu Śāṅkh. Śr. S. 13. 6. 1 lehrt:

yāvan nā 'paity amedhyā-ktād
gandho lepaś ca tat-kṛtaḥ |
tāvan mṛd vāri vā "deyam
sarvāsu dravya-śuddhiṣu ||

Die Säuberung der Opfer-Instrumente usw. erfolgt *mit der Hand* (Ath. Prāy. Anm. 614).

Wir sehen, daß bei den heiligen Handlungen der Begriff der *physischen Reinheit* eine sehr große Rolle spielt. Von hier aus hätte der Weg zur Forderung einer *ethischen* Reinheit gefunden werden können; aber er ist niemals zielbewußt betreten worden. Vielmehr blieb der Brahmanismus stets in der Beobachtung ältester Religionsvorschriften, wie sie auf Grund unklarer, uranfänglicher Ideen in der Menschheit aufzutreten pflegen, stecken. Zwar stellte er (vermutlich seit ältester Zeit) an den opfernden Brahmanen weitgehende Anforderungen in bezug auf sittliche Haltung und Familienzugehörigkeit, auch auf körperliche Reinheit; ferner dürfte er bei dem Opferveranstalter, der die Priester diente und lohnte, eine gewisse Rechtllichkeit vorausgesetzt haben; zum mindesten durfte der Opferherr keiner Todsünde schuldig gewesen sein. Denn mit dem auf ihr stehenden sozialen Boykott (pari + varj) war naturgemäß auch die Opferunfähigkeit ver-

bunden. Im übrigen aber wünschten die Priester als einzige Tugend bei ihrem Brotgeber nur eine: Freigebigkeit in der Austeilung der Opferlöhne. — War die Forderung der *sittlichen* Lauterkeit sehr wenig rigoros gestellt, so war es die der *physischen* um so mehr. Hier läßt sich ein interessanter Gegensatz zwischen vedischer und avestischer Auffassung feststellen. Die Parsenreligion verehrte die Naturelemente als heilig und suchte sie vor Verunreinigung zu beschützen; die vedischen Opfervorschriften konstruierten einen räumlich genau festgelegten Bezirk der Heiligkeit und Reinheit, dem gegenüber die ganze Außenwelt als befleckt galt. Der ganze Opferraum war ein geweihter Kreis für sich, jeder Einbruch in ihn eine *Sünde*, wenn er von *Menschen*; eine Sühne bedürftige, *ominöse Handlung*, wenn er von *Tieren oder Gegenständen* (Wagen) verübt wurde. Drang Schmutz oder Unreinheit irgendwelcher Art, wozu namentlich auch alle Ausscheidungen des menschlichen und tierischen Körpers gerechnet wurden, in das Opfermaterial ein, d. h.: wurde damit die Opfersubstanz oder das Opferwerkzeug (im weitesten Sinne des Wortes) befleckt, so mußte die anfängliche Reinheit des geweihten Bezirkes durch Zeremonien wieder hergestellt werden. Die Tatsache des *Geweihtseins* als solche, welche die Frucht einer bestimmten rituellen Handlung (*dikṣā*) war, gab den Ausschlag über die Heiligkeit oder Unheiligkeit des Eindringlings. Nur so verstehen wir es, daß selbst die Naturelemente als Unheilstifter angesehen werden konnten. Die *Luft* war es, wenn sie Fliegen oder anderes kleines Ungeziefer auf die Opferspeise trug; — das *Wasser*, indem es in Form trüben Schmutzes oder körperlicher Ausscheidungen den heiligen Kreis befleckte; doch selbst die Träne, ja sogar der Regentropfen verursachte die gleiche Wirkung;¹ — das *Feuer*, das heiligste Element der Parsen-

¹ Man unterschied ferner zwischen dem „getrunkenen“ und „ungetrunkenen“ Soma und verbot die Mischung beider. Unter dem letzteren war das zwar geweihte aber noch *unberührte*, unter dem ersteren das bis auf die im Somabecher zurückgebliebene Neige *genossene* Getränk, oder vielmehr diese Neige selbst zu verstehen (vgl. z. B. Ath. Prāy. 6. 6; Tāṇḍya 9. 9. 8). Übrigens bedurfte es bei der durch solche Vermischung oder auf andere Art erzielten Verunreinigung des Somas keineswegs eines Ersatzes durch gleichartigen Stoff. Vielmehr erreichte man eine Läuterung beispielsweise durch das Hineinwerfen eines Goldstückes in den Somatrester (*Śāṅkh. Śr. S.* 13. 6. 1). *Gold* gilt, wie überall, so auch hier, als heilig, läuternd und unveränderlich (unsterblich).

religion, indem es als profaner Gehilfe des Menschen bei dessen Kulturarbeit, oder als sein gefährlicher Feind (Haus-, Dorf-, Waldfeuer) sich mit dem Opferfeuer vermischte (cf. Śat. Brāhm. 12. 4. 4. 2; Komm. zu Taitt. Brāhm. 3. 7. 3. 7), sogar wenn es als Blitzfeuer sich auf das letztere herabstürzte (Ath. Prāy. 2. 7; ibid. Anm. 290); — endlich die *Erde*, indem sie mit dem durch menschliche Fahrlässigkeit auf sie herniedergefallenen flüssigen oder festen Opfergut in Zusammenhang kam (Ath. Prāy. Anm. 711; 1146) (weshalb auch im späteren Opferritual alles als unrein gilt, was mit dem Fuß [Agnipur. 173. 32] berührt wurde, und sogar der Kontakt des Mundes mit dem Schuh [Agnipur. 170. 39: upānaḥam amedhyam ca yasya saṁsprśate mukhaṁ mṛttikā-gomaye tatra pañcagavyam ca śodhanaṁ] verboten war).

Der Entweiung von außen stand die von innen gegenüber. Sie war namentlich dadurch möglich, daß entweder *absolut* oder *relativ* unreine Menschen oder Gegenstände beim Opfer irgendwelche versehentliche Verwendung fanden. Zu der ersteren Gruppe gehörten (da Mitglieder der unreinen Kasten im allgemeinen ohnehin ferngehalten wurden und von verworfenen Tieren das gleiche galt; hier kamen Mißgriffe wohl äußerst selten vor), vor allem gewisse Pflanzen und deren Produkte, namentlich solche, welche saure, herbe, salzige, bittere, scharfe oder narkotische Ingredienzien lieferten, wie z. B. die Zwiebel (s. Ath. Prāy. Anm. 614; vgl. meinen „Traumschlüssel“, S. 129 und 346), aber auch das zu Zwecken der Zauberei verwandte Holz unheiliger Bäume u. a. m.; der *relativen* Unreinheit aber waren alle Substanzen preisgegeben, welche durch Verunreinigung, Zersetzung, Verwesung, unzweckmäßige Behandlung usw. ihre „natürliche Beschaffenheit“ verändern konnten. Opferunwürdig war deshalb jede schmutzige, sauer gewordene, gerronnene, gegohrene, zersetzte, faulige, angebrannte Speise. — Was die Entweiung des Opferbezirks durch *Tiere* anlangt, so war sie in mehr oder minder hohem Grade durch alle *nicht opferfähigen* Lebewesen zu befürchten. Da aber als opferfähig (nach strengster Auffassung) nur fünf Haustiere in Betracht kamen, war damit eine starke Quelle abergläubischer Furcht angeschlagen. Als *besonders* gefährlich galten nach Śat. Brāhm. 12. 4. 1. 4 (cf. Ath. Prāy. Anm. 63) das *wilde* Schwein; das *wilde* Schaf, der (herrenlose) Hund samt seinen nächsten Verwandten (Hyäne, Schakal, Fuchs: śvāpada), ferner namentlich auch die dem Erdboden und deshalb dem Reiche

der Nacht angehörigen kleineren Wesen, wie etwa Maus und Ameise, deren Erdaufwürfe mit den Spenden *verunreinigten* Opfergutes bedacht wurden (Ath. Prāy. 4. 3), weil sie dessen unheilvolle Befleckung ins Reich der Nacht hineinziehen sollten (cf. Anm. 664; 741—2). — Von Vögeln gehörten zu den Sendboten der Todesgottheiten, und galten deshalb als besonders ominös, namentlich die sehr gefürchtete, weil von Leichenresten lebende, *Krühe* (Anm. 818) und deren Verwandte: der Rabe, Geier usw. Wenn diese Tiere einen Teil des Opferleibes zu verzehren versuchten, betrachtete man dessen Entheiligung als ungewöhnlich schwer und der Sühne bedürftig.

Als unrein, verunreinigend und unfähig der heiligen Handlung irgendwie beizuwohnen, galten endlich Tiere und Menschen unter gewissen Zuständen ihrer physiologischen Beschaffenheit, namentlich schwangere Wesen¹ (s. Traumschlüssel, S. 172 folg.) und solche, die Zwillinge geboren hatten, ferner die Gattin des Opferveranstalters, wenn sie sich in der Menstruation oder innerhalb eines gewissen Zeitabschnittes nach ihrer Entbindung befand.²

Wir sehen, daß einerseits die Opfer-Veranstalter und -Teilnehmer, andererseits die leblosen Glieder des großen Opferleibes eine große Anzahl von Bedingungen erfüllen mußten, wenn sie als würdig gelten sollten, zur Gottheit in Beziehungen zu bleiben. Entsprachen sie den traditionellen Anforderungen nicht, so wurden sie sofort ausgeschaltet. Nur ein unbeachteter Mißgriff oder unabwendbare äußere Einflüsse konnten

¹ Selbst der in rituellen Angelegenheiten sehr liberale *Buddha* erklärt im 12ten Sutta des Majjhima Nikāya, er übe Askese, indem er nichts annehme: weder von einer Schwangeren, noch von einer Säugenden, noch von einer, die zu einem Mann gegangen ist, noch von einer Schmutzigen. — Hier spricht allerdings der buddhistische Ekel vor dem Weibe als solchem und die mönchische Lehre von der Unreinheit der Geburt bereits mit.

² Vgl. z. B. Ath. Prāy. Anm. 684; s. auch Taitt. Brāhm. 3. 7. 1. 9 (= Kāth. 35. 18): „Die Hälfte des Opfers geht nämlich demjenigen verloren, dessen Gattin am Tage des Gelübdes [infolge ihrer Unreinheit] unantastbar ist. Er möge sie entfernen und [dann erst] opfern. [Damit er aber] mit dem *ganzen* Opfer opfert, soll er nach demselben sie herbeirufen und sagen: „Der bin ich; die bist du; der Himmel ich; die Erde du; Sāman ich; R̥c du; komm, wir wollen uns vereinigen . . . um kräftige Söhne zu erzeugen.“ In der Mitte [der Zeremonie] ruft er sie; das ist dafür die Sühne.“

ihnen die Möglichkeit einer vorübergehenden Verwendung beim Opfer geben.

Ganz anders verhielt es sich um den Gebrauch, respektive die Anteilnahme der gleichen Sachen oder Personen in dem der gottesdienstlichen Handlung antipodisch gegenüberstehenden *unheiligen Zauber*, der gerade beim Sühneopfer, mag es selbständig auftreten oder nur eine bestimmte Zeremonie innerhalb eines Opferturnus darstellen, eine große Rolle spielt. In der speziellen Verwendung und Behandlung gewisser, sonst vom Opfer ausgeschlossener Tiere oder Gegenstände als Opfergaben eröffnet sich uns der eigentliche Charakter des Sühneopfers, wie es uns, noch *neben* oder *gegenüber* dem eigentlichen Götterdienste stehend, in der Religionsgeschichte entgegentritt. Während nämlich in dem eigentlichen *Götterkultus* das Opfertier zur Gottheit in die engste Beziehung kam, mit ihr identifiziert und sein geheiligter Leib zum Besitztum der Opferversammlung durch gemeinschaftlichen Fleisch- und Blutgenuß gemacht wurde, belud man in dem als unheilig betrachteten, von der Stammesgemeinschaft gefürchteten *Sühneopfer* das geweihte Tier, welches, als Repräsentant des zur magischen Tötung ausersehenen Feindes für verdammt und fluchbeladen wie fluchspendend galt, mit allem Makel, den man durch die Sühnehandlung vernichten wollte. Selbständige rituelle Handlungen dieser Art finden sich im vedischen Brahmanismus kaum, um so mehr in den dem Śivaïsismus zustrebenden Rudrakultischen Begehungen. In den älteren Texten spielt die Frage nach dem Verbleib des menschlichen, tierischen oder sächlichen Unheilstifters, den man durch das Sühneopfer vernichten wollte, naturgemäß eine geringere Rolle, da es ja vor allem darauf ankommen mußte, die durch den Störer verursachten Unterbrechungen der heiligen Handlungen möglichst abzukürzen, weil anderenfalls angesichts der Massenhaftigkeit derartiger unliebsamer Zwischenfälle der ganze Opfervollzug gefährdet werden konnte. Wir können deshalb auf die Frage, was mit dem einzelnen ominösen Objekt geschah, in vielen Fällen keine Antwort erteilen,¹ müssen ferner festhalten, daß nur die *älteste* Zeit die grausame Folgerung der völligen

¹ Unzweifelhaft ist es, daß man gefährliche Dinge vorzugsweise ins Wasser warf. Der Spruch „Ins Meer schicke ich dich“ begleitet diesen Vorgang sehr häufig; s. Ath. Prāy. Anm. 724.

physischen Vernichtung des Unheilstifters zog, in jüngerer aber an deren Stelle die Aussetzung, das Wegschenken an die Priester, trat. Wenn gar ein Gegenstand, etwa durch Verunreinigung, nur *halbwegs* opferuntauglich gemacht worden war, so wählte man den jesuitischen Ausweg, ihn unter Umständen, z. B. wenn er aus schmutzig gewordener Milch bestand, auf *heiße Asche* zu gießen; da diese vermöge ihrer Wärme das Feuer repräsentieren konnte, galt die ihr gespendete Milch als geopfert; da sie keine Flammen zeigte, als ungeopfert (Ath. Prāy. 1. 3; Erklärung nach Śat. Brāhm. 12. 4. 2. 2). Immerhin können wir die *Tötung* der menschlichen und tierischen Zwillinge als unheil drohender Erscheinungen teils nachweisen (cf. Traumschlüssel S. 258 Anm. 1), teils wahrscheinlich machen. Als uralte *Opfergabe* an die Priester finden wir (falls der Text richtig ist, z. B. in Ath. Prāy. 5. 5) das Zwillinge gebärende *Mutterwesen* von Mensch und Tier, namentlich aber von der beim Agnihotra notwendigen Opferkuh. Diese war integrierender Bestandteil eines grundlegend wichtigen, unaufhörlich erneut vollzogenen Ritus. Ihre Opferunreinheit hatte deshalb ein weit höheres Gewicht als der gelegentliche Einbruch von störenden Elementen, wie z. B. hindurchlaufenden Hunden, Wildschweinen, Mäusen usw. (die man wohl einfach wegjagte) in den Opferbezirk. Darum verstehen wir es, wenn alle Eventualitäten des Verhaltens der Agnihotra-Kuh aufs sorgfältigste erwogen wurden, und die das Unheil, welches sie heraufbeschwören konnten, abwehrenden Sprüche ihrem Wortlaut nach der Gelegenheit ihrer Rezitation genau angepaßt waren, — was im allgemeinen im Verhältnis zwischen Mantra und Opferhandlung keineswegs immer der Fall ist. Wie man bei den heidnisch-germanischen Völkern *das Pferd* aufs genaueste beobachtete, ja die rege Dämonologie jener Stämme in jeder Bewegung dieses, in den sakralen Dienst gestellten Tieres eine möglicherweise wichtige religiöse Tatsache sah, so erging sich der Inder in der Betrachtung bedeutsam erscheinender Momente im körperlichen und psychischen Gebahren der Kuh, deren Milch die Opferspeise zu der wichtigsten kultischen Zeremonie lieferte; eben darum entledigte er sich dieses Wesens, wenn die von ihm zu dem Opferzwecke hergegebene Milch beispielsweise *blutig* war (Śat. Brāhm. 12. 4. 2. 1); darum schenkte er es an einen Brahmanen, dem er voraussichtlich nicht wieder begegnen würde (yam

anabhogamiṣyan manyeta), weg, wenn es sich (angeblich aus Furcht) während des Agnihotras niedergesetzt hatte (ibid. 12. 4. 1. 9).

Die eigentliche Heimstätte kultischer Verrichtungen dieser (chthonischen) Art war begreiflicherweise das Totenritual. Was immer mit dem Verstorbenen in leiblicher Berührung gestanden hatte, verfiel der Vernichtung. Dazu gehörten namentlich die Speisegeräße des profanen und des Opfergebrauches. In ältester Zeit, da die religiösen Ideen noch ihre volle Kraft bewahrt hatten, wurde das ganze Gerät des Verstorbenen zweifellos zerschlagen oder ins Wasser geworfen. Erst als später neben den irdenen (mr̥ṇmaya) und den steinernen (āśmamaya) Gefäßen die kostbaren metallenen aufkamen, erregten diese die Habgier der Brahmanen, deren gesunder Konstitution ihre Benutzung nicht schadete (vgl. hierzu Ath. Prāy. 3. 7; Śat. Brāhm. 12. 5. 2. 14; Kāty. Śr. S. 25. 7. 32—3). Erinnert sei an die genau analoge Handlungsweise bei den Hebräern und wohl Semiten überhaupt: das irdene Gefäß, in dem das Sühnopfer gekocht wurde, mußte zerbrochen werden; ebenso das durch den Eintritt von Ungeziefer verunreinigte Opfergeschirr (R. Smith, *Religion der Semiten*, Übers., Freiburg 1899, S. 116).

Die altindischen Ritualbücher haben in dem Namen und der Gestalt der Gottheit „Nirrti“, „Vernichtung“, die wichtige Tatsache aufbewahrt, daß eine frühe Vergangenheit sich die unheilbringende Schicksalsmacht, der viele Sühnopfer ursprünglich vornehmlich galten, keineswegs körperlich vorgestellt hat. Erst später, als die Sühneriten in die kanonischen Bücher eingereiht und dem Göttersystem des Brahmanismus gefügig gemacht worden waren, teilte man sie einer devatā, d. h. rituellen Opfergottheit, zu. Daß bei vielen derartigen Anlässen nur ein einzelner Gott des indischen Pantheons in Frage kommen konnte, in anderen Fällen allerdings die vage Spekulation nach dem geeigneten Objekt der Verehrung sich umzusehen hatte, ergab sich dann von selbst. Sogar an pedantischen Differenzierungen fehlte es nicht: wenn beispielsweise das Opferfeuer durch einen Mißgriff beleidigt war, so begnügte man sich nicht, den Agni als solchen zu versöhnen, sondern forschte nach dessen spezieller Manifestation als Agni Vivici, Agni Śuci usw. War die Pflicht der Unterscheidung zwischen weltlichen und heiligen Feuern vernachlässigt, so wurde Agni Vivici („der Unterscheidende“) durch

Spenden besänftigt. Dagegen sollte Agni Śuci („der Lautere“) bei der ominösen Vereinigung des Opferfeuers mit einem Leichenbrande beistehen (cf. Ath. Prāy. 2. 7. = 5. 4; Anm. 863). Dem Agni Vratabhṛt („das Gelübde wählend“) gilt (ibid. 5. 4) die den Bruch des Opfergelübdes sühnende Spende, falls sie nicht dem Vratapati („dem Herrn des Gelübdes“, also einer eigens für diesen Zweck konstruierten Gottheit) dargebracht wird (ibid. Anm. 863). Vāyu wird immer verehrt, wo es sich um das Vieh, das Opfertier, handelt (z. B. 5. 5). Wenn das Agnihotra für einen *auf der Reise Verstorbenen* veranstaltet wird, soll man des Prajāpati („des Herrn der Geschöpfe“, einer Zeugungsgottheit) gedenken (Anm. 318). Ist das bedrohliche Wahrzeichen nicht kodifiziert, so sucht man den richtigen Gott zu erhaschen, indem man ihrer möglichst viele aufzählt (6. 9): „dem Agni heil! dem Opfer heil! Dem Brahman heil! dem Viṣṇu heil! dem Prajāpati heil! der Anumati heil! dem Agni Sviṣṭakṛt heil!“ Dazu kommen in diesem Falle noch die Lieder, welche mit „den Indra als Retter“ und „mit deren Hilfe“ beginnen, sowie die Verse, die Viṣṇu-Varuṇa zur Gottheit haben.

Solche Lieder waren ein integrierender Bestandteil der Opferhandlung. Im indischen Ritual, wie es der Veda lehrt, gibt es keine Manipulation, die nicht von einem gesprochenen oder nur im Geiste memorierten Gebete begleitet worden wäre, dessen falsches oder lückenhaftes Hersagen, dessen Auslassung oder Rezitation an unzugehöriger Stelle deshalb gesühnt werden mußte (cf. z. B. Ath. Prāy. 6. 5). Offenbar hatte der Zauberspruch ursprünglich zu dem Unheil abwehrenden Ritus den engsten sachlichen und verbalen Bezug; er *unterstützte* dessen magische Gewalt; das Wort, die heilige Rede, wie der Veda sie gibt, sind der „Donnerkeil“, der aus des Brahmanen Munde fällt. Da, wo der rezitierte Spruch die heilige Handlung *erläuternd* begleitet, um den drohenden Fluch abzuwenden und in Segen zu verkehren, liegen sicherlich die ältesten und wichtigsten Zeremonien vor. In solchen Fällen wenden sich die Mantras unmittelbar an den Träger der unheilbringenden Schicksalsmacht. Sie bitten ihn in Versen oder einer offenbar dem höchsten Altertum angehörigen Prosa um Schonung des Lebens, der Familie, des Besitzstandes des Opferveranstalters. Stürzt beispielsweise der Opferpfahl nieder, so flehen sie ihn an, Frau und Kinder, Haus und Hof des Opfer-

herrn zu bewahren. Fällt eine Kohle vom Opferfeuer herab, so wünschen sie, diese möge weder das Opfer, noch dessen Veranstalter, weder seine Gattin, noch die amtierenden Priester schädigen, — was zu fürchten ist, je nachdem sie nach Norden oder Süden, nach Osten oder Westen fällt. Für jede dieser Möglichkeiten wird eine eigne Fassung des Zauberspruchs bereit gehalten. Die meist an Äußerlichkeiten sich haltende, einem hohlen Schematismus das Wort gebende Genauigkeit, welche im indischen Geistesleben fast überall hervortritt, ist an solchen Differenzierungen von inhaltlich gleichlautenden Zaubersprüchen gut beobachtbar. Zu den Urzeiten der Verehrung mit magischem Leben ausgestattet geglaubter konkreter Dinge steigen wir herab, wenn wir hören, wie eben diese niederfallende Kohle, die bereits die Opferstreu in Brand versetzt hat, einem Machthaber ähnlich angededet wird: „Verehrung sei dir, wo du kommst; Verehrung, wo du vorübergehst; Verehrung, wo du niedersitzest.“ Ein wunderbares Band wird zwischen diesseits und jenseits gezogen, und dadurch dem harmlosen Naturvorgang eine symbolische, gewissermaßen kosmische Bedeutung gegeben, wenn bei der Zeremonie des Zurücklegens jener Brandkohle der Spruch ertönt: „Aus der Unheilsgöttin (Nirṛti) Schoße nehme ich das Opfer; das stelle ich zu den Göttern hin, da ich ein Wissender bin.“ Es folgen kurze Gebete um reiche Nachkommenschaft, langes Leben und Schutz bei den Göttern. — Von großer Altertümlichkeit ist der Spruch, den der Priester zu dem Opferfladen sprechen soll, falls dieser etwa plötzlich emporschnellt. Nachdem der Kuchen auf die Opferstreu zurückgestellt worden ist, rezitiert der Sprecher: „Warum schnellst du empor? warum bist du in die Höhe gesprungen? Versühnt durch die Sühne komme hierher. Unschädlich, opferfähig geworden, setze dich auf diesen Sitz! Nicht richte Schaden an, o Gott . . .!“

Der Zauberspruch im Verein mit der von ihm begleiteten zeremoniellen Handlung ergibt *den Körper der Sühnezeremonie*. Daß er bereits früh kanonisch festgelegte Formen annahm, erwähnten wir. Wo dies nicht der Fall war, nämlich bei den „unbekannten Omina“, behalf man sich mit dunkeln Zaubersprüchen (s. unten S. 262); anderenfalls aber gestaltete man allmählich die Zeremonien zu selbständigen, komplizierten Opfern aus, deren beispielsweise ein späterer, zu dem Atharva-

veda gehöriger Text nicht weniger als 30 aufzählt. Manche von ihnen lassen eine gewisse Naïvität und Sinnfälligkeit nicht vermissen, so z. B. die pāthikṛtī („pfad-ebnende Sühne“). Ihren Namen zu erklären, dient Śat. Brāhm. 12. 4. 4. 1: agnir vai pathikṛt pathām apinetā sa evai 'nam yajñapatham apinayati; „Agni ist der Pfadfinder; er führt auf die rechten Wege; er führt ihn (den Opferherrn) auch auf den [rechten] Opferpfad.“ Dementsprechend wird die Pāthikṛtī angewendet, wo etwas „aus dem rechten Gleis gekommen“ ist; zunächst also, wenn etwa ein Wagen aus der rechten Bahn lief und dann zwischen zwei Opferfeuer eindrang (Āp. Śr. S. 14. 31. 2); ferner, im übertragenen Sinne, wo Zeit und Ort der heiligen Handlung den Vorschriften nicht entsprechen (Ath. Prāy. Anm. 825; 845); also bei Opferentgleisungen; daher auch, wenn ein angelegtes Feuer ausgeht (Ath. Prāy. 5. 3; cf. Anm. 826). „Vom Wege her (*patho* 'ntikāt; in spielender Etymologie zu pāthikṛtī) soll er die darbha-Gräser nehmen; ein Wagen ist dafür der Opferlohn; immer dient bei der pāthikṛtī ein Wagen zum Opferlohn.“ Eine kindliche Ideenassoziation reiht hier Wagen und Pfad; Pfad und Feuer; Feuer und Agni; Agni und den Opferpfad (= den richtigen Weg zu opfern) aneinander und läßt selbst die Anforderungen der nur selten mit geringen Honoraren sich bescheidenden Priester in mäßigen Grenzen bleiben. Andere Beispiele der Ath. Prāy. lehren, daß man bei dem [rituell unerlaubten, zeitlichen und räumlichen] Zusammenfall verschiedener Sühnezeremonien die Vaivici („die Differenzierende“) zuerst vollziehen soll (Ath. Prāy. 5. 5); daß die Vāruṇi dem Wassergott zu Ehren darzubringen sei, weil dieser die verdorbenen Teile des Opfers aufnimmt (ibid. Anm. 729). Je nach der gerade gegebenen Gelegenheit wendet man sich an gewisse, für sie ausersehene Götter. Dem Mitra und Sūrya wird ein Brei dargebracht, wenn die Sonne über dem noch nicht begonnenen Agnihotra-Opfer aufgeht (ibid. 4. 4); dem Mitra resp. Varuṇa bei anderen Versäumnissen des richtigen Zeitpunktes dieses Ritus ein Fladen geopfert; dem Agni, der dann übrigens mit dem jedesmal betroffenen Attribut zu verehren ist, eine ähnliche Speise geweiht (ibid. Anm. 276). Wenn die Agnihotra-Milch beim Kochen überläuft, soll man die Viṣṇu-Varuṇa-Verse sprechen; denn was beim Opfer verletzt ist, gehört dem Viṣṇu; was in Unordnung geraten, dem Varuṇa (ibid. 1. 5). Überhaupt kehren manche Verse bei sachlich

zwar sehr verschiedenen, aber zueinander in gewisser Analogie stehenden Gelegenheiten wieder. So dient der mit „33 Fäden“ (Taitt. Samh. 1. 5. 10. 4) beginnende Vers dazu, durch einen Zauber den zerrissenen Gürtel des Opferherrn und seiner Gattin wiederum zu schließen; sodann aber auch, das durch Mißgriffe im Ritus zerrissene Opfer-„Gewebe“ zusammenzuziehen (ibid. Anm. 877). Er soll nach Śāṅkh. Śr. S. 13. 12. 13 sogar angewendet werden, wenn das mahāvira-Gefäß platzt. — Bei allem, was gespalten, aufgeplatzt, verderbt ist (es handelt sich hier wohl in erster Linie um Opfergefäße: Ath. Prāy. 6. 5), soll man die Formel anwenden: „Zurück komme zu mir die Indra-Kraft“.

Im speziellen Modus der Vollziehung der Sühnezeremonien läßt sich eine gewisse Folgerichtigkeit nicht verkennen. Bei dem *Verlust des Sāmnāyya* beispielsweise, einer aus süßer und saurer Milch gemischten Opferspeise, soll die zu Grunde gegangene Substanz *durch Melken* wieder ersetzt werden. Geht bei einer Libation von *Quark* (āmikṣā) etwas verloren, so hat der *analogen* Opfersubstanz wegen das *Analoge* zu geschehen (Ath. Prāy. Anm. 665).

Das Uranfängliche solcher Ideen und Formen tritt in vielen Einzelheiten der Sühneriten hervor. Die Forderung der Keuschheit und Speiseeinschränkung beim Opfer (cf. Agnipur. 173. 39) resp. des völligen Fastens gehört zu den alten, so häufig sich im Kultus vorfindenden Abstinenzvorschriften. Die strenge Weihe des unantastbaren, für profane Wesen unerreichbaren Opferkreises, das über den Priestern und ihren Manipulationen schwebende „Tabu“, kehren bei niederen Völkern wieder. Dieses Tabu lastet nach uranfänglichen Ideen auf der menstruierten oder jung entbundenen Frau; es verleiht besondere Fruchtbarkeit der Milchkuh des Agnihotras, sowie den Opfertieren, wenn diese ein abnormes Verhalten zeigen, namentlich wenn sie aus Furcht davonlaufen, sich schütteln, Kot und Urin lassen; aber auch bisweilen, wenn sie sich innerhalb des Opferturnus begatten (vgl. Bloomfields Concordance unter: yasmād bhīta udaprosṭa ff.). Und abermals werden kindliche Assoziationen, deren Träger noch nicht zwischen den Reichen des menschlichen, tierischen und pflanzlichen Lebens zu unterscheiden gelernt haben, wach, wenn der Priester nach Śāṅkh. Śr. S. 3. 20. 2 die Agnihotra-Kuh, welche sich niedergesetzt hat, zum Aufstehen mit einem *frischen*, grünen

Reiß [ārdradaṇḍa] veranlassen soll. Ein *verdorrtes* Holz würde Unglück bringen, wie man nach deutschem Aberglauben niemanden, besonders *junge* Menschen nicht, mit *trockenen* Reisern, Besen, Ruten usw. berühren oder schlagen soll.

Manche altertümliche Einzelheit zeigt sich endlich noch in dem *Anspruch* auf Opferlohn und dessen spezieller Eigenart; s. Maitr. Samh. 1. 4. 13 (vgl. Ath. Prāy. 6. 2: samidham kṛṣṇām dadyād | vāso-yugam dhenum vā ||).

Das Opfer war, der orthodoxen Lehre nach, unveränderlich; tatsächlich aber ließen sich gewisse Umgestaltungen, die allmählich Vereinfachungen bewirkten, nicht vermeiden. Die große Sorgfalt, mit der die *Substitute* der Opferelemente aufgezählt und besprochen werden, ist ein klarer Beweis für die soziale Wichtigkeit der Sühnopfer und die so oft beobachtbare, zu dem theoretischen Rigorismus der Priester in fast ergötzlichem Widerspruch stehende Anpassungsfähigkeit ihrer Vollzieher.

Nach der zusammenfassenden, Ath. Prāy. Anm. 6 zitierten, Stelle konnte das *Opfermaterial* (im weitesten Sinne) einer Stellvertretung unterliegen. Dazu gehörte in erster Linie der Soma. Oft kam es vor, daß er durch Diebstahl oder Verderbnis abhanden kam. Dann sollte man ihn nehmen, woher er am nächsten zu bekommen war (Ath. Prāy. 6. 4). Die Pflanze, deren Saft ihn darstellte, wurde aber wahrscheinlich allmählich ausgerottet. An ihre Stelle trat dann im Notfall das pūtika-Gewächs (s. Pet. Wb. pūti, pūtika, pūtika; vgl. Mim. im Komm. zu Taitt. Brāhm. 1. 181 nach Pet. Wb. unter pratinidhi: somā-'bhāve bhavet pūtividhiḥ | pratinidhāv uta; Āp. Śr. S. 14. 24. 12: somā-'bhāve pūtikān abhiṣuṇuyāt; cf. aber Śāṅkh. Śr. S. 13. 6. 1, 3, wo der Komm. l. c. von *rōhita-trṇā-'grāṇi* spricht. Tāṇḍya 9. 5. 4 wird der Soma zum pūtika-Gewächs in ein mythologisches Abhängigkeitsverhältnis gebracht; s. hierzu Ath. Prāy. 6. 4); im Falle von dessen Unbeschaffbarkeit wurde — auch hierin scheinen sich die meisten Autoritäten ziemlich einig gewesen zu sein¹ — das *Arjuna* genannte Substitut angewendet; s. Komm. zu Śāṅkh. Śr. S. 13. 6. 3: die *weißblühenden* Arjuna-Schosse; dagegen nach Tāṇḍya 9. 5. 7 die *braunen* A.-Sprossen; dies wird l. c. mythologisch begründet: „Indra erschlug den Vṛtra; da floß

¹ Dagegen sagt Taitt. Brāhm. 1. 4. 7. 5: yasya kṛitam [soma] apahareyur ādārāṁś ca phalgunāni cā 'bhiṣuṇuyāt.

Soma aus seiner Nase; der wurde zu den *braun*-rispigen Arjuna-Sprossen; [auch] aus dem gespaltenen omentum (vapā) [floß Soma]; der wurde zu den *rot*-rispigen Arjuna-Sprossen; man soll nun die *braun*-rispigen Arjuna-Sprossen pressen; denn sie stellen brahman dar; ganz offensichtlich preßt [der Priester in ihnen] den Soma.“ — Nach dem Komm. l. c. hat nämlich brahman die [braune] Bodenfarbe. Nach Komm. zu Tāṇḍya 9. 5. 3 sind die arjunāni: *śyāmalāni* tṛṇāni, was dazu passen würde. (Brahm. Prāy. in Ath. Prāy. Anm. 1016 scheinen ebenfalls dem auf dem *Himavant* wachsenden *rötlichen* Soma gegenüber den dem *Mūjavant*-Berge entsprossenen *braunen* Soma den Vorzug zu geben, so daß die braune Farbe bei dem Gewächse, das den Opfertrank lieferte, und allen seinen Substituten bevorzugt worden wäre). Kāth. 34. 3 erwähnt als Soma-Substitute die arjunāni *lohita-tūlāni*; daneben aber auch die arju^o *babhrū-tūlāni*; vgl. auch Boehtlingks Wb. unter arjuna; s. Ath. Prāy. 6. 4; ibid. Anm. 1019. Manche Texte, wie z. B. Āp. Śr. S. 14. 24. 12, nennen die Arjuna-Pflanze nicht, sondern machen folgende Gewächse sich gegenseitig zu Stellvertretern: soma-pūtika-ādāra-*śveta-tūlāni* phālgunāni; auch Śat. Brāhm. 4. 5. 10. 4 erwähnen die ādārās, wenngleich in etwas anderer Reihenfolge, denn sie nennen hintereinander als Ersatz für Soma die *phālgunāni* (bei denen sie zwischen *rot*- und *rötlich*-blühenden unterscheiden und den letzteren den Vorzug geben: „eṣa vai somasya nyaṅgo yad aruṇa-puṣpāni phālgunāni“ [nyaṅga ein gutes Wort für Substitut!], während Āp. Śr. S. 14. 24. 12 die mit *weißen* Büscheln blühenden phālguna-Schossen hervorhebt), und erwähnen als deren gegenseitige Stellvertreter: śyenahrta, *ādārāḥ*; aruṇadūrvāḥ; endlich nennen Kāty. Śr. S. 25. 12. 19: śyenahrta, pūtika, ādāra, aruṇadūrvā, haritakuśa als gegenseitige Substitute. Wir sehen also, daß gewisse Pflanzen, wie das (vielleicht in anderen Namen von Soma-Substituten wiederkehrende) Arjuna- und ferner das Pūtika-Kraut als Ersatz für die heilige Pflanze die weiteste Verbreitung genossen, während der Wert anderer Stellvertretungen bezweifelt oder wenigstens verschieden hoch angeschlagen wurde; daß ferner sämtliche Stellvertreter den mit Büscheln (Rispen) versehenen Gras-Arten oder doch kleineren Gewächsen mit saftigen Stengeln angehörten; daß die meisten Stellvertreter auf Bergen wuchsen; ihre Blütendolden verschiedene Farben trugen, von denen bald der braunen, bald der rötlichen oder weißen Varietät, wahrscheinlich aber

(vgl. Ath. Prāy. Anm. 1016 und Anm. 1019 miteinander) ursprünglich der *braunen* Farbe der Vorzug gegeben wurde; und endlich, daß jedes saftige Gewächs im Notfall als Soma gelten durfte. So nennt Komm. zu Āp. Śr. S. 14. 24. 12 f. als solche Stellvertreter: yāḥ kāś cau 'śadhiḥ kṣīriṇī aruṇa-dūrvāḥ kuśān vā haritān iti vājasaneyakam apy antato vṛhi-yavān, läßt also alle Gewächse mit Milchsaft gelten und hebt unter ihnen das rötliche Fennichgras und die gelblich blühenden kuśa-Gräser hervor, nennt ferner als letzte Substitute Reis und Gerste und greift damit offenbar auf Śat. Brāhm. 4. 5. 10. 5 folg. zurück. Śāṅkh. Śr. S. 13. 6. 3 nennt die *kuśa-Halme* in diesem Zusammenhange, Brahm. Prāy. in Ath. Prāy. Anm. 1019 aber beliebige Waldkräuter, das darbha-Gras an der Spitze.

So wenig als die Opfersubstanz war das sie zum Himmel tragende, auf rituellem Wege durch Reibung zweier Hölzer aneinander zu entzündende Feuer überall zur Stelle; deshalb muß bisweilen ein *profaner* Agni den aus seinem Versteck nicht hervortretenden *himmlischen* Opfervermittler ersetzen. Es war gleichgiltig, woher man ihn nahm (Ath. Prāy. 5. 2). In *dessen* Ermangelung sollte man in die rechte Hand eines Brahmanen; wenn auch diese Eventualität nicht gegeben war, in das rechte Ohr einer Ziege opfern. (Manche Texte, wie z. B. Taitt. Brāhm. 3. 7. 3. 1 ff., nennen die Ziege zuerst; so auch Āp. Śr. S. 9. 3. 7 ff.) Als letzte Stellvertreter sind endlich noch Grasbüschel, Wasser, Gold angegeben. Offenbar kamen diese Bestimmungen namentlich dem auf der Reise, resp. auf der Flucht vor dem Feinde oder gar im Sterben befindlichen Brahmanen entgegen, der das unumgänglich notwendige Opfer in irgendeiner, den Umständen angepaßten Form darzubringen gedachte. Die Verwendung der Substitute des heiligen Feuers hatte deren Ausschaltung für den profanen Gebrauch zur Folge. Dies galt für die älteste Zeit zweifellos bei *allen* Stellvertretern, also auch dem Brahmanen. Unsere Texte freilich nehmen den letzteren aus, wenn sie, wie Ath. Prāy. 5. 2. oder Kāty. Śr. S. 25. 4. 9–10, seine *Verachtung verbieten*. Daß die hier in Frage kommende Wendung *na paricakṣīta* tatsächlich so gedeutet werden muß, lehrt nicht nur die Überlieferung, sondern auch indirekt Taitt. Brāhm. 3. 7. 3. 3 mit seinem Verbot, den Brahmanen, der als Stellvertreter des Opferfeuers gegolten hat, *von seiner Wohnung fern zu halten*: vasatyai nā 'parun-

dhyāt; Komm.: tad-dhaste hutavān puruṣaḥ svagrhe nivāsā-
 'rtham āgataṁ brāhmaṇaṁ *na pariharet* | tad-parihāre svakiyaṁ
 agniṁ bhāgarahitaṁ kuryāt |. Aber eben die Tatsache, daß
 das dem Brahmanen gegenüber doppelt selbstverständliche
 Verbot der Verachtung seiner Person und der Mißachtung
 des geheiligten Gastrechts hier besonders betont wird, läßt
 den Schluß zu, daß *in ältester Zeit* der Verkehr mit ihm und
 seine Aufnahme als Gastfreund unter den obwaltenden Vor-
 bedingungen verboten war. Als Stellvertreter des Sühneopfer-
 feuers war er eben verfehmt. Dies ist nach den Apastamba-Be-
 stimmungen, die der Komm. zu Taitt. Brāhm. 3. 7. 3. 6¹ zitiert, den
 Vorschriften des Ālekhaṇa zufolge *lebenslang*, nach *Āsmarathya*
 nur *ein Jahr* hindurch der Fall. Da die Ath. Prāy. nur die
 letztgenannte Autorität zitieren, dürften sie auf dem *weniger*
rigorosen Standpunkt stehen, entsprechend dem Grundsatz:
 „das Jahr ist der Sühnezeitpunkt für alles“ (Tāṇḍya 9. 8. 13);
 dürften also das über sämtliche Substitute des Opferfeuers
 verhängte Tabu nach Ablauf eines Jahres als aufgehoben be-
 trachten. Dann könnte man dem Brahmanen wieder begegnen
 resp. ihn besuchen; von der Ziege die Milch genießen; auf den
 benutzten Gras- (darbha- oder kuśa- [s. Ath. Prāy. Anm. 804])
 Büscheln wieder sitzen; die Füße mit dem betreffenden Wasser
 waschen;² das sakrosankte Goldplättchen wieder tragen. —
 Man fragt sich nun, warum gerade diese Dinge das Opfer-
 feuer vertreten können. Darüber unterrichtet uns beispiels-
 weise der Komm. zu Taitt. Brāhm. a. a. O.: *die Ziege* (kann
 es sein), denn sie gehört zu Agni (ist feuerhaltig: āgneyī).
 Agni und die (weibliche) Ziege kamen nämlich bei der Schöp-
 fung zu gleicher Zeit aus Prajāpatis Munde. Deshalb sind
 sie miteinander verwandt; — *der Brahmane*, denn er ist Agni
 vaiśvānaraḥ (diese Idee, nach der gerade der Priester das
 lebendige Feuer sei, resp. dies in seinem Leibe tragen und
 durch den Mund ausströmen lassen könne, ist die Grundlage

¹ Lies jedoch daselbst (Ausg. der Bibl. Ind. B. 3 S. 448 Z. 10): ty āhā
 'śmarathyo.

² Hier ist die Lesart der Ath. Prāy. zweifellos besser als die von
 Taitt. Brāhm. 3. 7. 3. 5, welches an entsprechender Stelle liest: āpas tu
 na paricakṣīta, also: er soll die Wasser nicht verachten. Die Begründung
 des Komm. l. c. lehrt, daß es sich nicht um einen jüngeren Textfehler
 handeln kann. Zur Verachtung der Wasser lag selbstverständlich ebenso-
 wenig Grund vor, als zu der des Brahmanen.

des bekannten, viel erörterten Mythus Śat. Brāhm. 1. 4. 1. 10 ff.); — die *Grasbüschel*, denn sie sind feuerhaltig; — *Wasser*, denn, seit Agni (als Blitzfeuer) sich in die (Wolken-)Wasser flüchtete, traten damit alle Götter in dasselbe ein; alle Götter sind nämlich in Agni verborgen; — endlich das *Gold*, wahrscheinlich weil es als der männliche Same des Gottes, der es schmilzt und alsdann ausscheidet, angesehen wurde. Zweifellos sind in diesen Erklärungen Dichtung und Wahrheit miteinander vermengt. Was den Brahmanen anlangt, so ist es sicher, daß die *Opferung in seine rechte Hand eine Schenkung* bedeutet. Wir wissen (s. oben S. 241 Anm. 1), daß der Priester das Schlimmste vertragen konnte und daß die *Entäußerung* eines Gegenstandes zu seinen Gunsten als mit der *Vernichtung* des betreffenden Objekts identisch angesehen wurde. — Die Ziege hatte wohl tatsächlich zu den Feuergottheiten in mythologischer Beziehung gestanden. Daß man ihr *rechtes Ohr* dazu mißbrauchte, die Stätte einer solchen Spende zu werden, wird dadurch verständlich, daß dessen Inneres ziemlich geräumig und aufnahmefähig ist. — Die *darbha-* oder *kusa-*Gräser wurden, weil man sie beim Opfer verwandte, als heilig verehrt; auch haben die zur Opferstreu benutzten Halme manche Libation eines ungeschickten Priesters aufgetrunken. Das *Wasser* entführte alles Unreine oder Verfehlmte, also auch die Sühnopferspeise. — Wenig interessant sind die z. B. vom Komm. zu Taitt. Brāhm. a. a. O. gegebenen *Begründungen* der Tabu-Bestimmungen. Wenn jener Kommentar beispielsweise davon spricht, man solle den Brahmanen, der bei dem Opfervollzieher wohnen will, nicht daran verhindern (*pariharet*), so ist die Begründung dafür sachlich wie formal unmöglich: wenn man dies täte [und dadurch — so ist doch wohl zu ergänzen — den obdachsuchenden Brahmanen um sein Gastgeschenk brächte], so würde man den Agni [der seine Stelle vertritt] der Spende berauben. — Die *Wasser* solle man nicht verschmähen, sonst würde man die Spende verschmähen, die in den Wassern ist. Auf die heiligen Gräser solle man sich nicht setzen; denn dann setzte man sich auf die Opferspende selbst usw. — Der in den rituellen Schriften vorherrschende, für die Opferpraxis so außerordentlich wichtige Gedanke der *Möglichkeit einer Stellvertretung* ist also von den jüngeren Exegeten nicht mehr richtig gewürdigt worden. Eine wie ungeheure religionsgeschichtliche Bedeutung er hat — diese

Idee des Austausches gegen *Gleiches*,¹ allmählich gegen *Geringwertigeres*, ist die Grundlage der im christlichen Dogma seinen Höhepunkt findenden Sühnopfertheorie — darauf sei nur andeutend hingewiesen.

Seltsam mutet es uns an, daß unsere Texte so häufig von der Stellvertretung des Soma, aber kaum von der anderer Flüssigkeiten, wie namentlich der Milch, oder auch von der Substitution eines Tieres durch ein anderes reden. Die Milch war und ist in manchen Monaten des indischen Jahres sehr knapp vorhanden. Man behelf sich dann zweifellos mit Verdünnungen derselben durch Wasser oder wandte geschmolzene Opferbutter nach dem Grundsatz: „Schmelzbutter und Milch vertreten sich gegenseitig“ (Ath. Prāy. Anm. 6) an. Da übrigens eigentliche *Butter* in solchen teuren Zeiten um so schwerer zu haben war, benannte man ähnliche, wahrscheinlich vor allem *brennbare*, Substanzen mit deren Namen (s. Peterb. Wb. u. ājya 2). Anders stand es um den Ersatz der *einzelnen Opfertiere* durcheinander. Daß man bei jenen glanzvollen, sakrifikalen Handlungen, zu denen etwa das Roßopfer gehörte, das zur Weihe allein berechnigte Tier jemals durch ein anderes ersetzt hätte, ist wohl kaum anzunehmen. Im Gegenteil hören wir wiederholt davon, daß man so lange in der Tierwelt suchte, bis man das mit allen vorgeschriebenen Merkmalen versehene Roß endlich fand. Auch sagen uns die Texte, daß bei dessen Verluste das Äußerste aufgeboten wurde, das bereits geweihte Tier wiederzuerlangen. Wenn darum das Opferroß über die Landesgrenze lief, so setzten ihm zahlreiche (100 oder 400) Reiter nach. Das kam einer Invasion gleich und war für den jungen Fürsten, der bald nach der Thronbesteigung dieses Opfer darbringen wollte, sicherlich ein sehnlichst gewünschter Kriegsgrund. — Ganz anders verhielt es sich um die bescheidenen Darbringungen einzelner. Daß man zwar ein Schaf statt eines Ziegenbockes opfern konnte, diese Handlung aber in *der Weise* vornehmen sollte, daß immer das theoretisch vorhandene, weil *vorgeschriebene* Tier, dem praktisch dar-

¹ Śāṅkh. Śr. S. 3. 20. 9—10 . . . yat sāmānyatamaṃ manyeta tat pratīnidadhyāt; eṣa pratīnidhīnāṃ dharmāḥ | allerdings kann es sich hier nur um „begrifflich“ oder etymologisch (-aja von aj, daher *agni-*) Nächstliegendes handeln, denn ein Brahmane sieht dem Opferfeuer, ein Schaf dem Ziegenbock kaum sehr ähnlich.

gebrachten, des ersteren *Stelle vertretenden* gegenüber, als geopfert gelten soll, lehrt z. B. Śāṅkh. Śr. S. 3. 20. 11.

Von allen Substitutionen waren die der Opfermasse sicherlich die häufigsten. Wenn aber Āśv. Prāy. 1b lehren: mukhyā-bhāve pratinidher upādānam | yathā dravya-deśa-kāladakṣiṇa-rtvik-patnīpramukhānām mukhyānām abhāve bāudhāyanā-"dy-uktā[n] yatho-'cita-pratinidhīn ādāya karma kāryam ||, so ist unter dravya jeder konkrete Opferbestandteil zu verstehen. Die meisten unter ihnen, wie z. B. die Reibhölzer, die Opferstreu, die Umzäunung, konnten leicht durch gleichwertige ersetzt werden. Schwerer gelang dies bei den Preßsteinen, die den Somatrank aus den Stengeln gewinnen, in die Kufe laufen ließen. Waren sie zerplatzt, so behalf man sich im Notfall mit einem Stock aus palāśa-Holz u. a. m. — Die Substitution von *Menschen* erwies sich als notwendig, wenn beispielsweise ein Priester erkrankte,¹ wenn die Gattin zeitweilig unrein war, wenn der Hausherr dahinsiechte oder starb. Im letzteren Falle mußte er durch seinen Sohn, Bruder oder sonstigen Verwandten ersetzt werden (Ath. Prāy. 3. 9; 6. 7; cf. Śat. Brāhm. 12. 5. 2. 15: athai 'tām āhutiṃ juhōti putro vā bhrātā vā yo vā 'nyo brāhmaṇaḥ syāt). Die Stellvertretung von *Gegenden* wurde vorgenommen, wenn Fälle eben dieser Art sich ereigneten. Sobald es dem rituell lebenden Inder nicht möglich war, die heimische Opferstätte zu erreichen, trat an deren Platz irgendein beliebiger Ort (yatrai 'vā 'smā āśasanam joṣitam syāt: Śat. Brāhm. 12. 5. 2. 1); ebenso bei Krieg und Revolution (vgl. Komm. zu Ap. Śr. S. 14. 32. 5). War unter solchen Umständen selbst eine *Verlegung* der Opferstätte ausgeschlossen und eine korrekte Opfervollziehung unmöglich geworden, so griff zugleich ein abgekürztes Verfahren platz: ohne neues Opfermaterial herbeizuschaffen, warf man, wo immer man sich befand, das gerade Vorhandene, mochte es aus Tieren oder flüssigen Substanzen bestehen, in die große hölzerne Soma-Kufe und brachte dar, was man gerade besaß. Nach einigen Autoritäten soll man in jedem Falle wenigstens den *Soma* heimlich ausreißen [falls dies zuvor nicht geschehen ist]; denn er ist die Hauptsache beim Opfer.

¹ Āśv. Prāy. 17b: catvāra rtvijāḥ | yat-samkhyayā rtvig-abhāvas tat-samkhyayā vyāhṛti-homaḥ | ājyabhāgā-'nantaram kāryaḥ. |

In solchen Vorschriften sehen wir bereits die Stellvertretung eines richtig dargebrachten Opfers durch ein kleineres. Daran knüpft sich jener Prozeß an, der allmählich zu den „Blitzopfern“ und den *nur in Gedanken* dargebrachten rituellen Handlungen führte. Eine Mittelstufe repräsentierte die Darbringung der Somaopfer als ekāha, d. h.: als eintägiger Zeremonien. Dieser Ausweg wurde gewählt, wenn man meinte, daß der Darbringer infolge von Krankheit oder Altersschwäche voraussichtlich nur noch 24 Stunden lang leben könnte (Ath. Prāy. 3. 9). — Es war also für alle Fälle Vorsorge getroffen. Das scheinbar so starre Ritual paßte sich den praktischen Bedürfnissen mit wunderbarer Geschmeidigkeit an.

Diese Tatsache wird nur durch den Charakter der Opferpriester verständlich. Schwerlich sind Volk und Priesterschaft in irgend einem Lande so völlig an Leib und Seele miteinander eins gewesen als in Indien; kaum irgendwo anders verstanden es die Priester in ähnlichem Maße, die Volksseele zu erfassen, ihren Bestrebungen und Instinkten Ausdruck zu geben.

Dies gilt in ganz besonderem Grade von dem Brahman-Priester. Obgleich er bei der Vollziehung des Opfers keineswegs unbeteiligt war (s. Ait. Brāhm. 5. 34. 5 und W. Calands Bemerkungen in dem Aufsatz „Über das Vaitānasūtra und die Stellung des Brahman“, WZKM. 14, S. 122) und fast jede Handlung des ganzen Opfers mit anumantṛaṇa zu begleiten hatte, war seine Hauptfunktion bei letzterem eine überwachende. Er griff in dasselbe ein, wenn irgendeine Unregelmäßigkeit sich ereignet hatte, mußte also die Atharvaprāyaścittāni, die „Sühnezeremonien der Atharvanpriester“ (wobei wir weit davon entfernt sind, seinen Katechismus mit dem korrupten Fragment, welches wir geben, irgendwie zu identifizieren) aufs genaueste gekannt und verstanden haben. Infolgedessen war er der selbstverständliche und berufene Omina-Interpret, der gelehrte Kenner der drei Veden, also der gesamten Opferwissenschaft überhaupt, wie namentlich im speziellen des Ineinandergreifens der Rollen der einzelnen Priester und der korrekten Abwicklung des komplizierten Vollzuges der einzelnen Zeremonien. Er mußte wissen, was zum Erfolge des Opfers *wesentlich*, was *unwichtig* war und auf dessen Endziel sein Augenmerk richten (s. Kāty. Śr. S. 25. 14. 36: yad eva trayyai vidyāyai śukraṃ tena brahmatvaṃ; ibid. 38: vedatrayavihita - karmasamyogo brahmaṇa eva). Sein spezieller Kanon, der Atharvaveda, gilt

ihm als die Quintessenz aller Veden: siehe die interessante Stelle Ath. Prāy. 3. 4; cf. *ibid.* 4. 1, wonach dem R̥gveda die erste Silbe der Vyāhrti-Formel [bhūh], dem Yajurveda die zweite [bhuvah], dem Sāmaveda die dritte [svah] gilt, der Atharvaveda aber überall in sein Recht tritt, wo es sich um nicht kodifizierte Omina handelt und infolgedessen *sämtliche drei Silben* gesprochen werden müssen. Besonders interessant ist es, daß in 4. 1 die Mss. AD (s. Anm. 639) diesen Passus, der späteren Schreibern offenbar unsympathisch war, auslassen, daß aber Śāṅkh. Śr. S. 3. 21. 6 des Atharvaveda in diesem Zusammenhang gar nicht gedenkt, wenngleich es, unseren Stellen analog, die Formel bhūr bhuvah svah svāhā bei unbekannten Ritualfehlern gesprochen werden läßt. Ebenso sagt Āp. Śr. S. 14. 32. 7: yadi sāmataḥ [yajñam bhreṣa āgacchet] sarvā [vyāhrtir] juhuyāt. Es ist möglich, daß die Atharvan-Texte aus diesem „yadi sāmataḥ“ erst ein yady atharvataḥ korrumpiert haben; die beherrschende Stellung des Atharvaveda als der Summe aller übrigen wird dadurch nicht angetastet. War doch der Brahman-Priester selbst in der Regel oder der Vorschrift nach ein Mitglied der Atharvan-Geschlechter (s. *Traumschlüssel*, S. 23 Anm. 1), ein mythischer Sproß des ersten der Ärzte. Dementsprechend wurde seine Aufgabe als *medizinische* aufgefaßt (vgl. hierzu W. Caland und V. Henry, *Agniṣṭoma*, vol. I, Préf. p. XI; Kāty. Śr. S. 25. 14. 36: brahmā viliṣṭam saṃdadhātī 'ti śruteḥ. Der Komm. zu Śāṅkh. Śr. S. 3. 21. 1 verweist auf Kauṣ. brāhm. 6. 12: yad vai yajñasya skhalitaṃ vo 'lbaṇam vā bhavati brahmaṇa eva tat prāhus | tat sa trayyā vidyayā bhiṣajyati 'ti; — übrigens betont der wichtige Komm. l. c., daß der Anspruch des brahman, als Arzt des Opfers zu gelten, keineswegs unbestritten ist); d. h.: er hatte „einzurenken“, was bei dem „Opferleibe“ (der Opferplatz stellte oftmals geometrisch den Leib eines Menschen oder Tieres dar) „verrenkt“ war,¹ kurzum: er vollzog die Sühnehandlungen (cf. Kāty. 25. 1. 6; Āśv. Prāy. 1b: brahmavatsu karmasv iṣṭi-varjitāni prāyaścittāni brahmā kuryāt | itarāṇy adhvaryv-ādayaḥ kuryur ity utsargaḥ; vgl. Ath. Pariś. 2. 2. 4).

¹ Vgl. Brahman. Prāy. (Einl.) Bl. 1: yathā puruṣasyo 'tṛpanna-rasasyā 'yurvedo doṣapratikārā (!) (ya) evaṃ yajña-puruṣasyā 'pi prāyaścittāny āyurveda-sthānīyāni doṣān śamayanti | yathā puruṣasya vāta-pitta-śleṣma-doṣasya nimittā upadravā āyurvedo-'padiṣṭābhiḥ pratikriyābhiḥ | pratisamādhīyante | evaṃ vidhy-aparādhe (l. so statt: 'parāpane) doṣaḥ pratipadyate.

Daß Vereinfachungen der Sühnezeremonien vorkamen, erwähnten wir bereits. Der sarvaprāyaścitta-Ritus, später zu einem bloßen Butterguß in den Āhavanīya herabgesunken, dürfte in ältester Zeit ein Ausdruck des Versuches gewesen sein, durch ein einfaches Mittel die komplizierten und vielartigen Sühnehandlungen zu ersetzen. Die äußerst korruptierte, zweimal mit geringer Variation wiederholte Stelle Ath. Prāy. 3. 8: „was immer an Ritualfehlern begangen wird, dafür ist *dies* der völlige Ausgleich, die völlige Sühne“, hat wahrscheinlich ursprünglich zu dem vorerwähnten Passus 3. 4 = 4. 1 gehört, welcher von der Pflicht redet, demjenigen der heiligen Feuer eine Spende zu bringen, das zu *jenem* der vier Veden gehört, bei dessen Verwendung im Ritual gerade ein Mißgriff untergelaufen ist. Ich möchte also Ath. Prāy. 3. 4 zwischen die Worte: ity āhavanīya eva juhuyāt und: atha dai-vatāni die Stelle 3. 8: yat kiṃ cā' vidhivihitam bis śrutir bhavati einschieben. Wenn dies richtig ist, so würde damit die vyāhrti-Formel als das Universalmittel gegen alle Mißgriffe bei der Rezitation von Vedastellen hervorgehoben werden. Stellen wie Kāty. Śr. S. 25. 1. 14 machen es wahrscheinlich, daß die vyāhrti-Formel und die sarvaprāyaścitta-Handlung miteinander kombiniert werden konnten.

Mit alledem war in religiös-sittlicher Hinsicht nichts geleistet. Der engherzige Glaube, daß die Priester das Opfer als Zauberinstrument in Bewegung setzen und in Gang halten mußten, um jeden beliebigen praktischen Erfolg zu erreichen, daß also bloße Manipulationen als „Gegenhandlungen“ bei Ritualfehlern, die ebenfalls rein äußerlich aufgefaßt wurden, genügen konnten, verhinderte jede tiefere Einsicht in das Wesen der Sühne im religiösen Vollzuge. Auf diesem Wege war ein Fortschritt überhaupt nicht zu erreichen. Wenn es dem indischen Volkstum oder doch gewissen Gruppen desselben gleichwohl gelang, einen solchen anzubahnen, so ist dies nur verständlich, wenn man als Vorbedingung den Glauben an eine *persönliche* Gottheit annimmt. Mit der Ausgestaltung der *irdischen* Herrscherwürde reift die Idee der *göttlichen* Machtvollkommenheit heran. Wie der König bestimmt ist, zu richten und zu strafen, wie ihm kein Unlauterer nahen darf, so wird auch die Gottheit richtend und strafend dargestellt. Sie ist heilig; nur Heilige dürfen ihr nahen. Selbst das Gewand des Priesters muß lauter und rein, sein Körper frei von Gebrechen, sein

Lebenswandel ohne Tadel sein (s. Traumschlüssel S. 23f.). Je mehr das Gewohnheitsrecht sich festigte und gewisse *Verbote*, später sogar *Normen* schuf, die für den Staatsbürger maßgebend wurden, um so höher gestalteten sich auch die Anforderungen, deren Erfüllung zu Vorbedingungen für den Zutritt zu dem *himmlischen* Könige wurden. Zweifellos haben die in Indien mehr als irgendwo anders hervortretenden Sekten das ihrige getan, um, weit über das Durchschnittsniveau der Volksmoral hinaus, an den ihnen zugehörigen Gläubigen *positive Ansprüche* zu stellen, anstatt sich mit der Innehaltung einzelner Gelübde, wie z. B. dem „Nicht-Töten“, „Nicht-Lügen“, „Nicht-Unkeusch-leben“, zu begnügen. Solche Sekten müssen es gewesen sein, welche die Gottesvorstellung *räumlich* und *zeitlich* ausdehnten, sie über den *Platz* des Opfers und den *Zeitraum* von dessen Vollziehung hinaus verallgemeinerten. Die Einzelheiten dieses wichtigen Prozesses zu verfolgen, ist uns noch nicht gegeben. Doch dürfen wir die Statuierung heiliger Stätten (Badeplätze, Bäume usw.) und heiliger Festtage als Übergangsmomente desselben hinstellen.

War der Zusammenschluß von einzelnen, in religiöser Hinsicht besonders fein veranlagten Individuen einmal erreicht, und eine Steigerung, Komplizierung und Differenzierung des sozialen Instinkts, der später als „*Gewissen*“ eine metaphysische Ausdeutung bekam,¹ dadurch gewährleistet, so mußte notwendig auch der Begriff der Sühne eine völlige Veränderung erfahren. Die Frage, ob das Opfer des einzelnen — es war und blieb sehr lange das Hauptbindemittel zwischen Gott und Menschen — der verehrten Gottheit genehm war, konnte nicht mehr von der Korrektheit der Veranstaltung desselben abhängig gemacht werden; die *sittliche Qualität* des Opferers entschied dabei. Demgemäß wurde das bei der heiligen Handlung sich zeigende *Omen* zum Zeugnis der Gottheit dafür, daß sie einen Sünder in der Nähe wisse und diesen warnen, resp. strafen wolle; mit anderen Worten: das Wahrzeichen gab dem religiös beunruhigten Gewissen den sichtbaren Ausdruck. Wenn deshalb z. B. in dem Mythos von dem Ikṣvāku-Könige Try-

¹ Das „*Herz*“, das im altägyptischen Totengericht als Ankläger gegen den Verstorbenen auftritt, ist mit „*Gewissen*“ identisch. Das enorme Alter der ägyptischen Kultur im Verein mit der extrem monarchischen Verfassung des Landes und dem ungewöhnlichen Konservativismus von dessen sozialen Zuständen machen diese Erscheinung verständlich.

aruṇa Traivṛṣṇa (JAOS. 18. 21f.; s. Örtel, St. z. vgl. Litt. G. 8. 114) der Mus, den die Ikṣvākus des *Abends* aufsetzten, erst am *Morgen*, und den sie des *Morgens* aufsetzten, erst am *Abend* gekocht war, so führten sie dies Omen auf das Vergehen der Verunehrung eines Brahmanen zurück. Es liegt hier die vertiefte Auffassung eines kodifizierten Sühnefalles vor, ähnlich demjenigen, den Ath. Prāy. 1. 2 geben, wenn sie fragen: „wenn die Sonne in der Frühe aufgeht, ohne daß das abendliche Agnihotra-Opfer dargebracht wäre, was ist dafür die Sühne?“, und: „wenn des Abends die Sonne untergeht, ohne daß das morgendliche Agnihotra-Opfer dargebracht wäre, was ist dafür die Sühne?“ Unerheblich ist es für diese Fälle, ob etwa menschliche Fahrlässigkeit oder die mangelnde Mitwirkung des Feuergotts den Erfolg der Verspätung des Opfervollzugs veranlaßt haben. Die Tatsache als solche bedarf des religiösen Ausgleichs, den sie in *ältester Zeit*, welche eine unpersönlich gedachte Schicksalsmacht als blind waltend verehrte, durch korrekte Wiederholung der verunglückten Zeremonie, in *jüngerer Zeit* aber nur dadurch finden konnte, daß man den im Omen sich kundgebenden *Zorn der Gottheit* durch Handlungen besänftigte, die ein begangenes Unrecht, wie z. B. die Verunehrung eines Brahmanen, wieder gut machten. In jenem „Forschen nach der Sünde“, das dieser „Restitutio in integrum“ in höherem Sinne notwendig vorausgehen mußte, liegt offenbar ein religiöses Moment von großer Bedeutung. Die letzten Etappen dieses weiten Weges werden endlich durch die Forderungen der *Reue*, welche alle Bußzeremonien überflüssig macht, und der *Versenkung in das Wesen der Gottheit*, z. B. des Viṣṇu (Viṣṇudhyāna, häufiger Viṣṇusmaraṇa), gekennzeichnet. Noch wertvoller als sie ist die *Selbsterlösung durch sittliches Handeln*. Eine schöne Stelle des (hier allerdings vielleicht buddhistisch beeinflussten) Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa sagt darüber (vgl. Adbhuta-sāgara S. 268): „Des *Zürnens* soll sich *enthalten* gegen alle Wesen, vielmehr soll *Liebe üben* der Weise. Er vermeide unwahre Rede und nicht minder Verleumdungen. Dem Gestirndienst möge obliegen bei allen Heimsuchungen der Volksgenosse. Dann gehen die Schrecknisse restlos zur Ruhe.“ — Wie hier der Gestirndienst als kultische Verrichtung neben dem ethischen Postulat, so bleiben, anderen Vorschriften zufolge, einfache Sühnehandlungen speziellster Art neben der Forderung der Versenkung in das Wesen des all-Einen Gottes

noch bestehen (vgl. Anm. 126; 642); bisweilen werden jene beiden Momente nebeneinander genannt, so z. B. Agnipur. 174. 8: „in welchem Manne, der Sünde getan, Reue aufkeimt, dessen einzige und höchste Sühne ist die Versenkung in das Wesen des Hari (Viṣṇu)“. Dieses intuitive Sich-Vereinigen mit der Gottheit überhebt den Gläubigen selbst der Notwendigkeit des Gebets, das im übrigen zweifellos um so mehr hervortreten muß, je weiter durch die Ausgestaltung der Gottheit zur *Persönlichkeit* der nackte Ritualismus zurücktritt. Von derartigen Gebeten sei zum Schlusse eine Probe gegeben, die leicht dadurch mißdeutet werden könnte, daß man sie der Sprache des modernchristlichen Gebetes näherte. Bei aufmerksamer Beobachtung empfindet man gar bald, daß der Sprecher dieses Gebets ein echter Inder und Viṣṇu-Anbeter ist, und daß er mit einer in der Form und im Gehalt sich gleich deutlich hervorwagenden Ängstlichkeit alles ergreift und aufzählt, was von Eventualitäten an Sündenhandlungen kanonisiert war und seinem Gedächtnis infolgedessen irgendwie erreichbar erscheint. — Agnipur. 172 Vers 6 ff. lauten (wobei wir darauf aufmerksam machen, daß die Übersetzung angesichts der großen Unsicherheit und Korruptheit des Textes in vielen Einzelheiten anfechtbar ist):

6. Er, der [im Wachen] erschaut, hinwegnimmt, was böse ist, im Traume aber erschaut, der Phantasie [das Böse entführt], — vor ihm [stehe ich] verneigt, vor Viṣṇu, dem Upendra, dem Hari, dem Haar-Schopf-Ergreifer¹ des Leidens (des Bösen).

7. Vor Viṣṇu, dem Höchsten über dem Höchsten, verneige ich mich, der seine [hilfreiche] Hand mir von oben entgegenstreckt, wenn hier die ganze dreigestaltige Welt versunken ist tief in der Finsternis.

12. Wenn ich am Vormittag, am Nachmittag, wenn um Mittag oder in der Nacht mit dem Körper, dem Geiste, dem Worte (d. h. mit Worten, Werken oder Gedanken) Böses getan habe, [selbst] ohne mein Wissen,

13. Wenn ich beim Essen, beim Schlafen, [oder] Gehen, beim Wachen, [oder] beim Stehen, heute Sünde begangen habe mit Werken, Gedanken oder Worten,

16. Mag sie klein oder groß sein, mag sie zu einer schlechteren Existenz oder in die Hölle führen — so möge dies alles zur Ruhe kommen (d. h.: Sühne finden) infolge der Nennung des Vāsudeva.

¹ Versuch der Nachahmung eines Wortspiels.

TEXTKRITISCHES.

Der erste Blick auf unseren Text lehrt, daß trotz der außerordentlich großen Anzahl feststellbarer handschriftlicher Varianten an die Rekonstruktion des Archetypus in keiner Weise gedacht werden darf. Was uns als „*Brahmaprāyaścittāni*“ überliefert wurde, ist vielmehr ein in einer der Abfassungszeit aller erreichbaren Manuskripte weit vorausliegenden Periode stark korrumpiertes Fragment, dessen offenerherzige Äußerung: „*arthaloṇā nivr̥tṭiḥ*“ (6. 8) („hier schließen wir, weil der Sinn verloren gegangen ist“) uns den Fingerzeig dafür gibt, daß frühe, tiefgehende Korruptelen den Verlust ganzer Textpartien, die unheilbare Wortentstellung vieler einzelnen Stellen zur Folge gehabt haben. Der Schluß des eigentlichen Textes, die Worte 6. 9: *sarvatra chedana-bhedanā-* usw. machen einen kompendiösen Eindruck und legen den Verdacht nahe, als ob dem Schreiber des Archetypus darum zu tun gewesen wäre, sich seine Arbeit durch Zusammenfassung vieler Einzelheiten zu erleichtern. Wie schwere Brüche sich in der Textfassung finden, lehrt zur Evidenz 4. 1, wo es durch Vergleichung mit einem Passus der *Brahm. Prāy.* (s. Anm. 604) gelungen ist, eine Anzahl von Silben, mit welchen ein gedankenloser Kopist den Verlust des Kapitelanfangs auszubessern gedachte, auszuschalten und dadurch den Sinn, nicht den Wortlaut einer interessanten Stelle zu retten. Daß eben diese *Brahm. Prāy.* für eine Rekonstruktion des Archetypus Unschätzbare leisten können, lehrt z. B. ihre Erhaltung der richtigen Lesart *ajam* statt des törichtigen *gajam* unseres Textes (s. 6. 7. Text zu Anm. 1105). Oft gewinnen wir den Eindruck, als ob verschiedene Rezensionen unseres Textes in der gegebenen Fassung desselben nebeneinander aufbewahrt worden wären. So behandeln 2. 7 und 5. 4 die gleiche Gruppe von Fällen. Die Textfassung der ersteren beider Stellen mit ihrem brāhmaṇa-artigen Frage- und Antwortspiel ist hier die unzweifelhaft ältere. Sie führt auf eine Zeit zurück, in welcher der Lehrer seines Schülers auf dem hochwichtigen Gebiete der Sühnehandlungen liegende Kenntnisse auf die Probe zu stellen pflegte, während die Sprache von 5. 4 sich bereits dem Sūtra-Stil nähert. Die in den Anmerkungen hervorgehobenen sachlichen Abweichungen beider Stellen voneinander führen in diesem Falle offenbar nicht nur auf die Verschieden-

heit der zugrunde liegenden Rezensionen, sondern auch auf Abschreiber-Flüchtigkeiten zurück. Als weitere Beispiele offener Kompilation und Interpolation erwähne ich 2. 6 Anfang: atha yasya yūpo virohed asamāpte karmaṇi . . . gegen 5. 6 Anfang: atha yasyā 'hargane 'visamāpte yūpo virohet . . .; ferner 2. 6: yat prayājeṣv ahuteṣu prāg aṅgāraḥ skandet gegen 4. 1: prāk prayājebhyo 'ṅgāraṃ barhiṣy adhiṣkandet; — 2. 9 Anfang: yasyo 'pākṛtaḥ paśuḥ prapatet . . . gegen 5. 5: upākṛtaś cet paśuḥ prapatet . . . Der mit prātaḥsavanāc cet kalaśo vidīryeta beginnende Passus von 6. 4 wiederholt sich in der überlieferten Fassung von 6. 6; beiden steht Taitt. Saṃh. 7. 5. 5. 2 nahe. Hier ist die Anm. 1055 gegebene Stelle der Brahm. Prāy. zur Textrekonstruktion von großem Wert; 6. 4 ist wohl nur ein korruptes Fragment davon.

Was die Beziehungen unseres Textes zu den parallelen Quellen angeht, so würdigen unsere Anmerkungen die nahe Verwandtschaft mit den *Brahmaprāyaścittāni* zur Genüge. Bezüglich unseres Ausgangspunktes für jede Vergleichung, der Atharvapariśiṣṭa, ist aber zu bemerken, daß angesichts des geringen Umfanges von Ath. Pariś. 37 ein endgiltiges Urteil über den Grad der Abhängigkeit beider Texte voneinander nicht zu erreichen ist; immerhin bleibt es bemerkenswert, daß eine ganze Anzahl von dort genannten Einzelheiten sich in unserem Texte nicht wiederfindet. So hat der interessante Fall Ath. Pariś. 37. 1. 1 (apahanyamāne musalaṃ patati; vgl. ibid. 37. 14. 1 . . . upayāmo hastāt patet; s. auch meinen *Traumschlüssel* S. 351) in den Ath. Prāy. kein Analogon. Daß das Gleiche ebensowenig bei der eher dem Grhya-Ritual zugehörigen Einzelheit Ath. Pariś. 37. 11. 1: yatrai 'tad vivāhā-'gnir upaśāmyati . . . der Fall ist, bleibt leichter verständlich. Natürlich fehlt es auch an *Übereinstimmungen* nicht. Hier sei der Ath. Prāy. 6. 2 Text zu Anm. 956: yady ukhā . . . bhidryeta = Ath. Pariś. 45. 2. 19 gedacht. Immerhin kann von irgendeinem näherliegenden *textgeschichtlichen* Zusammenhange zwischen beiden Quellen nicht die Rede sein. — Anders scheint es sich um das Verhältnis der Ath. Prāy. zu dem Āp. Śr. S. zu verhalten. Hier liegt bei manchen Einzelheiten eine fast *wörtliche* Übereinstimmung vor, die wir kaum dem Zufall zuschreiben können. Den Ath. Prāy. 5. 2: agnihotre ced anabhyuddhrte haviṣi vā 'nirupte śakuniḥ śyenaḥ śvā vā 'ntareṇa vyaveyāt . . . entspricht Āp. Śr. S. 9. 6. 11: yasyā 'gnihotre 'dhiśrite śvā 'ntarāgni dhāvet. Den Ath. Prāy.

4. 2 . . . ced āhuti-velāyām patny anā lambhukā syāt tām aparudhya yajeta | steht Āp. Śr. S. 9. 2. 1 gegenüber: yasya vratye 'han patny anā lambhukā syāt tām aparudhya yajeta; — den Ath. Prāy. 4. 3: . . . ced abhivarṣen mitro janān yātayati 'ti samidham ādhāyā 'nyā(m) dugdhvā punar juhuyāt | entspricht fast wörtlich Āp. Śr. S. 9. 2. 6: yasyā 'gnihotram avavarṣen mitro janān kalpayati prajānan . . . juhote 'ti tat kṛtvā 'nyām dugdhvā punar juhuyāt.

Was das Altersverhältnis unseres Textes zu den inhaltlich gleichartigen Passus der Brāhmaṇa- und Sūtra-Literatur anlangt, so ist in der Beurteilung desselben die größte Vorsicht geboten, da das Sühnewesen, wie beispielsweise das Ait. Brāhm. lehrt, bereits in alter Zeit sehr kompliziert entwickelt war, so daß wir eine Entstehungsgeschichte desselben nicht festlegen können, und dies zwar um so weniger, als das *Fehlen* von Einzelheiten nicht auf deren Unkenntnis von Seiten der Kompilatoren der Texte zurückgeführt zu werden braucht, und umgekehrt das Vorhandensein solcher Einzelheiten in jenen Texten vielleicht späteren Interpolationen zu danken wäre. Immerhin macht unser Text einen älteren Eindruck als beispielsweise das Āp. Śr. S. und das Śāṅkh. Śr. S., wobei wir zunächst der in manchen Partien an den Brāhmaṇa-Stil anklingenden Sprache der Ath. Prāy. Erwähnung tun, andererseits aber der in den genannten Sūtren ganz allgemein hervortretenden stärkeren *Kasuistik* gedenken, denen unsere Prāyaścittāni, selbst wenn wir mit großen Textverlusten rechnen, nichts gegenüberzustellen haben. Nur einer Einzelheit sei hier gedacht: Śāṅkh. Śr. S. 13. 3. 2—3 schreibt, ganz analog Ath. Prāy. 5. 5, vor, daß, wenn beim Opfer das avadāna zu Grunde gegangen wäre, man Schmelzbutter an dessen Stelle setzen solle; doch differenziert der erstere Text gegenüber dem letzteren seine Angaben dahin, daß man für den Ausnahmefall, *das Herz* des Opfertiers sei verloren gegangen, ein anderes Tier opfern soll.

Die Mantra-Fassungen lassen gesicherte Schlüsse auf das Alter des Textes ebensowenig zu. Sie entstammen bisweilen der Paippalāda-Rezension des Atharvaveda und waren in diesem Falle nicht immer zu verifizieren. Ein Stamm von ihnen hebt sich als alt und allen Schulen gemeinschaftlich hervor, so z. B. der die renitente Opferkuh zum Genuß von Heu einladende Spruch: sūyavasād bhagavatī hi bhūyāḥ; ferner die Mantras, welche ihr die Furcht vor Unheil austreiben

sollen usw. Andere Mantras ergehen sich in spielenden Wortwiederholungen und scheinen dadurch ein etwas jüngeres Alter zu verraten. Sie treten in offener literargeschichtlicher Abhängigkeit voneinander auf; so z. B.: vidyotata dyotata ā ca dyotata, oder: hutasya cā 'hutasya cā 'hutasya hutasya ca pitā-pitasya somasya indrāgnī pibatam sutam. In allen Fällen der erwähnten Arten entspricht der *Inhalt* der Mantras dem rituellen Vorgang. Dies ist aber bekanntlich keineswegs immer der Fall. Oft sind die begleitenden Sprüche weit hergeholt, oder übertragen die empirische Opferhandlung auf das kosmische Gebiet (vgl. oben S. 18 Anm. 2 den Vergleich von Mann und Weib mit Himmel und Erde). Für die Chronologie unseres Textes kann nur die Tatsache in Betracht kommen, daß manche Sprüche in der uns erhaltenen ältesten Literatur nicht auffindbar waren, also jüngeren Datums sein könnten. Beispielsweise findet sich das Zitat: ā 'ham yajñam dadhe . . . nach Bloomfield nur noch im AŚ.; Ap. Ś.; M. Ś. an je einer Stelle; andere Pratikas beschränken sich auf das Ap. Ś. oder das Kauś. S. Es ist allerdings wiederholt darauf hinzuweisen, daß das argumentum ex silentio hier unzuverlässiger ist als irgendwo anders. Einen weitaus gesicherteren Boden betreten wir, wenn wir zum Zwecke der Textkritik und Interpretation *das Parallelenmaterial* heranziehen. Natürlich kann es sich für uns auch hier nur um eine Vorarbeit handeln. Eine Erschöpfung des gesamten Materials geht weit über das hinaus, was man von den Prolegomena zu einer Erstausgabe erwarten darf.

Parallelen.

[Wir haben, da die Abschnitte der Atharvaprāyaścittāni bisweilen eine recht erhebliche Länge besitzen, welche das Auffinden des jedesmal erwähnten Passus in der Druckausgabe verzögern würde, durch die (stets an den Anfang der Zeilen gebrachten) Ziffern nicht nur auf den betreffenden Abschnitt, sondern auch auf die nächststehenden Indexnummern hingewiesen; es bezieht sich z. B. der Hinweis „4. 1. Text zu Anm. 608—609“ auf die S. 33 Z. 2—4 befindlichen Worte: „prātardoham ced apahareyuḥ sāyamdoham dvaidham kṛtvā.“]

Beispiele für wörtlichen Parallelismus.

3. 1—3. Den langen und schwierigen Passus haben wir geben müssen, wie die Mss. ihn boten. Die Lesarten anderer

Texte, wie z. B. des Kāth., scheinen uns in dubio fast überall den Vorzug zu verdienen. So liest Kāth. 34. 14 z. B. statt vidhānam dikṣāyām: dhātā dikṣāyām; — statt savitā samdhiyamāne 'ndho 'cheto: savitā bhrtyāmandho 'cchetah; — statt bhadro vicīyamānaḥ: rudro vicīyamānaḥ; — statt udgrhyamānāyām: udvrhyamānāyām; — statt avasādayati: āsannā (zweimal); — statt yamo 'bhihitah: yamo 'bhiṣutah; — Kāth. a. a. O. und Taitt. Saṃh. 4. 4. 9 lesen gemeinschaftlich, zweifellos mit dem Archetypus der Ath. Prāy., statt somakrayane: somakrayanyām |

3. 6 Text zu Anm. 510—512: cf. Śat. Brāhm. 12. 4. 1. 1: etad vai jarāmaryaṃ sattraṃ yad agnihotraṃ.
4. 1 Anm. 661: jato (?) tātaṃ tad apy agā des Zitats Brahm. Prāy. 34a ist wohl korruptiert aus: yato jātas tato 'py avām |
4. 3 Anm. 714: Nach Taitt. Brāhm. 3. 7. 3. 6 wird die Formel: „garbhaṃ sravantam agadam akaḥ“ im Falle des Überlaufens der Agnihotra-Milch (Komm. ergänzt: nach vorausgegangenem Platzen der sthālī) vorgeschrieben.
6. 3 Text zu Anm. 979: vgl. Āp. Śr. S. 14. 29. 1: yadi camasaṃ abhakṣitaṃ stotreṇā 'bhyupākuryāt . . . Komm.: yady abhakṣite camasa-gaṇa uttarasmai camasa-gaṇāya stotraṃ upākuryāt.
6. 3 Text zu Anm. 996 folg.: vgl. Āp. Śr. S. 14. 25. 7; Tāṇḍya 9. 9. 13: yadi grāvā 'piśiryate . . . dyutānasya mārutasya sāmṇā stuyuh; | Śāṅkh. Śr. S. 13. 12. 3: grāvṇi dirṇe vṛtrasya tvā śvasathād iṣamāṇā iti dyutānena mārutena brāhmaṇācchamsine stuvate; | Kāth. 35. 16: yasya grāvā 'piśiryate.
6. 4 Text zu Anm. 1010—12 = Tāṇḍya 9. 5. 1.
6. 4 Text zu Anm. 1016—18: yadi somaṃ na vindeyuh . . . arjunāni¹⁰¹⁸ wörtlich gleich Tāṇḍya 9. 5. 3.
6. 4 Text zu Anm. 1019—20 prātaḥsavanāc cet kalaśo vidīryeta . . . vgl. Tāṇḍya 9. 6. 1: yadi kalaśo dīryeta vaṣaṭkāra-nidhanam brahmasāma kuryāt; Āp. Śr. S. 14. 25. 10f.: yadi prātaḥsavane kalaśo dīryeta vaiṣṇaviṣu śipiviṣṭavatiṣv ity uktam (s. Ath. Prāy. 6. 6 Text zu Anm. 1051 ff.); athai 'keṣām: yadi prātaḥsavane kalaśo dīryeta vaṣaṭkāra-nidhanam brahmasāma kuryāt; Śāṅkh. Śr. S. 13. 12. 1: kalaśe dirṇe vidhum dadrāṇam iti vaṣaṭkāra-nidhanena brāhmaṇācchamsine stuvate; vgl. Tāṇḍya 9. 6. 9; Kāth. 34. 4, welches völlig mit den Ath. Prāy. identisch ist.

Beispiele für die Möglichkeit sachlicher Erklärungen durch Parallelstellen.

2. 4 Anm. 182 zu Aśv. Prāy. 3 b; vgl. Śat. Brāhm. 12. 4. 1. 12.
2. 5 Anm. 197: vgl. Kauś. S. 123: yatrai 'tad vapāṃ vā havīṃṣi vā vayāṃsi dvipada-catuṣpadaṃ vā 'bhimrśyā 'vagacche-yur ...
2. 5 Anm. 203: vgl. Śāṅkh. Śr. S. 13. 3. 5.
2. 6 Anm. 240: Kāṭh. 34. 2; Taitt. Brāhm. 1. 4. 7. 1.
2. 6 Anm. 262: vgl. Taitt. Brāhm. 3. 7. 2. 6; Kāṭh. 35. 18.
2. 7. — In sämtlichen aufgezählten Fällen der Vermischung zweier¹ oder mehrerer Opferfeuer miteinander ist stets die Frage nach deren *Reinheit* resp. *Unreinheit* das Unterscheidungsprinzip, wie dies z. B. der Komm. zu Taitt. Brāhm. 3. 7. 3. 7 deutlich ausspricht; vgl. dazu Śat. Brāhm. 12. 4. 4. 2 und ibid. 5: yasyā 'gnayo 'medhyair agnibhiḥ samsrjyeran ... agnaye śucaye 'ṣṭākāpālāṃ puroḍāśāṃ nirvāpet (dieser aṣṭākāpālāḥ puroḍāśaḥ wird als Sühneopfer überall in den Ath. Prāy. wie in den Paralleltexten festgehalten).
2. 7 Anm. 290: vgl. Śat. Brāhm. 12. 4. 4. 4: yasya vaidyuto dahet ... agnaye 'psumate 'ṣṭākāpālāṃ puroḍāśāṃ nirvāpet.
2. 8 Anm. 326: cf. Ath. Pariś. 22. 9. 1: yady araṇi jirṇe syātām ... Unter den naṣṭe araṇi unseres Textes sind also offenbar *abgenutzte* Reibhölzer zu verstehen.
2. 9 Anm. 350: vgl. Śat. Brāhm. 12. 4. 2. 5.
2. 9 Text zu Anm. 358: die Stelle klärt sich vielleicht wörtlich und sachlich, wenn man Śat. Brāhm. 12. 5. 2. 3: te ye tataḥ samtāpād agnayo jāyerams (tair enaṃ daheyus tathā "ha: tair eva dagdho bhavati na u pratyakṣam iva) als ursprünglichen Text annimmt. Allerdings kann ich den Text von Anm. 359 gleichwohl nicht rekonstruieren.
3. 4 Text zu Anm. 466: völlig zerstört, inhaltlich zweifellos identisch mit Āp. Śr. S. 14. 32. 7: yady ṛkto yajñam bhreṣa āgacched ... also: wenn infolge [der unzeitigen oder verworrenen Rezitation] der Rgvedaverse eine Verfehlung ins Opfer kommt.

¹ Hierbei ist festzustellen, daß, wo immer von zwei Opferfeuern die Rede ist, stets nur gārhapatya und āhavanīya gemeint sind: Āp. Śr. S. 14. 31. 2.

3. 5 Text zu Anm. 478–486; für mich völlig unverständlich; ich vermute aber in cittavyāpatyur eine Korruption von vyāpātād ity [aśmarathyah].
3. 5 Text zu Anm. 490 wohl zu lesen: upacāra-bhakṣa-prāyaścittiś ce 'ty | und zu übersetzen: wie sollen [wenn der *Opferherr* stirbt] die [Opfer-] Handlungen des Opferveranstalters ausgeführt werden, welche in Verehrung, Totenspeisung und Sühnezeremonien bestehen? [Antwort:] Der *Adhvaryu* soll statt seiner den Pflichten des Opferveranstalters genügen.
3. 8: Der ganze Abschnitt Śat. Brāhm. 12. 5. 1 handelt von dem Fall, daß der Agnihotrin auf der Reise stirbt. Die ibid. 16 erwogene Möglichkeit: „atha hai 'ke antareṇā 'gnīmś citiṃ citvā tam agnibhiḥ samupoṣanti“ scheint in dem Passus unseres Textes: madhye 'gnīmām edhāmś citvā ... wiederzukehren.
3. 8 Text zu Anm. 534: vr̥thāgni scheint vollständig grāmāgni in Śat. Brāhm. 12. 5. 1. 14 zu entsprechen: tam hai 'ke grāmāgninā dahanti.
3. 9 Anm. 561: vgl. dazu den inhaltlich völlig analogen Passus Śat. Brāhm. 12. 5. 2. 1: mariṣyantam ced yajamānam man-yeta . . .; danach scheint von der Stellvertretung des Opferherrn durch seine Verwandten schon in dem Falle, daß der erstere *tödlich erkrankt*, die Rede zu sein.
4. 1 Text zu Anm. 597–600: vgl. Taitt. Brāhm. 3. 7. 1. 4ff.: oṣadhīr vā etasya paśūn payah praviśati | yasya haviṣe vatsā apākṛtā dhayanti | 4 | tām yad duhyāt | yātayāmnā haviṣā yajeta | yan na duhyāt | yajña-parur antariyāt | vāyavyān yavāgūn nirvapet | . . . || 5 || atho 'ttarasmai haviṣe vatsān apākuryāt | sai 'va tataḥ prāyaścittiḥ || ähnlich Kāth. 35. 17.
4. 1 Anm. 620: Nach Āp. Śr. S. 14. 28. 2 wird die Formel: „devām janam agan yajñe“ angewendet, wenn Soma oder havis herabfällt.
5. 3 Anm. 821: cf. Taitt. Brāhm. 3. 7. 1. 1; Kāth. 35. 17.
5. 3 Anm. 824: cf. Taitt. Brāhm. 3. 7. 1. 2: sa yad udvāyati vichittir evā 'sya sā | tam prāñcam uddhṛtya manaso 'pati-ṣṭheta |
5. 3 Text zu Anm. 829 folg.: vgl. Taitt. Brāhm. 3. 7. 1. 3f.; Kāth. 35. 17.
5. 3 Text zu Anm. 846–9: vgl. Gop. Brāhm. 2. 1. 9: yasya havir

niruptam purastāc candramā abhyudiyāt tāmś tredhā ta-
ṇḍulān vibhajed ye madhyamās tām agnaye dātre 'ṣṭaka-
pālān nirvaped ye stāviṣṭhās tām indrāya pradātre dadhāti
carum ye kṣodiṣṭhās tām viṣṇave śipiviṣṭāya |

5. 5 Anm. 889: vgl. Śāṅkh. Śr. S. 13. 3. 2.

5. 6 Text zu Anm. 900: nabhihita offenbar identisch mit na hi
te in Āp. Śr. S. 14. 29. 3.

6. 1 Anm. 927: vgl. Śāṅkh. Śr. S. 3. 19. 10ff.

6. 1 Text zu Anm. 949: vgl. Āp. Śr. S. 14. 24. 3, 34. 1.

6. 2 Text zu Anm. 956: vā des Textes ist aus "mā korrump-
piert, wie Āp. Śr. S. 14. 33. 9 sehr wahrscheinlich macht
(„wenn ein ungebranntes ukhā-Gefäß platzt . . .“).

6. 3 Text zu Anm. 978: abhimrṣṭasya ist, wie Śāṅkh. Śr. S. 13. 12.
10; Tāṇḍya 9. 9. 10 beweisen, aus avavrṣṭasya korrumpiert.

6. 4 Text zu Anm. 999: lies wohl abhidagdhe; vgl. Śāṅkh. Śr. S.
13. 6. 7; Āp. Śr. S. 14. 25. 3.

6. 4 Anm. 1001: zu Brahm. Prāy. 95a vgl. Kāth. 35. 16, welches
aber statt *sparsāyeta*: *spāśayeta* liest; cf. Āp. Śr. S. 14.
25. 1: śpāśayet.

6. 4 Anm. 1008: s. Kāth. 35. 16.

6. 4 Text zu Anm. 1010–12: vgl. Tāṇḍya 9. 5. 1; Āp. Śr. S. 14.
24. 9; Taitt. Brāhm. 1. 4. 7. 5.

6. 4 Text zu Anm. 1013folg.; es ist etwa zu lesen: yadi kṛitam
yo [mit Ms. A] nediṣṭhaḥ syāt sa āhrtyā 'bhiṣicyo |; vgl.
Tāṇḍya 9. 5. 2: yadi kṛitam yo 'nyo 'bhyāśam syāt; Āp.
Śr. S. 14. 24. 10: yadi kṛitam [somam apahareyur] yo ne-
diṣṭhi syāt tata āhrtyā 'bhiṣunuyāt. Śat. Brāhm. 4. 5. 10. 1:
yadi somam apahareyuh | vidhāvate 'cchate 'ti brūyāt sa
yadi vindanti kim ādriyeran yady u na vindanti tatra prā-
yaścittiḥ kriyate.

6. 4 Text zu Anm. 1015–16: cf. Śāṅkh. Śr. S. 13. 6. 2: somā-
hārāya somavikrayiṇe vā kimcid dadyāt |.

6. 4 Anm. 1019 (vgl. Anm. 984) zu Brahm. Prāy. 93a: s. Āp.
Śr. S. 14. 24. 7; vgl. auch Taitt. Brāhm. 1. 4. 7. 4: yasya
soma upadasyet suvarṇam hiranyam dvedhā vichidyā rjīṣe
'nyad ādhūnyāt | juhuyād anyat |

6. 5 Text zu Anm. 1035 *bahiṣpavamānam* bis *vrñyād*: vgl. Āp.
Śr. S. 14. 26. 3.

6. 5 Text zu Anm. 1036: *yad udgātā* bis *yajetai'*: vgl. Āp. 14.
26. 4: yadi pratihartā [vichidyeta] paśubhir yajamāno vy-
rdhyeta | sarvavedaśam dadyāt | 5: yady udgātā yajñena

yajamāno vyrdhyeta | adakṣiṇaḥ sa yajñaḥ samsthāpyaḥ | die Textfassung der Ath. Prāy. ist wohl durch Veränderung, Auslassung und Korruption entstanden.

6. 5 Anm. 1046: vgl. Tāṇḍya 9. 9. 5: yasya nārāśamsa upavāyati . . . 6: yam adhvaryur antato grahaṃ grhṇiyāt tasyā "ptum (so zu lesen!) avanayet | Was unter einem nārāśamsa-Becher zu verstehen ist, lehrt Komm. zu Āp. Śr. S. 14. 28. 1: bhakṣitā—"pyāyitaś camaso nārāśamsa ity uktam |.
6. 6 Text zu Anm. 1051 ff. — Daß der Text falsch sein muß, es sich vielmehr, wie in Brahm. Prāy. 103b (Anm. 1055), um das *Übrigbleiben des Somas* handelt, lehrt *indirekt* die Tatsache, daß eine Wiederholung des bereits Ath. Prāy. 6.4 vorkommen- den Passus: prātaḥsavanāc cet kalaśo vidīryeta . . . nicht zu erwarten ist, *direkt* der Text zu Anm. 1054—5, welcher von den Parallelen in den eben erwähnten Zusammenhang gebracht wird. Das Übrigbleiben der Opferspeise gilt überhaupt als ein Unglück: vi vā etasya yajña rdyate yasya havir atiricyate Taitt. Samh. 3. 4. 1. 1. Der Text zu Anm. 1055 (hinter stuyuh) eröffnet offenbar eine Lücke; das folgende (in den Ath. Prāy. verloren gegangene) Stück ist etwa zu ergänzen nach Tāṇḍya 9. 7. 1 (vgl. Taitt. Samh. 7. 5. 5. 2; Taitt. Brāhm. 1. 4. 5. 1—4): yadi prātaḥsavanāt somo 'tiricyeta 'sti somo ayaṃ suta iti marutvatiṣu gāyatrena stuyuh ibid. 6: yadi mādhyandināt savanād atiricyeta vaṇmahāṃ asi sūrye 'ty ādityavatiṣu gaurivitena stuyuh | 9: yadi ṛtīyasavanād atiricyeta viṣṇoḥ śipiviṣṭavatiṣu gaurivitena stūyuh | 11: yadi rātrēr atiricyeta viṣṇoḥ śipiviṣṭavatiṣu brhatā stuyur eṣa tu vā atiricyata ity āhur yo rātrēr atiricyata iti; s. im übrigen auch Śāṅkh. Śr. S. 13. 7. 1—13, 9. 4. Āp. Śr. S. 14. 18. 2—15.
6. 6 Text zu Anm. 1056—7. Statt parigrhṇiyāt liest Taitt. Samh. 7. 5. 5. 1 in dem parallelen Passus charakteristisch: vrñkte; statt des korrupten nā 'tirātryā: mahati rātriyai; ebenso Kāth. 34. 4; Tāṇḍya 9. 4. 1: mahati rātreḥ; Āp. Śr. S. 14. 19. 1: mahārātre.
6. 6 Text zu Anm. 1062: hinter mādhyamdine lies nach Śāṅkh. Śr. S. 13. 5. 6 als Ergänzung eines dort offenbar ausgefallenen Passus: jagatyai chandasa iti ṛtīyasavane.
6. 6 Text zu Anm. 1074—5 soll wohl statt: śrotraṃ cā 'śvinau pātām mit Āp. Śr. S. 14. 21. 4 heißen: śrotraṃ ta āśvinau pātu.

Beispiele für inhaltlich zugehörige, ergänzende Stellen.

- Zu 4. 1 Anm. 614 füge hinzu: Śāṅkh. Śr. S. 3. 20. 5: yad brāhmaṇo jugupsur na bhakṣayed etad duṣṭasya lakṣaṇam |.
- Zu 4. 1 Anm. 637 vgl. Agnipur. 170. 12: śaraṇāgataṃ parityajya vedam viplāvya ca dvijah | samvatsaram yata- "hāras tat pāpam apasedhati ||
- Zu 4. 2 Anm. 691 vgl. Taitt. Brāhm. 3. 7. 2. 4—5; Kāth. 35. 19: yadi pūrvasyām āhutyām hutāyām uttarāhutiḥ skandet ... yatra vettha vanaspate devānām guhyā nāmāni ... gāmaya.
- Zu 4. 3 Text zu Anm. 703 folg. vgl. Taitt. Brāhm. 3. 7. 2. 1: yad anāyatane ninayet | anāyatanah syāt | prajāpatya rcā valmika-vapāyām avanayet | ... tat kṛtvā | anyām dugdhvā punar hotavyam | ... cf. Kāth. 35. 18f.: yad anāyatane ninayet | ... madhyamena parṇena dyāvā-prthivyaya rcā 'ntaḥparidhi ninayet | vgl. auch Taitt. Brāhm. a. a. O.: yad viṣṇaṇena juhuyāt | aprajā apaśur yajamānaḥ syāt |.
4. 3 zu den Worten (mantraskannam⁷³⁴) ced abhivarṣet: vgl. Taitt. Brāhm. 3. 7. 2. 3 folg. (Kāth. 35. 19): yad avavrṣṭena juhuyāt | aparūpam asyā "tinaṃ jāyeta | kilāso vā "syādarśaso vā || yat pratyeyāt | yajñam vichindyāt | sa juhuyāt | mitro janān kalpayati prajānan | ... juhote 'ti mitreṇai 'vai 'nat kalpayati | tat kṛtvā | anyām dugdhvā punar hotavyam |
4. 3 Text zu Anm. 739ff.: vgl. Taitt. Brāhm. 3. 7. 2. 2 [Kāth. 35. 19]: yat kīṭavapannena juhuyāt | aprajā apaśur yajamānaḥ syāt |
5. 2 Anm. 818 zu Brahm. Prāy. 70a: kṛṣṇaḥ śakunir vgl. Āp. Śr. S. 14. 31. 1: yadi sadobavirdhānāni kṛṣṇaśakunir upary-upary atipatet pakṣābhyām ādhunvāna ivā 'bhiniśided vā viṣṇur vicakrama ity āhutiṃ juhuyāt | yady uccaiḥ paten na tad ādriyeta |
6. 5 Anm. 1046: vgl. Kāth. 35. 16: yasya droṇakalaśa upadasyati ...
6. 6 Anm. 1049: cf. Agn. Prāy. 9b: āhutidvaya-samsarge Āpastambokta-prāyaścittam | pūrvā-'huter upary uttarāhutiṃ juhuyāt tadā yatra vettha vanaspate ... gāmaye (RV. 5. 5. 10) 'ti vānaspatyaya rcā samidham ādhāya (ha) śeṣeṇa tūṣṇim uttarāhutiṃ hutvā tato vṛṣṇya te (l.: vṛṣṇas te vṛṣṇyam?) punar havir-utpattiṃ kṛtvā punar homaḥ kāryaḥ |

ekadeśasamsarge idam prāyaścittam na bhavati | tatra sarva-prāyaścittam eva |; vgl. auch Tāṇḍya 9. 9. 8, dessen Komm. *pītāpīta* erklärt: pītaśeṣaḥ somo 'pītena abhakṣītena somena homārtham āsādītena vā yadi samsr̥ṣṭo bhavet...; „antaḥparidhy āngārān nirvartya“ jenes Textes kehrt in den Brahm. Prāy. an der zitierten Stelle in sehr korrupter Form wieder. Es ist dort etwa zu lesen: aṅgārān dakṣiṇā[yām] apohya...; cf. Āp. Śr. S. 14. 30. 2.

Beispiele für sachliche Abweichungen sonst paralleler Stellen.

2. 4 Text zu Anm. 173. Die Verwendung des Spruches: tvam agne vratapā asi ist im Āśv. Śr. S. eine ganz andere: er dient dort dazu, der Geburt von Zwillingen die ominöse Wirkung zu nehmen.
4. 1 Text zu Anm. 606ff.: s. indessen Taitt. Brāhm. 3. 7. 1. 6f.: yasya sāyam dugdham havir ārttim ārchati | indrāya vṛhīm nirūpyo 'pavaset... | yat prātaḥ syāt tac chṛtam kuryāt || 6 || athe 'tara aindraḥ puroḍāśaḥ syāt |; ferner Kāṭh. 35. 18, wo statt chṛtam, wahrscheinlich nur verdrukt, chatam steht.
5. 6 Text zu Anm. 892. Den Spruch R. V. 3. 18. 2 wendet Āp. Śr. S. 14. 29. 3 an, wenn der Geweihte (dikṣita) sein semen virile wissentlich, sei es durch den Beischlaf, sei es auf andere Weise, verloren hat; cf. Anm. 863.
6. 3 Anm. 987: Kāṭh. 35. 16 erwähnt die Möglichkeit: yasya camasa upadasyati...
6. 5 Text zu Anm. 1032. Nach Śāṅkh. Śr. S. 13. 12. 13 soll die Formel: ya rte cid abhiśriṣe angewandt werden, wenn das mahāvira-Gefäß zerbricht.
6. 7 Text zu Anm. 1105. Statt des im Archetypus vorgesehenen *weißen* Ziegenbocks soll nach Āp. Śr. S. 14. 24. 1 im gleichen Falle ein der Sonne geweihter, *vielfarbiger* (bahrūpa) Ziegenbock geopfert werden.

Höchst auffällig ist es, daß manche, im Sühneritual sehr häufig angewandten und diesem zugehörigen Sprüche, wie etwa trayastrimśat tantavo ye vitatnire (s. Bloomfields Conc.) in unserem Texte fehlen.

The Consonants Z and Z in Egyptian Colloquial Arabic.

—By WILLIAM H. WORRELL, Professor in the Kennedy School of Missions, Hartford, Conn.

Willmore, *The Spoken Arabic of Egypt* (London, 2nd ed. 1905), throughout his grammar and explicitly on pp. xxvii and 19, recognizes the existence in modern Egyptian Arabic of the so-called emphatic consonant *z*. This is sometimes found to correspond to classical *ẓ* or *Ẓ* (without distinction); sometimes it arises out of classical *z* under the influence of other sounds associated with it in the same phonetic complex; see especially pp. 11 ff. Willmore is quite aware that Spitta, *Grammatik des Arabischen Vulgärdialektes von Aegypten* (Leipzig, 1880), p. 9 and throughout, quite as definitely denies the existence of *z*, either primary or secondary. Omitting the many guides and small grammars, which follow Spitta and yet have no claim to being the result of immediate personal observation of phonetic phenomena (e. g. Probst, Dirr, Thilenius), it is interesting to note that Vollers, a careful student of long residence, in his *Lehrbuch der Aegypto-arabischen Umgangssprache* (Cairo, 1890), takes the position of Spitta (§ 1); while in his article in *Z. D. M. G.*, XLI, 1887, pp. 365 ff. he does not (pp. 367, 368) go into the question which concerns us, being chiefly interested in the process by which the inter-dental became post-dental. On p. 372 he comments on the change of *ṭ* to *t*, and of *ṣ* to *s*. The testimony of the Egyptian Spiro, *An Arabic English Vocabulary* (London, 1895), followed up with many propagandist publications, loses when one reflects that he has ever been the enthusiastic disciple of Spitta in every respect.

Such different results from Willmore and Spitta, leaving the others out of account, as the followers of the latter, within so short a space of time, involving if accepted a reversal of the

natural course of phonetic development—require if possible an explanation.

Classical Arabic, as now pronounced in Cairo, exhibits three classes of consonants: (I) Light consonants, comprising those not hereafter mentioned. These have no effect upon the vowels with which they are associated. The *a*-vowel retains its natural Arabic quality of *a* (English *pat*). (II) Medium consonants, comprising *h* *ḥ* *r* (sometimes light) *ḡ* *q*. These are accompanied by *a*-vowels of the quality of *a* (Engl. *father*), and by a sort of furtive *a* when followed by *i*-vowels. (III) Heavy consonants, comprising *ṣ* *ḍ* *ṭ* *ẓ*. These are accompanied by *a*-vowels of the quality of *â* (English *father* in the dialectic form burlesqued as *fawther*), and by a sort of furtive *â* when followed by *i*-vowels. They do not appear to me to have any actual effect upon *i*-vowels or *u*-vowels themselves. The general rules here given are subject to wide fluctuations due, no doubt, to principles of syllable and sentence stress not yet clearly recognized. The consonants are not always grouped just as I have them. I have purposely not entered into the tangled questions of the *tafḥīm* and *imāle* of the Arabic grammarians.

In modern colloquial Arabic of Cairo the (III) consonants *ṣ* *ḍ* *ṭ*, though frequently exchanged with the (I) consonants *s* *d* *t*, are recognized when they occur by two qualities: 1) The consonants themselves have a peculiar articulation (tip of the tongue between English *s* and western American *r*, as in whistling against the front teeth) and resonance. 2) The accompanying vowels are affected as in classical Arabic. The (III) consonant *ẓ* on the other hand is easily confused with the (I) consonant *z*. The syllable *ẓa* differs from *za* apparently only in a heavier quality of vowel. Spitta seems to have been correct in refusing to recognize the existence of the *ẓ* with *a*; but he has overlooked the fact of a difference of vowel coloring. Willmore seems to have taken the latter for a difference in the consonant. It would be more correct to say that *ẓa* and *za* syllables differ.

The discovery of Vollers (*loc. cit.*) that the *thi*-sounds became stops, or *t*-sounds (i. e. by organic shifting), in genuine colloquial words, but *s*-sounds (i. e. by acoustic error) in loan-words from the classical, furnishes the further result that really no genuine *ẓ* was handed down in direct transmission to colloquial. Both *ض* and *ظ* became *ḍ* in the latter. The

ض and ط of classical words were both heard and reproduced as *z/z*-sounds; heavy or light according to circumstances.

It is noticeable that Willmore's vocabularies show *z*: 1) without regard to whether the classical form has ط ض or *z*; 2) generally in connection with *a*-vowels (but *z* also occurs with *a*-vowels); or 3) in connection with (III) consonants regardless of vowels; or 4) with (II) consonants (but *hifz* has ط in classical); or 5) in connection with *u*-vowels (e. g. *zûr* classical *zûr*, only example given!) especially when the singular of the noun has an *a*-vowel; and 6) that the sound is of rare occurrence in the language. With few exceptions, which may be slips on the part of Willmore, the words fall under (2).

Turning now to general phonetics: It is a well attested fact that the influence of a vanished consonant upon its surviving vowel with which it was associated in the same syllable dynamic or not may occur through the gradual weakening of this one of the two organically connected elements. Grandgent, *German and English Sounds* (Boston, 1892), p. 9, mentions the coronal character of the vowel *a* in northern English after which an *r* has been dropped. The tip of the tongue remains still turned back in the old *r* direction. Here succeeding generations have heard and copied a slight difference in resonance in the vowel while the consonant became ever weaker, and was less and less noticed and copied. A somewhat different case, resulting from the acoustic error of an alien race, is the Turkish use of the letters *h h s d t z g q* to indicate the presence of a "hard" vowel (*a o u y*) as opposed to the "light" vowels (*e i ö ü*), even in genuinely Turkish words. They never learned the pronunciation of the consonants themselves. See Müller-Giese, *Türkische Grammatik* (Berlin, 1889), p. 6.

Modern Egyptian Arabic shows a marked tendency to pronounce a syllable throughout with the same sort of resonance, (thick or thin, heavy or light), and even to carry the influence beyond into a following syllable, provided that no light consonants intervene whose obscuration would lead to unintelligibility. Sometimes even this provision is disregarded. It is more correct to regard this not as the influence of the consonant, but as the general coloring of the syllable as a whole, which is the real unit of memory. The following examples from Willmore, pp. 11 ff., show that it is as often the vowel

as the consonant which seems to determine the resonance of the syllable.

iṣṭānaṭ	for *iṣṭānat, iṣṭānat	(iṣ)
ṭiṣṭ	for ṭiṣṭ	(ti)
ṣōṭ	for ṣōt	(ṣô)
bārûḍ	for bārûd	(rû)
bûluṣ	for bûlus	(lu) but bûlis with i.
bûṣṭa	for bûsta	(bû)
uṣmân	for usmân	(u)

The following are examples of psychical prolepsis:

iṣmárr	for ismárr	(márr) but mismírr with i.
ṭurâb	for turâb	(râb) but turâb with ä.
intâzar	for intâzar	(zar)
iḥṭâr	for iḥṭâr	(âr).

Syllables of this sort are said to be velarized; the back part of the tongue is slightly raised toward the position for u.

The Malediction in Cuneiform Inscriptions. — By SAMUEL
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A malediction is the praying down of evil upon a person, and implies the desire or threat of evil declared either upon oath or in the most solemn manner. An oath is a solemn declaration made with a reverent appeal to the deity for the truth of what is affirmed; or, when used in law, it is an appeal, in verification of a statement made, to a superior sanction in such a form as exposes the person making the appeal to an indictment for perjury if the statement be false. A promissory oath is a solemn declaration of an intention to abide by a definite promise. There have been found many promissory, as well as direct oaths, in Cuneiform literature. To every oath there is joined either an expressed or an implied threat or malediction. If one swears that a thing is true when it is not he is liable to an indictment for perjury; and if one solemnly makes a promise and breaks it he must suffer the consequences. An oath, then, always carries with it a promise whether expressed or understood; and, in Cuneiform literature, the promise of punishment nearly always took the form of an implied or expressed malediction. The malediction is therefore closely connected with the oath.

Sometimes in earlier, and often in later, Cuneiform inscriptions the promissory oath was replaced by a malediction. When a contract was made or a treaty concluded, a conditional malediction could be pronounced on the offender instead of the oath. Hence, whenever we meet a malediction we are almost always sure that a contract expressed or implied is involved. The case of the special kind of malediction which is called a ban is not an exception to this rule, for it seems certain that a ban is the result of some form of disobedience which involved an implied promissory oath. The oath is, in fact, a malediction

in embryo on offenders, and the malediction belongs to the oath just as punishment does to the breaking of the law. The malediction may in itself be looked upon as the sealing of a sworn contract or agreement.¹ Therefore I shall treat the malediction as a sequel to the oath.² Indeed, it may almost be termed a development of the oath, for, while, as we shall see later, the oath and malediction existed side by side in Cuneiform literature, yet, as time went on, the malediction became far more prominent than the oath, even in those contracts where an oath would be expected.

Nothing proves the close relation between the malediction and the oath more thoroughly than the use of the two words *mamîtu* and *niš*.

The word *mamîtu* comes from *yama'* which means primarily that which is pronounced, *e. g.* oath, malediction, ban. It has been shown in *The Oath in Babylonian and Assyrian Literature* that *mamîtu* means "oath". Now, since an oath, in its essence, is a call upon the deity to punish the perjurer, it is, therefore, a conditional malediction, for if the oath is broken the deity will punish. Further, as we have already remarked, this conditional malediction often takes the place of the oath. It should be also noticed that *nam-erim*, the Sumerian equivalent of *mamîtu*, originally meant "hostile destiny" (*nam* = *šimtu* = destiny; *erim* = hostile). Moreover, the idiograms *dug* and *da* which are often found in connection with *sag-ba* in oath formulae are equivalent to *arâru*, *tamû*, and mean, "condemn", "curse", "utter words of a curse".³

In an oath, *mamîtu* acted as a taboo, making the covenant a sacred one, just as holiness did in Hebrew ritual. It thus became a concrete curse to those who swore wrongfully or broke their oath, because an oath was taken "under pain of the malediction (*mamit*)"⁴ of the divine beings invoked. Poet-


¹ Compare *Neh.* 5, 12-13.

² See Mercer, *The Oath in Babylonian and Assyrian Literature*; also *The Oath in Sumerian Inscriptions* (JAOS XXXIII, Pt. 1) and *The Oath in Babylonian Inscriptions of the time of the Hammurabi dynasty* (AJSL XXIX, 2).

³ Compare the Hebrew מַלְחָה which means both *oath* and *curse*. Compare also, as analogy, the Arabic وَامِئَة misfortune, which is a derivation of وَامٍ which, in turn, is connected with *mamîtu*.

⁴ I R. 13 Col. V 12-16 (Tiglath-Pileser I).

ically, we also find the word *mamîtu* translated "malediction" or "curse" in the sense of an active pestilence or evil, *e. g.* *ilu Nâru . . . mamit ina maḥ-ri-šu ri-gim-ša kîma a-li-e*, "the god Nâru . . . the curse is before him, his (the curse's) cry is like that of a demon (*alû*).¹ Used in this poetical way the malediction was perhaps personified, for we read in a Semitic Šamaš-hymn: *ilu Šamaš aš-šum ma-mit ša ul-tu ûme ma-'a-du-ti arki-ia rak-su-ma lâ paṭâru ši-i-ta ḥul-ḫu u lâ tâb šêri iṣ-šak-na*, "O Šamaš when the curse for many days is bound behind me and there is no deliverer, expulsion of the evil and of the sickness of the flesh is brought about (by thee)".² In another place we read that the "curse (it is) which falls upon a man like a demon".³ *Mamîtu* was also the "state of uncleanness and sin, from which the sick man was to be freed",⁴ for a malediction always afflicted its victim with uncleanness and sin.

Besides meaning oath *niš* also means malediction, *e. g.* *ni-iš šamaš u-ša-az-ki-ru-šu*, "they let him pronounce the curse of Šamaš".⁵ It should be noticed, however, in addition to what I have said on the word *niš* in my *Oath in Babylonian and Assyrian Literature* that the word was used as a particle. In later inscriptions the preposition *ina* often took its place. The particle *niš*, therefore, may be rendered "by"—but only in connection with a word to swear in oath or to curse in malediction. The Sumerian *Zi = niš* = "in the name of" (as a particle) in connection with words which express the pronouncement of an oath or malediction. *Niš*, like *mamîtu*, was perhaps personified and meant the evil spirit (*ni-iš* = Sumerian *Zi*, , evil spirit) or demon who bans one, *e. g.* *li-in-ni-is-si ma-mit li-ṭa-riḍ ni-šu*, may the Ban be sent away, may the curse be driven out".⁶ It also, like *mamîtu*, came to mean the sinful state resulting from the demon's attack.

¹ IV R. 14, No. 2, obv. l. 23-25 (Interlinear Bilingual Fragments).

² The text is in Bezold's *Catalogue* p. 1436; and also in Gray, *The Šamaš Religious Texts*, pl. IV. Compare Del. *HWB* p. 565.

³ IV R. 7, Col. I, l. 1 (Tablet, partly bilingual).

⁴ Morgenstern, *Doctrine of Sin*, p. 42.

⁵ Muss-Arnolt, *Dict.* p. 278.

⁶ Del. *HWB* p. 303a, 470b, 482d.

That the malediction and the oath are closely related a comparison of the two formulae found in contracts of the time of Sumu-la-ēl will show. They are Kohler und Ungnad, *Hamurabi's Gesetz* Nos. 26 and 36. In KU 26 the formula reads: *niš ilu Šamaš ilu Marduk u Sumu-la-ilu ša avât duppim annim unakaru*. In KU 36 it reads: *limun ilu Šamaš ilu Marduk u Sumu-la-ilum ša avât duppim anim unakaru*. In both cases the preferable rendering is: "curse of Šamaš etc. upon him who changes the contents of this tablet". A possible rendering is: "by Šamaš etc. (they swore) that they would (not) change the contents of this tablet". In any case *limun* is synonymous with *niš*, and the relationship between malediction and oath is established.

It is evident from the above that the malediction and the oath served the same purpose and were, therefore, interchangeable. Both attempted to secure the preservation of an agreement or contract under penalty of punishment and curse.

I. Maledictions found in Cuneiform Inscriptions.

There are in Cuneiform inscriptions three classes of literature: poetical, historical, and legal and commercial. For convenience sake, we shall refer to the last class as "contracts", to which also belong the codified laws of Hammurabi. While the many references to maledictions in poetical literature are valuable for a general discussion of the nature and ritual of the malediction, it is not possible on account of the very nature of poetical usage to treat them as examples of actually pronounced maledictions. Such references, then, will not be tabulated in the present study, but will be used in the general discussions. The same is true of the maledictions which occur in letters. It is different with the other two classes of literature. All the expressed maledictions found in them will be tabulated and studied with a view to throwing light upon the custom of pronouncing maledictions in the different periods of the life of those peoples represented by Cuneiform inscriptions.

1. Sumerian Period.

1. *Contracts*. The paucity of Sumerian contract literature is probably the reason that no expressed oath formula has been found before the dynasty of Ur 2295 B. C. During that

dynasty the oath formula was common. The malediction, however, is found, as we shall learn from an historical inscription of the time of Eannatum king of Lagash c. 2900 B. C., previous to the dynasty of Ur. There is evidence that the malediction was used also in contracts during the same period, *e. g.* in the reign of *patesi* Entemena of Lagaš c. 2850 B. C., for in a contract published by S. Langdon in ZA xxv, 1-2, Sprechsaal, "Some Sumerian Contracts", pp. 205 ff., No. 4 (RTC 16), the expression *ud an-dū dug-gāl-an ud-da dug-dug-na nig-erim ba gá-gá gīš kaka dug-dug-na-šú gaz* may be rendered: "when in future days complaint is made, provided that by the complaint evil is done, may such a one be slain by the sword for his words". At any rate, a very old tablet now in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, published by G. A. Barton in *The Museum Journal*, Vol. III, No. 1, pp. 4 ff., contains a contract in which the phrase SA-NE GIN, "their curse he established" certainly teaches us that in the earliest Sumerian periods (the contract is not dated, but because of its archaic script Barton places it among the very oldest of extant Sumerian inscriptions) the idea of malediction was known, and as we saw from the preceding example, was probably expressed formally. As far as our records go, therefore, the malediction is found at an earlier period than the oath. Further, evidence is not lacking to show that both were intimately connected in early as well as in late Cuneiform inscriptions. As was shown above, both the malediction and the oath served the same purpose. And this is seen in very early contracts, *e. g.* in a contract published by S. Langdon in ZA xxv, 1-2, Sprechsaal, pp. 205 ff., No. 1 B 6, which is dated in the reign of Gimil-Sin, king of Ur, 2209-2203 B. C., the expression *mu lugal-bi in-pad galu galu nu gí-gí-da*, "by the king the oath was taken—man shall not bring suit against man", there is a prohibition which amounts to an implied conditional malediction.

As it is not the object of this paper to collect implied maledictions, this example will suffice. The fact that there are very few extant examples of maledictions in Sumerian contracts is due to the paucity of materials recovered.

2. *Historical Inscriptions.* Whenever an inscription was set up it was usual to invoke the curse of different gods on anyone who in anyway would sin against its purpose and intention.

These inscriptions related to treaties, building contracts, and agreements about other public works. Besides enumerating the deeds and qualities of the king who caused their publication, these contracts contain maledictions invoking a curse on anyone who may in future mutilate or destroy them. In almost the whole range of Cuneiform literature such maledictions are plentiful. It is also interesting to note in this connection that from the earliest time till the New Babylonian dynasty, when the malediction seems to disappear, blessings often occur in the same inscription side by side with the malediction, and, in later times, even took its place.

In the treaty of E-an-na-tum, king of Lagaš (c. 2900 B. C., Thureau-Dangin, SAK pp. 10 ff.), which he made with the people of Gišhu we find, together with the oath, a conditional malediction pronounced against any inhabitant of Gišhu who may in the future alter the words of the treaty. In the oath, the king invokes the *šuš-gal* ("net") of Enlil (Bel), of the goddess Ninḫarsag, of Enki (Ea), of Enzu (Sin), of Babbar (Šamaš), and of Ninkī, and the *šuš-gal* of the same deities will slay the person who in any way impairs the treaty. The malediction was conditional, but very definite. Over and over it is said: *ud-da inim-ba šu-ni-bal-e sa šuš-gal (dingir) en-lil-lá nam-e-na-ta-tar giš-HU ki an-ta he-šuš*, "whoever in the future changes this word, may the great *šuš-gal* of (such and such a deity), by which they have sworn, slay *Giš-HU*". Here six deities are invoked to curse; but, if we admit that in the oath by Enlil his son Ningirsu is included, then the number of the deities invoked in the oath would be seven, the holy number of swearing, and consequently the number in the malediction-formula would also be seven.

The next malediction in chronological order is found in the reign of Šar-Gani-Šarri c. 2650 B. C. It is inscribed on a door socket (SAK 162—163), and reads: *ša duppam sù-a u-sa-za-ku-ni ilu Bêl ù ilu Šamaš ù ilu Innina išdê-su li-zu-ḫu ù zêra-su li-îl-gu-tu*, "whoever changes this inscription, may Bêl, Šamaš, and Innina (Ištar) remove his foundation and exterminate his seed". A second door socket (SAK 164-165) has the malediction: *ša duppam sù-a u-sa-za-ku-ni ilu bêl ù ilu Šamaš išdê-su li-zu-ḫa ù zêra-su li-îl-gu-da*, "whoever changes this inscription, may Bêl and Šamaš remove his foundation and exterminate his seed".

Two maledictions represent the reign of Naram-Sin, the successor of Šar-Gani-Šarri. The first is found on a small stela (SAK pp. 166-167, Stela A) and reads: *ša duppam šù-a u-sa-za-ku-ni ilu Innina (broken here) li-zu-ḫu ù zêra-su li-íl-gu-tu*, "whoever changes this inscription may Innina (Ištar) — — — — remove — — — — and exterminate his seed. The second is on a statue of the king found at Susa (SAK 166f.), the malediction reads: *ša duppam šù-a u-sa-za-ku-ni (broken here) ù ilu a-ga-dé ki išdê-su li-zu-ḫa ù zêra-su li-íl-gu-da*, "whoever changes this inscription may — — — — of Akkad remove his foundation and exterminate his seed".

From the reign of Gudea *patesi* of Lagaš c. 2450 B. C. there are many inscriptions. Among them none is better known than Statue B (SAK pp. 66ff.). In cols. 8 and 9 is found a conditional malediction invoked to operate against all or anyone who may in the future disturb in any way the statue which the king has set up. The formula is a very long one. The first deities invoked are Anu, Enlil, Ninḫarsag, Enki. The following are invoked to curse in specific ways: Enzu, Ningirsu, Ninā, Nin-dar-a, Ga-tum-dug, Bau Innina, Babbar, Pa-sag, Gal-alim, DUN-šag-ga-na, Ninmarki, Dumuziabzu, Ningišzida. The malediction is to be manifold, but does not contain the stereotyped formula *išdê-su li-zu-ḫa ù zêra-su li-íl-gu-da*. A similar though shorter formula is found inscribed on Statue C (SAK pp. 74ff.) of the same ruler. Only the goddess Innina (Ištar) is invoked. The malediction formula of this inscription contains for the first time the technical word for curse, namely, *nam-tar* in the phrase *nam-ḫe-ma-tar-e*. In the inscription on Statue E (SAK pp. 78ff.) col. 9, there is a phrase which implies a threat and seems to take the place of the malediction. It is *alan galu é-dingir-ba-ù mu-dū-a-kam ki-gub-ba-bi galu nu-zig-zig sá-dug-bi galu la-ba-ni-lal-e*, "the statue of the builder of the temple of Bau, its foundation may no one remove, may no one restrict its offering". There is a similar inscription on Statue K (SAK pp. 86ff.) where deities are invoked. They are: Ningirsu, Bau, Galalim, DUN-šag-ga-na.

An inscription (SAK pp. 170ff.), belonging to the reign of Lasirab, king of Gutiu, who reigned near about the period of the dynasty of Akkad, contains the usual malediction. The deities invoked are: the gods of Gutiu, Innina, and Sin.

The stela of Seripul (SAK pp. 172-173) teaches us that

Anu-bânini, king of Lulubu, previous to the dynasty of Ur, erected a monument to himself and to his goddess Innina in the mountain, and thereon he inscribed a conditional malediction on all who might in the future change the text. He invokes Anu and Antu, Bêl and Bêlit, Immer and Innina, Sin and Šamaš (and others whose names are broken off). The text contains the interesting formula: *ir-ra-dam li-mu-dam li-ru-ru-uš*, "with an evil curse may they curse him".

The stela of Sheichan (SAK pp. 172-173) belongs to about the same period as the above. Though poorly preserved it contains a malediction in which the deities Šamaš and Immer are invoked.

There are several inscriptions belonging to rulers of Susa (SAK pp. 176ff.), contemporaneous with the dynasty of Ur, which contain maledictions. BA-ŠA-šušinak patesi of Susa erected an alabaster statue and inscribed upon it a malediction on all who might in future change the text. The gods invoked are Šušinak, Šamaš, Nariti, Nergal, and one whose name is broken off. Another inscription from the same reign invokes, in the malediction, Šušinak, Innina, Narite, and Nergal; and still another invokes Šušinak and Šamaš, Bêl and Enki, Innina and Sin, Ninḥarsag and Nati, all the gods. At about the same time we find an inscribed basin from the reign of a certain Idadu-Šušinak which he made for the temple of his god Šušinak. The deities invoked in the malediction are Šušinak, Šamaš, Ištār, and Sin. They are asked to curse the offender "with an evil curse" (*ar-ra-ta li-mu-dam li-ru-ru-šu*).

In contracts of the Sumerian period there is sufficient evidence to show that maledictions were pronounced, but, as far as we can judge, no stereotyped formula was used and no specific gods were invoked, neither was the name of the king invoked, contrary to the practice in the oath formula. It will be remembered also that no specific god was invoked in the oaths of contracts of this period.

The earliest historical inscription which contains a malediction belongs to the dynasty of Ur. From that time on maledictions are quite frequently found, and a formula which may be considered more or less stereotyped occurs often. It is *išdê-su li-zu-ḥu ù zêra-šu li-îl-gu-tu*, "may (the gods, who are mentioned) remove his foundation and exterminate his seed".

The deities invoked in maledictions in historical inscriptions of the Sumerian period, in order of occurrence are:

Enlil (Bêl), Ninḫarsag, Enki (Ea), Enzu (Sin), Babbar (Šamaš), Ninki (Ištar?), Ningirsu(?).

Bêl, Šamaš, Innina (Ištar).

Bêl, Šamaš.

Innina (Ištar).

Anu, Enlil, Ninḫarsag, Enki, Enzu, Ningirsu, Ninâ (Eš-ḫanna), Nindara, Ga-tum-dug (daughter of Anu), Bau, Innina, Babbar, Pasag, Galalim (son of Ningirsu), DUN-šag-ga-na (son of Ningirsu), Ninmarki (dgt. of Eš-ḫanna), Dumu-zi-abzu, Nin-giš-zi-da (the patron god of Gudea).

Innina.

Ningirsu, Bau, Galalim, DUN-šag-ga-ra.

Innina, Sin.

Anu and Antu, Bêl and Bêlit, Immer and Innina, Sin and Šamaš.

Šamaš, Immer.

Šušinak (lord of Elam), Šamaš, Narudi, Nergal.

Šušinak, Innina, Narudi, Nergal.

Šušinak, Šamaš, Bêl, Enki, Innina, Sin, Ninḫarsag, Nati.

Šušinak, Šamaš, Ištar, Sin.

It will be noticed that the deities most frequently invoked in these maledictions are Šamaš, Ištar, and Bêl, and Šušinak in Elam. The above maledictions represent inscriptions from Akkad, Lagaš, Gutiu, Luluba, Susa, and one unknown place.

2. Period of the First Babylonian Dynasty.

1. *Contracts.* It is not till we reach the First Babylonian dynasty that we find the malediction sometimes definitely taking the place of the oath. Of course this might have been a common practice long before this dynasty, but as far as our sources go the first examples are found in contracts of the reign of Sumu-la-ēl c. 2218 B. C. KU 26 contains absolute proof (see above p. 285f.) that in KU 36 we have a malediction as substitute for an oath. There *limun* takes the place of *niš*. From the same reign, namely, Sumu-la-ēl (for Sumu-ēl as merely a variant of Sumu-la-ēl, see Daiches, *Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden*, pp. 16-17), we have another example. This contract, KU 453, records the presentation of a temple by

Nur-ilišu who promises not to make trouble about the priestly office of the temple. Whoever does so is to be cursed. The formula is: *li-mu-un ilu Šamaš ù Su-mu-illum šá i-ra-ga-mu*, "an enemy of Šamaš and Sumu-ēl is he who complains". There were seven witnesses to the contract. KU 371 is a sale contract and belongs to the reign of Ilumma-Ila, a prince contemporaneous with Sumu-la-ēl. Instead of the usual oath, the malediction formula occurs. It reads: *li-mu-un ilu Šamaš ù An-ma-ni-la šá a-na a-va-ti-šu i-tu-ru*, "an enemy of Šamaš and Iluma-Ila (see Daiches, *op. cit.*, pp. 33 ff., for a discussion of this name) is he who contests the agreement". The only other malediction formula found in contracts of the Hammurabi dynasty appears in KU 478, a contract about the presentation of a piece of land. It belongs to the reign of Ammi-šaduga c. 1984 B. C. Here again the malediction takes the place of the oath. The phrase is: *ha-at-tu šá Ku-uk-ka- nap na-še-ir i-na mu-uh-ḫi-šu li-iš-ša-ki-in*, "may the fear of Kukka-našir (the Elamite king) be upon him" (compare the "fear of Isaac", Gen. 31 42).

2. *Historical Inscriptions.* The only inscription of the First Babylonian dynasty, which may be said to belong to this class, and which contains a malediction, is the famous stela of the Hammurabi Code. In the Epilogue (Harper, *The Code of Hammurabi*, pp. 99 ff.) Hammurabi says: "if that man do not pay attention to my words which I have written upon my monument; if he forget my curse (*ir-ri-ti-ia*) and do not fear the curse of the god (*ir-ri-it ilī*) — — — as for that man — — — whoever he may be, may the great god — — — curse (*li-ru-ur*) his fate". He then goes on to enumerate the various gods upon whom he calls to pronounce a malediction upon such as may in any way interfere with the stela. He carefully describes the attributes and activities of each deity invoked. The deities are: Bēl, Bēlit, Ea, Šamaš (the blighting curse of Šamaš is referred to), Sin, Adad, Zamal-mal, Ištar, Nergal, Nintu, Ninkarrāk, and, finally, the great gods of heaven and earth, and the Anunnaki. They are asked to curse with blighting curses. At the end Bēl is again invoked.

The deities invoked in contracts of the First Babylonian dynasty in order of occurrence are:

Šamaš, Marduk, and the king (named).

Šamaš and the king (named). This occurs twice.

Kukka-našir (the Elamite king).

There is evident a stereotyped malediction formula in these contracts. It is: *limun* — — — *šá*, "curse of — — — upon him who". Notice that Šamaš is the favourite god, and that the king is also often invoked (compare the usage in oath formulae of the same period, AJSL XXIX, 2).

For the deities invoked in the Hammurabi inscription, the only text of that kind with a malediction, in this period, see above.

3. From the Second to the Ninth Babylonian Dynasty.

1. *Contracts.* The Second Babylonian or Kassite dynasty is represented by a property contract from the time of Adad-šumiddin c. 1240 B. C. (KB III¹ pp. 162-163). The deities invoked are: Anu, Bêl, Ea, Sin, Šamaš, Rammân, Marduk, Nindimsu, Bakad, Papu, Uraš, Bêlit-ekalli, Šukamuna, Šumalia, Nannar, and as many gods as are mentioned on the stela. The next contract containing a malediction and which belongs to this period represents the reign of Marduk-nadin-aḫi c. 1140 B. C. (KB IV, pp. 70ff.). Whoever in any one of many detailed ways disputes the conclusions of the contract will be subject to the curse of the gods. The formula is: *ilāni ma-la i-na muḫ-ḫi na-ri-i an-ni-i ma-la šu-un-šu-nu za-ak-ru ar-rat la nap-šu-ri li-ru-ru-šu*, "the gods as many as are named on the stela shall curse him with an indissoluble malediction". The phrase *ar-rat la nap-šu-ri li-ru-ru-šu* occurs often as a particularly powerful malediction formula. The invoked deities are named in detail. They are: Anu, Bêl, Ea, Marduk, Nabû, Rammân, Sin, Šamaš, Ištâr, Gula (wife of Ninib), Ninib, Nergal, Zamalmal, Papsukal, Eš-ḫanna, the great god (*ilu rabû*), the great lord (*belu rabû*), and the gods as many as are mentioned on the stela. The characteristic of each deity is mentioned, and each is invoked to curse the offender in some specific way. Then the same formula as above is repeated. A similar (though not quite as elaborate) malediction is found in another contract of the same reign (KB IV, pp. 76ff.). The formula is a particularly powerful one. It is: *ar-rat la nap-šu-ri maru-uš-ta li-ru-ru-šu*, "may they curse him with an indissoluble, evil curse". The deities invoked are: Anu, Bêl, Ea, Ninmarki, Sin, Šamaš, Ištâr, Marduk, Ninib, Gula, Rammân, Nabû, and all the gods as many as are named on the stela. Again each

deity is asked to curse the offender in some specific way. A third malediction is found in another contract of this reign (KB IV, pp. 78ff.). The formula is the same as the last named. The deities are: Anu, Bêl, Ea, Ninmarki, Marduk, Šamaš, Sin, Ištar, Ninib, Gula, Rammân, Nabû, and the great gods as many as are named on the stela. The next belongs to the reign of Marduk-apli-iddi-na I c. 1129 B. C. (Scheil, *Dél. en Perse*, VI, pp. 31ff.). This is a *kudurru* containing a semi-historical inscription, though clearly a contract, in which many deities are invoked to curse. They are Anu, Bêl, Ea, Nin-harsag, Sin, Ningal, Šamaš, Aia, Bunêê, MAH, Šeru, Kittu, Mešaru, Marduk, Zarpanitum, Nabû, Tašmetum, Ninib, Nin Karrak, Zamalmal, Bau, Damu, Gešinnam, Ištar, Nanâ, Anun-nitum, Adad, Šala, Mišarru, Nêrrugal, Laz, Išum, Šubula, Lugalgirra, Šitlamtaê, Lugalgišatugabliš, Ma'metum, Lil, Ninbat, Tispak, Kadi, Nusku, Sadarnunna, Ip, Ninegal, Šukamuna, Šumalia, all those who are named on the inscription. The same indissoluble malediction is pronounced, *e. g. ar-ra-at la nap-šu-ri-im*. The old stereotyped phrase is used here although partly broken off, namely, *išdê-su li-iz-zu-ĥu zêra-su li-il-gu-dum*. A fragmentary *kudurru* from the same time (Scheil, *op. cit.*, pp. 39ff.) contains the remnant of an indissoluble malediction. The deities are: Šamaš, Nannar, Adad, Marduk, Gulu, Nusku, Ninegal, Šukamuna, Šumalia.

The Sixth Babylonian dynasty is represented by a contract from the reign of Ninib-Kudurušur c. 1020 B. C. (KB IV, pp. 82ff.) which contains a malediction. Though not well preserved in the part where the malediction comes, there is sufficient to show that the conditional malediction was pronounced upon anyone who would in anyway violate the contract. It seemed to be a regular practice in such land contracts as this to record the malediction as soon as the agreement was sealed. This is directly expressed in the present contract as we learn from the phrase: *ekli ik-nu-kam-ma ar-ra-ta i-ru-ur-ma*, "he sealed the field and pronounced the malediction". The deities invoked are: Anu, Ea, Zarpanitum, Nabû, Šamaš, Nergal, Zamalmal, Ninib, Gula, and others whose names have been broken off. The same stereotyped malediction formula occurs: *ar-rat la nap-šu-ri ma-ru-uš-ta ti-ru-ru-šu*. Of uncertain date is an inscription in New Babylonian script but which probably belongs to this general period. It contains a pre-

sentation contract and the malediction is pronounced in the name of Marduk and Nabû (KB IV, pp. 98-99).

The Ninth Babylonian dynasty c. 753 B. C. (KB IV, pp. 158ff.) is represented by a contract which contains two maledictions. It is a sale contract. Whoever in future contests the argreement, may Anu, Bêl, Ea, curse him with a wicked indissoluble malediction. The usual formula appears, namely, *ar-rat la nap-sur maruštum li-ru-ru-šu*. The contract is sealed and dated in the reign of Sargon of Assyria. In the second malediction, or the second record of the same malediction, the same gods are invoked, namely, Anu, Bêl, and Ea, and the same formula is used.

Many contracts of this period contain no directly expressed malediction but are sealed and signed—an indication that either an oath or a malediction was understood. It is worthy of note how completely the malediction has usurped the place of the oath in these contracts.

2. *Historical Inscriptions.* The first historical inscription of this period which contains a malediction belongs to the reign of Nebuchadrezzar I c. 1140 B. C. (KB III¹ pp. 168ff.). Whoever in any way defaces the inscription of the king is to be cursed by all the gods named therein. The deities are then named and their attributes noted. They are: Ninib, Gula, Rammân, Šumalia, Nergal, Nanâ, the gods of Namar, Sin, the lady of Akkad, the gods of Bit-Ħabban. The next belongs to the reign of Nabû-abal-iddin c. 888 B. C. (TSBA VIII, pp. 164ff.). The deities invoked are: Šamaš, Malik, and Bunêê. The stereotyped formulae of earlier maledictions do not appear in these two inscriptions. The reign of Marduk-apli-iddi-na II c. 721 B. C. furnishes us with the next malediction. At the end of a long inscription (KB III¹ pp. 184ff.) it is declared that whoever in future, whether prince or subject, in any way defaces the inscription would be cursed with an indissoluble curse (*arrat la nap-šu-ru*) by Anu, Ea, Bêl, Marduk, Erua, and the great gods. Another malediction is found on an inscription of the reign of Šamaš-šum-ukin c. 668 B. C. (KB III¹ pp. 194ff.). Only one god is invoked, namely, Nabû.

The deities invoked in the contracts of the Second to the Ninth Babylonian dynasty are:

Anu, Bêl, Ea, Sin, Šamaš, Rammân, Marduk, Nindimsu,
Bakad, Papu, Uraš, Belit-ekalli, Šukamuna, Šumalia, Nannar.

The Malediction in Cuneiform Inscriptions.

Anu, Bêl, Ea, Marduk, Nabû, Rammân, Sin, Šamaš, Ištar,
Gula, Ninib, Nergal, Zamalmal, Papsukal, Eš-hanna.

Anu, Bêl, Ea, Ninmarki, Sin, Šamaš, Ištar, Marduk, Ninib,
Gula, Rammân, Nabû.

Anu, Bêl, Ea, Ninmarki, Marduk, Šamaš, Sin, Ištar, Ninib,
Gula, Rammân, Nabû.

Anu, Bêl, Ea, Ninħarsag, Sin, Ningal, Šamaš, Aia, Bunêê,
MAḪ, Šeru, Kittu, Mešaru, Marduk, Zarpanitum, Nabû,
Tašmetum, Ninib, Nin Karrak, Zamalmal, Bau, Damu,
Gešinnam, Ištar, Nana, Anunnitum, Adad, Šala, Mišarru,
Nêrrugal, Laz, Išum, Šubula, Lugalgirra, Sitlamtaê, Lu-
galgišatugabliš, Ma'metum, Lil, Ninbat, Tispak, Kadi,
Nusku, Sadarnunna, Ip, Ninegal, Šukamuna, Šumalia.

Šamaš, Nannar, Adad, Marduk, Gula, Nusku, Ninegal,
Šukamuna, Šumalia.

Anu, Ea, Zarpanitum, Nabû, Šamaš, Nergal, Zamalmal,
Ninib, Gula (rest broken off).

Marduk, Nabû.

Anu, Bêl, Ea.

The deities invoked in the historical inscriptions of the
Second to the Ninth dynasty are:

Ninib, Gula, Rammân, Šumalia, Nergal, Nanâ, the gods of
Namer, Sin, the lady of Akkad, the gods of Bit-Ĥabban.
Šamaš, Malik (MUḪ?), Bunêê.

Anu, Ea, Bêl, Marduk, Erûa.

Nabû.

The favourite deities invoked in maledictions in contracts
during this period are: Anu, Ea, Marduk, Bêl, Šamaš, Nabû.
No deity is found to occur more than once in maledictions in
the historical inscriptions of this period. However, the number
of such texts is too small to warrant any conclusions.

4. Assyrian Period.

1. Contracts.

(1) *Royal Contracts.* In the reign of Adad-nirari IV c. 810
B. C. a royal contract (Kohler und Ungnad, *Assyrische Rechts-
urkunden*, No. 1) contains an oath and the following expression:
rubû arkû pi-i dan-ni-te šû-a-tu la ú-šam-sak, "a later prince
shall not change the contents of this contract". Although no
direct malediction is here expressed, the phrase may be con-
sidered an equivalent. The oath is taken in reference, as it

seems, to the preservation of the contents of the contract, and contains within itself the idea of a malediction, which is evident in the above quoted phrase. The same is true of KUA 4 of the same reign; KUA 8 (reign of Tiglathpileser III); and KUA 9 (c. 730 B. C.), all of which contain an oath and the same stereotyped expression as was found in KUA 1. KUA 10 (reign of Sargon c. 722) contains no malediction, but the following phrase occurs: *aš-šu sat-tak-ki ilu A-šur la ba-da-a-li ù zi-kir šarri mah-ri-e la šú-un-ni-i kunuk šarri ab-run-ma ad-din-šú-nu-ti*, "in order that the tribute to Ašur may not come into disuse, and the notice of the former king may experience no change, I imprinted my royal seal and gave it to them". Here the sealing seems to take the place of the malediction.

KUA 15 (reign of Ašurbanipal c. 668) is an interesting contract. Whoever sins against the contract will incur the displeasure not only of the gods but also of the king. The stereotyped formula reads: *ú-lu-u šarru ú-lu-u rubû šâ pi-i dan-ni-ti šu-a-tu ú-ša-an-nu-ú ni-iš ilu Ašur ilu Adad ilu Be-ir ilu En-lil Aš-šur ki ú ilu Ištar Aš-šur ki-i-tun*, "whoever changes the contents of this contract, whether king or prince, may Ašur etc. curse him". The word *niš* here can be translated by nothing else but "curse". The content requires it. The same formula is found in KUA 16 (reign of Ašurbanipal) and the deities Ašur, Adad, Ber, Enlil of Assyria, and Ištar of Assyria are invoked. KUA 18, of the same reign, is fragmentary in the place where we should expect the malediction, and was probably the same as KUA 16. KUA 19, the date of which is uncertain, probably contained a similar malediction to the above. There is sufficient evidence to show that the king was invoked in the malediction.

KUA 20 (reign of Ašur-etel-ilâni c. 626) is very fragmentary where the malediction ought to come. A portion, however, is preserved, showing that deities were invoked. The introductory *ni-iš* is also preserved. The usual cause of the malediction is stated. KUA 21 of the same reign is another fragment. KUA 23 (undated) contains a command instead of a malediction. It is: "O future prince, change not the contents of this contract".

(2) *Dedication of a Temple.* KUA 44 (time of Ašurbanipal). A temple is dedicated to Ninib. Whoever deprives Ninib of the property will be cursed by Ninib, a goddess (broken off),

Adad, Nabû, Ištar, Ašur, Gula. The old *ar-rat la napšuri* is invoked.

(3) *Inheritance.* KUA 46 (uncertain date) is an inheritance contract. Whoever disturbs it will be cursed by Bêl and Nabû. KUA 47 (undated) is a similar contract. A piece of land in Nineveh near the temple of Šamaš is presented by a man to his daughter. Whoever in future disputes the contract will be cursed by Ašur, Sin, Šamaš, Bêl, Nabû.

(4) *Exchange.* KUA 632 (c. 600 B. C.) is a slave exchange. Whoever contests the transaction must pay a certain amount of money. This punishment takes the place of the malediction. The judges in the decision are the deities Ašur, Šamaš, Bêl, and Nabû.

2. Historical Inscriptions.

The first Assyrian historical inscription which contains a malediction belongs to the reign of Pudi-ilu c. 1350 B. C. (Budge and King, *The Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, p. 3). The king declares that whoever shall blot out his name or alter his inscription may Šamaš overthrow his kingdom and send famine upon the land. The next is an inscription of the reign of Adad-Nirari I c. 1325 (B. & K., pp. 9-12) recording the king's conquests and his restoration of the temple of Anu. He declares that whosoever shall blot out his name and inscribe his own in its place or shall in any other of many enumerated ways deface or injure the inscription will be cursed. The deities invoked are: Ašur, Anu, Bêl, Ea, Ištar, all the great gods, the Igigi (the spirits) of heaven, and the Anunnaki (spirits) of earth. The evil curse (*ir-ri-ta ma-ru-uš-ta*) is invoked. In the Annals of Tukulti-Ninib I c. 1275 B. C. (L. W. King, *Records of the Reign of Tukulti-Ninib I*, pp. 92-95) a malediction similar to the above is recorded. The one god invoked is Ašur. Upon a clay tablet of the time of Sennacherib is a copy of a seal inscription of the reign of Tukulti-Ninib I (B. & K., pp. 14ff.). The inscription contains a malediction in which the gods Ašur and Adad are invoked. The same malediction is repeated. Building inscriptions of the time of Ašur-reš-iši c. 1140 B. C. (B. & K., pp. 17ff.) contain two maledictions in one of which Ištar is invoked and in the other the gods.

Tiglath-pileser I c. 1100 B. C. in his great Cylinder inscription (B. & K., pp. 27ff.) appeals to the gods Anu and Adad to curse with an evil malediction (*ar-ra-ta ma-ru-uš-ta li-ru-ru-uš*) all

who may in any way violate his inscriptions. Ašur-bêl-kala c. 1080 B. C. has left an inscription on the back of a female statue (B. & K., pp. 152ff.) in which a malediction is pronounced invoking the gods of Martu and a god whose name has not been completely preserved. What is left is *Za*.

The annals of Tukulti-Ninib II c. 889 B. C. (Scheil, *Annales de Tukulti Ninip* II, rev. ll. 63-64) contains a malediction in which the name of Ašur, and Adad are invoked. Ašur-našir-pal c. 884 (B. & K., pp. 155ff.) invokes a malediction in the name of Ašur, Adad, and Ura; another in the name of Ištar (B. & K. 172); a third in the name of Ašur and Ninib (B. & K. 188); and a fourth in the name of Ašur, Anu, Bêl, and Ea (B. & K. 252ff.). Sargon c. 722 (KB II, pp. 50-51) invokes Ašur, Šamaš, Rammân, and the gods; Sennacherib (KB II 112-113) invokes Ašur; and Ašurbanipal (KB II 237ff.) invokes Ašur, Sin, Šamaš, Rammân, Bêl, Nabû, Ištar of Nineveh, Ištar of Arbela, Ninib, Nergal, and Nuska in one inscription, and Marduk alone in another. In the latter Marduk is invoked because the malediction occurs in an inscription which has to do with the installation of a Babylonian king. To an inscription of the reign of Agum I or Agum-Kakrimi c. 1734 B. C. (KB III¹ pp. 152-153), one of the Kassite kings, there is appended a note of Ašurbanipal invoking a malediction upon anyone who might remove his name (the name of Ašurbanipal) from the stela. The deities Ašur and Bêlit are invoked. The very last king of Assyria, namely, Sin-šar-iškun c. 616-606 invoked the gods to curse (*li-ru-ru-uš*) the future violator.

The deities invoked in contracts of the Assyrian period are:

The king and Ašur, Adad, Ber, Assyrian Enlil, Assyrian Ištar.

Ašur, Adad, Ber, Assyrian Enlil, Assyrian Ištar.

The king.

The great gods.

Ninib, a goddess (name lost), Adad, Nabû, Ištar, Ašur, Gula.

Bêl, Nabû.

Ašur, Sin, Šamaš, Bêl, Nabû.

Ašur, Šamaš, Bêl, Nabû.

It is worthy of note that in the earliest Assyrian contracts no maledictions were invoked; that the king was invoked

sometimes as well as the deities; and that few stereotyped phrases occur. Many of the tablets that have been recovered are in a poor state of preservation. Ašur is, as would be expected, the favourite deity in these maledictions.

The deities invoked in historical inscriptions of this period are:

Šamaš.

Ašur, Anu, Bêl, Ea, Ištar, the Igigi, the Anunnaki.

Ašur.

Ašur, Adad.

Ištar.

Anu, Adad.

A god *Za-*, and the gods of Martu.

Ašur, Adad.

Ašur, Adad, Ura.

Ištar.

Ašur, Ninib.

Ašur, Anu, Bêl, Ea.

Ašur, Šamaš, Rammân, and the gods.

Ašur, Sin, Šamaš, Rammân, Bêl, Nabû, Ištar of Nineveh,

Ištar of Arbela, Ninib, Nergal, Nusku.

Marduk.

Ašur, Bêlit.

The gods.

Ašur is also the favourite deity in these maledictions.

5. New Babylonian Period.

1. *Contracts.* Nbk. 125 (Kohler und Peiser, *Aus dem Bab. Rechtsleben*) is a slave contract in which Nabû and Marduk are invoked in the malediction. It was drawn up in the 21st year of Nabuchadrezzar. Nbk. 283 is an inheritance contract from the 35th year of the same reign. In the malediction Marduk and Nabû are invoked. Nabû-na'id (KB IV 214-215) is represented by a contract which contains a malediction. Anu, Bêl, and Ea are invoked to bring upon the offender the *ar-rat la nap-šu-ru ma-ar-uš-tum*. Then Nabû, IB, and Bêlit-ekalli are also invoked. The contract is sealed. Here we have the perfect malediction formula of earlier days, the great gods Anu, Bêl, and Ea being invoked. This is characteristic of this antiquarian king who made an attempt to restore the customs

of past ages. In another contract (KB IV 234-235) the curse of the great gods (*ir-rit ilâni rabûti*) is written; and in still another (KB IV 246-247) Marduk and Zarpanitum are invoked.

2. *Historical Inscriptions.* In an inscription of the time of Nabopolassar (Langdon, *Die Neubabylonischen Königsinschriften*, pp. 66 ff.) there is an expression of a malediction. It is: *ši-te'-e-ma li-na-ru ga-ri-ka*, "may they overthrow thy enemies". The deities invoked are Nabû and Marduk.

Nabonaid in an inscription (Langdon, *op. cit.*, pp. 218 ff.) invokes a malediction upon his enemies. This curse is embedded in a detailed blessing which the king invokes upon himself. In the malediction no specific god is named.

The deities invoked in contracts of the New Babylonian period are:

Marduk, Nabû.

Nabû, Marduk.

Anu, Bêl, Ea, Nabû, IB, Bêlit-ekalli.

Great gods.

Marduk, Zarpanitum.

Only one malediction has been found in historical inscriptions of this period which contains the names of invoked deities. The deities are: Nabû and Marduk. In these historical inscriptions numerous blessings are found where maledictions would be expected. The favourite gods, as one would expect, are Nabû and Marduk.

6. Persian Period.

In the seventh year of the reign of Cyrus (KB IV 278-279) there was drawn up an interesting will. In the contract it is stated that whosoever contests the will Anu, Bêl, and Ea will curse him with an indissoluble malediction, and Nabû will deprive him of future days. The formula is: *ar-ra-as-su mar-ru-uš-tu li-i-ru-ur*. It is sealed before witnesses.

The historical inscriptions of this period contain no maledictions but many blessings. It seems that the benediction has gradually taken the place of the curse. This fact would prove very suggestive in a study of the development of the social moral consciousness in Babylonian and Assyrian culture.

II. General Nature of the Malediction in Cuneiform Inscriptions.

The malediction as found in Cuneiform inscriptions seems to have been employed as a means of praying down evil upon a person. There were two main classes, direct and conditional. A direct malediction was pronounced after the forbidden deed had been done, *e. g.* *Ištar it-ta-di a-ru-ru-ta*, "Ištar pronounced a malediction" (Gilg. Epos VI, 175). A conditional malediction is one which is invoked and will take effect if the forbidden deed be done, *e. g.* "in future time if this tablet be destroyed then may the great gods wrathfully curse (*ag-giš li-ru-ru-šu*) him (the destroyer)" (Kudurru of Nebuchadrezzar I).

Some maledictions were considered more powerful than others. There were some which belonged to a class known as the "indissoluble malediction". This designation occurs again and again under such forms as: *ar-rat la pa-ša-ri*, *ar-rat la nap-šu-ri*. A malediction of similar significance occurs under the following forms: *ir-ri-ta ma-ru-uš-ta*; *iz-ra rab-a*. The oft recurring words *enim enim nam-šub nun-ki-ga ú-me-ni-šig*, "the words of the malediction of Eridu utter" refer to a standard formula of magic curse. We do not know what the words of this formula were.

The most frequent source or cause of maledictions is found in the endeavour of kings to have their name and fame well preserved throughout the ages, and whoever failed to do whatever was calculated to bring that about was made the object of a malediction. Not only the king's own name, but also that of his father and grandfather must be preserved (V R 10, 116-120, Ašurbanipal, Rassam-Cylinder). Moreover, the king's record must be placed in a conspicuous location, and published, so that all may be able to read of his renown. The kings thus provided for the punishment of sins of omission as well as of those of commission. Whoever seized the property of another, and tried to claim ownership; or whoever disturbed the grave of a king; or removed a boundary-stone (I R 70 Col. II 8-9; cf. Deut. 27 17) was cursed. A malediction may come upon a man not only because of his own sins, but also because of those of his parents¹. In short, the smallest offence

¹ See Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Babylonischen Religion*, *Šurpu*, V-VI, l. 43 etc., where *ar-rat* means the sin which is the result

could cause a malediction, *e. g.* offence against the protective god of the family; against honor, the city etc.

Of course, anyone could be the object of a malediction, and even deities were sometimes cursed, but naturally this was poetically conceived, *e. g.* *ilu Bêl i-zi-ir-an-ni-ma*, "Bêl has cursed Me (Ea)" (IV R 43 Col. I 36, Deluge). Inanimate objects were also cursed, as we learn from KB VI, *Weltsch.*, Tafel III, l. 19, where the day is cursed (compare Radau, *Ninib the Determiner of Fates*, p. 23, where stones are cursed).

As in the case of the oath so here the greater the gods invoked, or the more solemn the occasion, the greater the banning power of the malediction.

When a curse was pronounced it often comprised in its malediction the whole activity of a man's life. His every work and interest were placed under a ban. Not only the man himself but also his seed was doomed to destruction (Compare the Hebrew curse in Deut. 27, 17, Ps. 109, etc.). As each deity seems to have had a special work to do when pronouncing a malediction—even the minor deities—the contents of a curse were very various and extensive. Like the ban, a malediction always brought misfortune upon its object; yet it acted as the strongest possible protection—as a taboo. This is seen very clearly in those cases where it took the place of an oath serving as a protection against violation.

III. General Ritual of the Malediction in Cuneiform Inscriptions.

Any one presumably could invoke a malediction, but the king appears, as far as our literature goes, to have been the most frequent invoker. Further, any divine being whether god or demon could be invoked, and the "seven" which were so active in Babylonian and Assyrian times may have been an expression indicative of all the gods or demons. All the great gods whose names are mentioned in heaven and earth (*ilâni rabûti ma-la i-na šamê u eršiti šum-šu-nu zak-ru*) may be invoked. The greater the god the oftener he was likely to have been invoked. Once or twice the king was invoked. This was due to the tendency to deify him. In poetry such beings as

of a malediction. Compare the Hebrew doctrine implied in Jer. 31, 29 and Ezekiel 18, 2.

Tiāmat (KB VI, *Weltsch.* III 73) and Gilgameš (Gilg. Epos VI 84) could pronounce a malediction. When inscribing a tablet, the names of the deities invoked were placed on record with the inscription. These, then, acted as the special gods who would curse the transgressors. Such deities, even when their names were unknown, acted as protective gods.

A malediction could presumably be pronounced anywhere, although, of course, it is reasonable to suppose that special occasions might call for special ritual in this respect. On one occasion it is said that Ištar went upon the wall of Erech and pronounced a malediction (Gilg. Epos VI 174-175). This is, of course, poetical; but it is an indication of use.

It is difficult to say whether one time was considered more favourable than another for the pronounciation of a malediction. Such expressions as *ûmî a-ru-ur-ti*, "the day of malediction"; *û-um su-gi-i u ar-ra-ti*, "the day of want and malediction" occur often, but no definite conclusions can be drawn from them. However, it seems that certain times were unfavourable for such purposes, *e. g.* the 7th 14th 19th 21st and 28th of different months (IV R 32-33, *Hemerology*).

As far as we know, few physical acts were performed at the pronounciation of a malediction. But since maledictions seem to be so bound up with oaths, often being substitutes for them, and oaths were taken by raising the hand, it seems likely that the same gesture¹ was also used at the pronounciation of a malediction. However, the attitude assumed at the pronounciation of a malediction was probably like that of the seven devils on the bas-relief (Frank, *Babyl. Beschwörungs-reliefs*, Tafel IV G, LSS, III 3. But it is also possible that the seven devils have in one hand a stone to throw). It seems certain, however, that the spoken word was the commonest form. Poetically speaking, the god pronouncing the malediction may change his outward visible form as Ninib did (Hrozný, *Mythen von dem Gotte Ninrag*, MVAG 1905, 5. pp. 24f.). But it is not at all sure that this metamorphosis was made as a ritual preparation for the pronouncing of the malediction.

A ban is similar to, and interchangeable with, a malediction. *Mamîtu* is often translated ban and so is *niš*. This is further

¹ Compare *مَامِ*, to make a sign with the hand, with which *mamîtu* is related, and whose derivative *مَامِة* means misfortune or malediction.

proved by the use of the word *arâru* which means (1) to ban, and (2) to curse. But every ban is not necessarily a malediction, because the ban is usually the work of the witch, charmer, or demon who secures control over divine influences by properly uttering the ban and by magic symbolism; while the malediction is the work of a divine person. The evil-spirits, demons, charmers, and witches ban one chiefly through the instrumentality of the "evil glance", the "evil tongue", the "evil mouth", or more often the "evil word", together with certain magical acts such as the use of a picture made of different kinds of material. The gods *curse* when called upon to do so, but also *ban* the evil-spirits who have enchanted mankind, e. g. *kiš-pi ik-šip-an-ni ki-šip-šu*, "by the charm by which he has charmed me, charm thou (Nusku) him" (Tallqvist, *Maqlu* I Obv. 126). Gilgameš is called the *bêl ma-mi-ti-ku-nu*, "lord of the ban", i. e. the master of the enchantment which enchants a person, and he can dispel it by pronouncing a ban upon the evil-spirit who holds the person in its power. A ban produces a malediction, and a malediction produces a ban (cf. the phrase *ar-rat u-sur-ta*, "the curse of a ban")—especially if the ban has been the result of one's own sinfulness. To be under the influence of a ban was considered a bad thing, for we find it often coupled with other afflictions. Hence, one sought always to be rid of the ban; and since most bans acted at the same time as maledictions and were often identical with them, we can assume that the same ritual was used in removing a malediction as in the case of the removal of a ban. In fact, in the loosing of a ban the malediction which it produced was removed, and *vice versa*. Hence, I shall proceed to describe the main features of the ritual used in the removal of a ban as being the same as those used in the removal of a malediction.

The ceremony in the loosing of a malediction was sometimes very simple, but oftener very elaborate. In some cases, merely the pronunciation of a set formula was sufficient to drive away the evil-spirits. Such a formula was: "in the name of heaven be exorcised, in the name of earth be exorcised", etc. In other cases, besides the formula, certain specific acts were necessary. For example; Marduk's attention is attracted by a man suffering under a malediction. He goes to his father Ea and says: *a-bi ar-rat limut-tim Kîma gal-li-e ana amêli*

it-taš-kan, "my father an evil malediction like a demon has befallen a man". After relating the whole story of the man's affliction he succeeds in being sent by Ea to loose the sufferer. He goes and takes the enchanted man and explains his enchantment. Then he pronounces the destruction of the ban. The man is free from his malediction, and in turn the sorcerer is banned.

There are some other methods even simpler: a man may be loosed after having prayed in a prescribed way, *e. g.* by lifting up the hands in prayer and invoking the great gods. King gives a good example of this in his translation of No. 12 l. 78b-79 of his *Bab. Magic and Sorcery*: *lip-šu-ru ni-šu ma-mit ni-iš ḫāti zikir ilāni rabūti*, "from the ban, the malediction, may the lifting up of my hand, the invocation of the great gods, give release".

From the cylinder seals we can easily tell the attitude a man must assume when led before the deity. He stands with both hands raised—sometimes with only one, the other being taken by the priest who leads him. Then come the invocation, confession, and prayers, recited partly by the priest and partly by the man. Offerings are then made, magical rites, such as the presentation of small images, the knotting and unknotting of colored threads, throwing into a fire certain substances, dropping certain substances into oil, and pouring libation. Very often the exact position of the priest was required. He must stand facing the east, west, or the evening star, according to the time of day. A specific place was often prescribed, *e. g.*, on the river bank in the house of ablution. The priest who stood in the service of the gods wielded the same power against the evil-spirits as the evil-spirits wielded against the sick. He wore vestments special to the occasion, changing them at certain points in the service. He recited the *Šiptu*, *ki-ma šame-e li-lil ki-ma irši-tim li-bi-ib ki-ma ki-rib šame-e lim-mir*, "like heaven may he be bright, like earth may he be clean, like the middle of heaven may he be pure", or exorcising formula, in technical language, which was the weightiest weapon he could wield against the evil-spirit. This he did usually in a whisper in the presence of an image of wax, or with mutterings or singing. Accompanying the ceremony was the burning of torches. Liquids and incense played a prominent part, especially water. Washing especially with pure and clean

water—sometimes with oil of different kinds—played a prominent rôle in the ritual. Unwashed hands always denoted ritual uncleanness. A man usually washed his hands over a bowl with images of the witches in it. The water could also be drunk as a remedy, but in every case it must be absolutely pure and clean.

Then, there often took place the symbolical burning of the evil-spirit or witch which was supposed to hold the man under ban or malediction. The picture of the witch (which may or may not be known) played the chief part. Here the common magical element of fire came in. Sometimes the images were made of burnable material, such as, wood, pitch, clay, wax, etc. Then came the symbolical casting of certain things in fire, such as, tamarisk-wood, *muštakal*-plant, cane, etc.

It was customary sometimes for the priest to repeat the ceremonies, which the witch had performed and thus, by the law of opposites, succeeded in driving the evil-spirit away (cf. Maqlu II 148-168). Perhaps the most usual proceeding in loosing a malediction was the following: the priest goes into the presence of the sick man before the great gods, the lords of loosing, asks a series of questions about what the sick man might have done to deserve the malediction, reciting a long list of sins which might have caused it in order to locate as definitely as possible the sufferer's sin. Then, with the sick man, he recited a litany, touching the sick man and calling upon the different gods. Finally, the loosing benediction is pronounced, "go and never return". The ban passes on to the evil-spirit leaving the sick man whole.

And now let us indicate as briefly as possible the two chief modes of loosing the malediction, *i. e.*, the simple and the elaborate. Of course the degree of simplicity and elaborateness varied. It may be said that the simple mode is that used in the case of an ordinary person. It consisted merely in the recitation of an incantation. Examples can be found in Zim-mern, *Šurpu*, V-VI. On the other hand, very elaborate ceremonies prevailed, for example, in the loosing of a king from his malediction. Let us briefly indicate one example: The king comes and has something placed on his head. A formula is recited and atonement is made. The exorciser puts on a dark garment and causes seven altars to be set up. Upon these altars he places dates, bread, honey, oil, etc. Then seven

incense vessels and seven vessels of wine are prepared, a lamb is killed and an offering is made. After many other points of ritual, the exorciser stands behind the preparations which he has made, being careful to stand with his face towards them, and recites the incantation. A preparation of honey and butter is cast to the four winds, gifts are brought out to the gates, the offering is completed, and prayers are directed to the "seven gods" for the king's forgiveness. Up to this point only the priest has been active. Now the king takes part for the first time. He takes up his position on an elevated place and prays that his sins be forgiven. He then pours intoxicating liquid into a special vessel and prays for continuance of life; and into another he makes libation and prays for purity. He then washes in pure water and puts on a clean robe. The exorciser again takes up his part, by going to the palace gate and making an offering of a sheep, and sprinkling the doorposts with its blood. Then follows a special piece of ritual. The exorciser goes to a field and causes a bath-house for the gods to be built, near which are set up the standards of the king. Three offerings are made. Then censers are prepared and supplied with cypress for twenty-three gods and different incantations are said, each three times. Then follow different atonement ceremonies before different gods, and several minor points of ritual, and the exorciser waits for the setting of the sun. The king again takes part. After sun-set he washes himself in water, puts on a clean ritual garment and sits in the bath-house. The priest then kindles all the censers which he has placed before the king; prepares the wood and offers the sacrificial lamb. Then he brings the three kinds of meat with cypress, milk, wine, and different gifts. Finally, he makes another atonement for the king who repeats the prescribed incantation, and the evil-spirits depart (compare Zimmern, *Ritualtafeln*).

The official looser of a malediction was the priest—usually the *Ašipu* priest (see Zimmern, *op. cit.*, *Ašipu*)—acting through the power and under the direction of the gods. Special gods were usually invoked. The most usual were the so-called light-gods, the patrons of the exorciser and magician. These were Ea, Šamaš, Gibil, Nusku, Ištar, etc. Nusku under the name Gibil (written Bil-Gi or Giš-Bar) *i. e.* the fire-god, was often invoked especially in hymns. The greater the god the

more certain was the removal of the curse, and hence Ea, the inventor of all "the useful arts, and especially of magic, the master of wisdom" (or his envoys) was oftenest invoked. Marduk was so popular as the lord of magic and exorcism, that incantation itself became especially identified with his name, *e. g.*, *šip-tum ši-pat ilu Marduk a-ši-pu ša-lam ilu Marduk*, "incantation is the incantation of Marduk, exorcism is the image of Marduk" (Zimmern, *op. cit.*, No. 54). Yet, by the power of any god, through the priest, one could be loosed from his malediction, because the usual formula, *niš ilāni rabūti lū tamāta*, "in the name of the great gods be thou exorcised", is merely a stereotyped expression for all the gods, great and small, known and unknown. Thus, the priest, through the gods, with the accessories of natural assistance such as "the storm of the south, north, east, and west, the four winds"; or of suitable seasons, such as the "feast of departed souls, gift-day, unlucky-day", etc., could always loose the malediction.

After the evil-spirits were driven forth, means were devised to keep them away. Herbs were prepared as an antidote against them, either before or after they had really gone. Probably also the sign of the cross was used¹. However, talismans were frequently used. They had usually an inscription, *e. g.*, *parak Ašur u Melam eli bīti an-ni-i*, "may the shrine of the gods Ašur and Melam be over this house" (King, New Fragment of the Dibbarra-legend-ZA XI, 1896, p. 52). Defence against evil-spirits was made by recourse to objects supposed to contain some holy power, *e. g.*, a ring, amulet, image, plant, "white-wool" spun into threads, "black-wool", etc. Holy objects were often stationed at the outer-gate of the house of the cursed man to prevent evil-spirits from ever entering again. Sometimes an image of the sick man (or parts of the sick man's body) was made and various ceremonies performed with it. Blood was used in a similar way as by the Hebrews, as a defence against evil-spirits (see Zimmern, *op. cit.*, No. 26, l. 19-21). It was thought that the malediction could be diverted by different spirits if invoked. Such were considered protective deities and were very numerous.

¹ Compare Hommel, *Grundriß*, p. 100, Anm. 1. For the cross as a sign-mark and a symbol of the enemy-god in inscriptions, see Hilprecht, *BE*, II pl. 59, No. 129, and in other places. See also Jeremias, *ATAO*, 1. Aufl., p. 356.

In the above study an attempt has been made to record every instance of an actually pronounced malediction found in Cuneiform inscriptions. Our study of the ritual of the malediction, however, has taken into consideration not only the actually pronounced maledictions but likewise the many references to maledictions found in magical and poetical literature. These references, while not indicating actually pronounced maledictions, nevertheless throw much light upon the conceptions associated with the idea of malediction and with the manner in which a malediction could be properly pronounced or averted.

In conclusion, it may be remarked that the malediction in Babylonian and Assyrian times was a highly developed legal and religious ceremony, universally practiced and respected. It not only figured in ceremonies of great occasions, but also penetrated into the everyday life of the people. It seemed to have served almost the same purpose as Common Law does among modern people, for it acted as a restraint, corrective, and stimulant to better deeds. It illustrates the force which religion, even when it is merely magical, can exercise upon the human mind.

Note on Atharva-Veda XX, 127, 10. — By Professor
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Near the end of the twentieth book of the Atharva-Veda stands the group of so-called *Kuntāpa* hymns, the first of which is the 127th of the book. This 127th hymn falls into four distinct documents, the third of the four comprising verses 7—10, and dealing with the golden age of King Parikṣit, who is an aspect of Agni.¹ The text of the four stanzas, as given by Hillebrandt, *Vedachrestomathie*, p. 39, is as follows:

7. rājño viśvajānīnasya	yó devó mártyañ áti
vaiśvānarāśya suṣṭutīm	ā śṛnotā parikṣītaḥ
8. parikṣin naḥ kṣémam akaḥ	uttamā āsanam ācāran
kulāyaṁ kṛtvān kaúravyaḥ	pátir vadati jāyáyā
9. katarát ta ā harāṇi	dadhimanthām parisrútaṁ
jāyā pátim ví prcchati	rāṣṭré rājñaḥ parikṣītaḥ
10. abhī 'va svāḥ prá jibhite	yávaḥ pakvāḥ paró bilam
jānaḥ sá bhadráṁ edhate	rāṣṭré rājñaḥ parikṣītaḥ

Essential Apparatus Criticus (see Roth and Whitney, *Atharva Veda Sanhita*, Berlin, 1856; Shankar Pāṇḍurang Pāṇḍit, *Atharvavedasamhitā*, Bombay, 4 vols., 1895—8).

7d: *sunotā*, Mss. and Bom., from Prāk. root *su*, = Skt. *śṛ*; *śṛnotā* is restored by RW.

8ab: *akarottāma* Mss., *akarot tāma* Bom., *akar uttamā* RW.

¹ The Brāhmaṇas interpret Parikṣit as either Agni or the year, since of either it may be said that it "lives round the people, and the people live round" it. Cf. Ait. Br. vi, 32, 10 ff. and M. Haug's trans., II, p. 432; Gop. Br. ii, 6, 12; Kauś. Br. xxx, 5; Śāṅkh. Śr. S. xii, 17. But the epithet *vaiśvānara*, here applied to Parikṣit, is a constant Rigvedic epithet of Agni, and in Śat. Br. i, 4, 1, 15—16, Agni *vaiśvānara* is spoken of in much the same vein as here in the AV.

9b: *dādhi mānthām* Mss. and Bom., *dādhi manthām* RW.; for Hillebrandt's *dadhimanthām*, see footnote 2.

9b: *pari śrūtam* most Mss., Bom.; *pariśrūtam* RW.; *pari śrūtām* a few Mss.; cf. footnote of following page.

10a: *abhīśvaḥ* most Mss. and Bom., *śva* Ms. C.; RW. emends as above.

10b: *pathó* or *pátho* Mss., *pathó* Bom., *paró* RW.

10c: *édhati* Mss. and Bom.; *edhate* RW., from Vait. S. 34, 9c.

Bloomfield's translation of these stanzas (in his *Hymns of the Atharva Veda*, vol. xlii of *the Sacred Books of the East*, pp. 197—8; cf. also his commentary on pp. 688—692) runs as follows:

"7. Listen ye to the high praise of the king who rules over all the peoples, the god who is above mortals, of Vaiśvānara Parikṣit!

"8. 'Parikṣit has secured for us a secure dwelling, when he, the most excellent one, went¹ to his seat'. [Thus] the husband in Kuru-land, when he founds his household, converses with his wife.]

"9. 'What may I bring to thee, curds, stirred drink,² or liquor?' [Thus] the wife asks her husband in the kingdom of king Parikṣit.

"10. Like light the ripe barley runs over beyond the mouth [of the vessels]. The people thrive merrily in the kingdom of king Parikṣit."

The first two pādas of stanza 10 are of doubtful interpretation,³ though the text is reasonably certain; Hillebrandt's text is that of Roth-Whitney, which is followed both by Bloomfield and by Griffiths (*The Hymns of the Atharva Veda*, 2 vols., Benares, 1895—6), in their translations. Bloomfield [himself says of his own translation (*op. cit.*, p. 691), "The comparison of the overflow of the grain with the bursting forth of the light is bold, nay bizarre". Then suggesting that the correct

¹ Rather *came*, i. e., to his place in the house as the sacrificial fire.

² The *katarāt* of pāda *a* shows that *b* expresses only two separate beverages, and *dadhimanthām* must therefore with Hillebrandt be read as one word. *Dadhimanthā* is interpreted in the commentary of Gārgya Nārāyaṇa to Aśv. Gṛh. S. ii, 5, 2, by the words *dadhimīśrās tu dadhimantāḥ prakīrtitāḥ*, and should be translated *meal stirred with sour milk*.

³ Both pāda-text and native commentary are wanting in the Bombay edition.

reading may be not *svāh*, but *svāh*, written for *śvāh* 'to-morrow', with the common confusion of the different sibilants,¹ he offers an alternative translation, "On the morrow the ripe barley bursts forth from the opening of the ground", that is, "grain planted to-day ripens on the morrow".

Now *iva*, the second word of the line, is a postpositive particle of comparison, and must govern the *abhi* which precedes it, as well as the *svāh* which follows. Either of Bloomfield's translations makes a perfectly clear interpretation, indicative of abundance of food in the happy days of King Parikṣit, quite in keeping with the rest of the hymn; but his first version neglects the *abhi*, and his alternative disregards the *iva*. Griffiths (*op. cit.* II, 434) takes proper account of both in his translation, "Up as it were to heavenly light springs the ripe corn above the cleft", but his English is unintelligible; possibly by the *cleft* we are to understand the rift through which the plant makes its way out of the ground? But either by this interpretation or by Bloomfield's alternative translation, to represent the *ripe* grain as springing forth from the ground is decidedly incongruous.

The following version may therefore be presented for 10a and b: "As if toward the sunlight, springs forth the barley [when] ripe beyond the opening [of the jar]". In paraphrase, 'just as the growing barley plants spring up towards the sunlight, so the ripe barley corns spring forth over the mouth of the jar in which they are stored'. This interpretation takes full account of the Sanskrit text, and gives a distinct meaning, fully harmonizing with the context: In King Parikṣit's reign, the barley produces abundantly, luxuriance of the stalks not taking up all the strength of the plants, but being fully matched by the yield of grain, which overflows all receptacles; and India's great plague famine is a thing unheard of.

¹ Cf. Bloomfield and Spieker, *JAOS.* 13, cxvii ff.; the converse miswriting appears in the *pariśrūtam* of the Mss. in 9b, which is kept in the Roth-Whitney and Bombay texts, though corrected by Hillebrandt and recognized as a miswriting by Whitney in his *Index Verborum to the Atharva-Veda*, *JAOS.* 12, 176, and by Monier-Williams in his *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, ed. 2, p. 602, col. 3.

A Coptic Ostrakon. — By Professor WILLIAM H. WORRELL,
Hartford, Conn.

The curious ostrakon here presented was bought in 1909 by Professor Walter Dennison from the well known dealer in Gizeh, the Shêch Ali al-Arabi (who as usual gave no information of its origin), and was kindly placed at my disposal.

Text

† wĭNE NCA MHTE NBOOYNE
NBHNE ŽĪTN AMMAK[o]γpī ΠMA
NBOAMOYλ EP E XOYOT NEPTOC
ŽĪWOC ENA ΠMAÑBĪX NE
+ AΘ/ İΔ · İNΔ/ +

Translation

[Ansate cross] Demand ten sacks
of dates from Ammakouri the
camel-driver. He has twenty artabs,
being those of the place of Bij.
+ Ath[or] 14th, [of the current] ind[iction the
year] +

The language is Sahidic with certain northern tendencies, e. g.: BHNE for BNNE, AΘWP for ŽATWP. The sixth letter of the first line is plainly E but must have been intended for C. The eleventh and twelfth of the second line though crowded are MM. The fifteenth of the second line may have been an A similar to the A just preceding and to the Δ of the İΔ in the last line. Yet the space and the visible remains suggest far more strongly OY. Either would be a possible reading. We have here either a Copt or an Arab with the Arabic familiar name المكارى Al-Mukâri, "the Camel-driver". The

Coptic writer either consciously or unconsciously translates this by ΠΜΑΝΘΑΜΟΥΛ, and renders it phonetically by ΑΜΜΑ-ΚΟΥΡΙ. It was probably the only name by which he was to be designated. Such metatheses are common in vulgar Egyptian Arabic today. For the kunya المكارى see Al 'Asyûti, *Lubbu l-Lubâb*, edition Veth, page ror. But the assimilation of the l of the article is Coptic and rare at that, for the Arabic article with following m is regularly given in Coptic as ΑΛΜ.

The name Pemanbij, or the place of Bij, is difficult. The tempting identification with the name of the now ruined city of Mambij (Mabog, Bambyke) in extreme northern Syria, north-east of Aleppo, must be rejected. Ripe dates are not produced on the coast today further north than about Jaffa; and palms cease to grow north of Haifa. In Mesopotamia the northern limit of the date-palm is fixed by Baedeker, *Palästina und Syrien*, 1910, p. 395, between Sâmarrâ and Bagdad. Egypt, the land of dates, would not have imported such from southern Mesopotamia by way of Mambij. On the other hand, I find no record of any Egyptian locality of that name; and ΒΙΧ is found in Peyron's *Lexicon Linguae Copticae*, 28, following Kircher's very doubtful authority, to be the Arabic فِص "tessera", "pupilla", "joint", "gem". As it is written in larger letters than the rest of the line it must be a proper name.¹

The year of the current indiction is not given. Perhaps the purposes of the memorandum made this unnecessary, and the writer added ἸΝΔ from habit. Possibly the numeral | 10 is intended by the + at the end.

¹ I am indebted to Professor Torrey for the suggested identification of the word with البجة mentioned by al Belâdhuri 238 f. [ed. Cairo 1319, p. 247 f.; cf. Maqrîzi ed. Cairo 1324, vol. i, p. 313 f.]. The name was, and perhaps still is applied [Baedeker, *Egypt and the Sudân*, 1908, p. xxxviii, Beja], to a nomadic people east of the Nile, between Qena and Quşêr on the north and the Abyssinian mountains on the south. The famous revolt of this people in 854 A. D. is recorded by Stanley Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, p. 41. The country about Aswân at least is famous for its dates. In Coptic this people is called ΒΑΛΗΓΗΛΙΟΟΡΙ.

147 N E S A L I T E N B O O C H
 N B H K Z J T V A U K O F W I N D
 P R I O Y X S P E X O W T N I T D
 S T A W Y F D R I X B I X M
 T O T A / N O



Religious Conceptions Underlying Sumerian Proper Names. — By GEORGE A. BARTON, Bryn Mawr College.

In cataloguing the Proper Names in the Haverford Library Collection I was impressed with the amount of Sumerian theology which they expressed. Almost all the religious ideas which underly Semitic proper names can be paralleled in Sumerian.

The following study is based on the names in the Haverford Collection. These tablets, though but four hundred in number, contain so many pay rolls that they are particularly rich in proper names. Nearly 3300 individuals are mentioned in them, while in all the documents from which Huber collected the names for his *Personennamen . . . der Zeit der Könige von Ur und Nisin* there are only about 5100 names. The documents here drawn upon do not, therefore, afford a meager basis for induction. Of course a great many of the names found in the Haverford tablets occur in other documents also, and are found in Huber's list. Before considering the religious ideas of particular names it should be noted that some of the most peculiar and striking of these ideas have not yet been found in names of earlier periods. One searches the name-lists from the reigns of Urkagina and Lugalandu in vain for some of them; though, of course, this is not true of those which express the simpler and more common ideas.

The first fact that impresses one in the study of these names is the popularity of certain deities. For example, the name of the goddess Bau enters as a component part into the names of at least 147 individuals mentioned in these texts; that of Utu, the sun-god, into the names of 64 persons; that of Kal, into 58; that of Galgir into 50; and that of Ningirsu, into 54. This does not show any tendency to monotheism among the Sumerians any more than the popularity of Marduk

and Nabu, as shown in the Proper Names of the Neo-Babylonian empire, implies a tendency to monotheism then.

Among the Sumerians the most common way of showing devotion by means of a proper name was to call the boy or girl a "servant" of some deity. Thus 85 different men mentioned in this collection bore the name *Ur-^aBau*. *Ur*¹ not only means "servant", but the "consecrated servant" or *qadesh*; hence the name expressed deep devotion. We find not only *Ur-^aBau*, but *Ur-^aNingirsu*, *Ur-^aEnlil*, *Ur-^aNinâ*, *Ur-^aDumuzi*, etc. All the gods were remembered in this way. Another form of name almost as popular was to call a boy the *gâl* or *gâlu*,² i. e., the "man" of such and such a god. Thus we have *Gâl-^aBau* as the name of 28 individuals in these texts, *Gâl-^aNingirsu*, as the name of 31, *Gâl-^aNarua*, as the name of 22, and the other deities are similarly honored. Girls were in like manner said to be the servants of different deities by calling them the *gim* or *gime*³ of some deity. Thus we have *Gim-^aKal*, *Gim-^aNinâ*, etc. Thirty-two different deities are in these texts honored in this way.

Sometimes, apparently, it was the intention of the parent to place the child under the protection of any or every deity. In that case the infant was called *Ur-dingirra*, *Gâl-dingirra*, or *Gim-dingirra*, "servant of god", "man of god", or "maid-servant of god". It is, of course, possible that in these cases some particular deity was intended, and that the names are hypocoristica.

Naturally there are also many names which ascribe attributes of various kinds to the gods. The following are a few examples: *Nin-an-^aBa-u*,⁴ "Lady of heaven is Bau", sometimes turned about as *^aBa-u-nin-a-an*, "Bau is lady of heaven". *^aUtu-mê-ne*, "Utu is he", is the statement of another name. Others are: *^aUtu-en-dug*, "Utu is good lord"; *^aBa-u-azag-ga*,

¹ This is the Sumerian equivalent of Semitic names beginning with *Arad*, such as *Arad-^uBêl*, *Arad-^uNusku*, etc.

² These are equivalent to Semitic names beginning with *amîlu*, such as *Amîl-^uMarduk*.

³ These are equivalent to Semitic names beginning with *Amtu*, such as *Amat-^uBelit*.

⁴ References are not given for each of these names. They can be found by consulting the name list in Part III of the *Haverford Library Collection of Cuneiform Tablets*.

"Bau is brilliant"; *Ba-u-na-e*, "Bau is greatly exalted"; *aBa-u-bar-giš*, "Bau is a great lady"; *Sag-aBa-u-gál*, "Bau is chief", sometimes shortened to *Sag-aBa-u*. Then we have *aUtu-pad-da*, "Utu is bright"; *aNannar-maš-ib*, "Nannar is a mighty prince"; *aUtu-gir-gal*, "Utu is great strength"; *aUtu-gál-ka*, "Utu is for protection"; *aUtu-ušum-gal*, "Utu is the great one"; *aUtu-bar-ra*, "Utu is lord"; and *Utu-si-di*,¹ "Utu is upright" (HLC, II, 68, 33, i, 12). Sometimes a name asserts something of a god: thus *aBa-u-da-mê-a* means "To Bau there is no father"; or, since *a* may mean "son" also, it may mean "Bau has no son".

Another series of names explains the attitude of the gods toward worshippers. Thus *aUtu-úr-ra* means "Utu is a protector"; *aBa-u-gi-mu*, "Bau is my faithful one" or "my guide"; *Sag-aBa-u-kin*, "The head of Bau turns", apparently toward the worshipper; *aUtu-sag-ga*, "Utu is favorable"; *aNin-gir-su-ni-sag*, "Ningirsu is gracious". Then we have *aBa-u-ni-tum*, "Bau protects"; *aBa-u-še-gál*, "Bau is a rich blessing"; *aUtu-kalam-e*, "Utu is for all"; *aUtu-zi-mu*, "Utu is my life"; *aBa-u-zi-mu*, "Bau is my life"; *aKal-zi-mu*, "Kal is my life"; *aUtu-ki-ram-mê*, "Utu is the one who loves us"; *aKal-e-ba-zi*, "Kal makes him live"; *aŠu-ba-ni*, "Šu created him"; *aÚr-zib-apin*, "The foundation-god places the foundation"; *aBa-u-egir*, "Bau is behind"; *aEn-zu-egir-šu*, "Enzu is behind the hand"; *aNannar-maš-egir*, "Nannar is behind the prince"; *aKal-ama-mu*, "Kal is my mother" or "my love"; *aNin-mar^{ki}-a-igi-dù*, "Ninmar lifts up the eyes"; *aNin-mar^{ki}-mah-kal-la*, "Ninmar exalts the humble man"; *aBa-u-lugal-gi-gi*, "Bau is faithful queen", or "queen of the faithful"; *aBa-u-tur-gid*, "Bau makes the short tall"; *aBa-u-dù*, "The word of Bau exalts".

Several names are formed on the analogy of the Biblical Micah (מִיכָיָהוּ, "who is like Yahu?") and Michael (מִיכָאֵל, "who is like God?"). Thus we have *A-ba-aNin-gir-su-kim*, "Who is like Ningirsu?" and *A-ba-aDun-gi-kim*, "Who is like the god Dungi?" The question is sometimes shortened by leaving the *kim* = "like" to be understood, as in *A-ba-aEn-ki*, "Who is like Enki?" and *A-ba-aNin-gir-su*.

Sometimes the name is a prayer, as *aUtu-ša-rug*, "May Utu increase!"; *aIninni-ša-zal*, "May Ininni be great!" Gu (or)

¹ Erroneously read in my name-list *aUtu-sik-ki*.

Ka-^aBa-u-ma, "Speak, O Bau, the name"; *^aIninni-zi-zi*, "O Ininni, give life!"¹ Sometimes the name alludes to the attitude of a god to the general welfare, as *^aUtu-uru-na*, "Utu exalts the city"²; *^aKal-uru-na*, "Kal exalts the city". The name *^aBa-u-uru* is probably of the same meaning, only the *na* has been omitted. In the same class belongs the name *^aSig-kam-pa-te-si*, "The wool-god the Patesi cultivates".

Sometimes a name expresses the intercession of one god with another. Thus *^aNin-gir-su-zid-da-šagišše-^aNina-ta* means "Ningirsu brings the blessing from Nina".

Sometimes it expresses the aid which one god gives another; this is the case in the name *Ur-^aKal-ma-du-^aNa-ru-a*, in which the *du* might also be read *gin* or *gub*, and which means "Servant of Kal, who brings (or establishes) Narua".

Another series of names indicates a tendency to fuse deities together. Thus we have *Ur-^aUtu-nigin-^aNin-gir-su*, "Servant of Utu (who is) the totality of Ningirsu"; *Ur-^aBa-u-^aŠur-mê*, "Servant of Bau (who is) the god Shur"; *Ur-^aIš-^aBa-u*, "Servant of Ish (who is) Bau"; *Gâl-^aUr-^aAšaru*, Man of Ur (who is) Asharu". It must be said, however, that this tendency has not gone far.

The deification of Dungi and Bur-Sin left its traces in the proper names of the period. Thus we have *Ur-^aBur-^aEn-zu*, "Servant of Bur-Sin" and *^aDun-gi-iši-^aUmun-gal*, "The divine Dungi is the mountain of the great divine lord".

The names compounded with Dungi are especially laudatory. For example, one man bore the name *^aNin-gir-su-a-taḥ-^aDun-gi*, "Ningirsu is the helper of the god Dungi"; another, the name *^aDun-gi-uru-mu*, "The god Dungi is my city"³ — a sentiment not unlike that of Ps. 90¹: "Lord, thou hast been our dwelling place".

Another bore the name *^aDun-gi-nitaḥ-gin*, "The god Dungi increases men", or "weighs men". Still another was called *Tab-^aDun-gi-^aNannar*, "The god Dungi is equal to Nannar".

¹ Which might also be translated "Ininni is life".

² *Na* is here taken in the sense of *elû* (cf. Barton, *Origin of Babylonian Writing*, no. 71⁵). It might be taken as the suffix (no. 71¹²): the name would then become "Utu is his city". In that case these names would be of the type of *^aDun-gi-uru-mu*, mentioned below.

³ Perhaps the *mu* here means "be high" (Barton, *op. cit.* no. 62¹⁹), in which case this name would belong to the class of *^aUtu-uru-na*.

One pay roll (HLC, 10; cf. II, 53) contains no less than ten men, into whose names Dungi as a god entered as an element. Four of these were sons of a certain *Ba-ba-a*. They were *Gāl-^aDun-gi*, "Man of Dungi"; *^aDun-gi-ḫe-gāl*, "The god Dungi is a great blessing"; *^aDun-gi-ra-kalam-ma*, "the people are for the god Dungi"; and *^aDun-gi-kalam-ma-ḫi-li-bi*, "The god Dungi — the people are his delight". Three others, the name of whose father is lost, were *^aDun-gi-a-du-kalam-ma*, "The god Dungi is the prince of the people"; *^aDun-gi-à-nitaḫ*, "The god Dungi is the reward of men"; *^aDun-gi-ki-ḫar-sag*, "The god Dungi is like a mountain", or "inhabits a mountain". A certain *A-tu* mentioned in the same tablet named his son *Ka-^aDun-gi-ib-ta-ē*, "The word of the god Dungi goes forth from him"; while another named *Lugal-gal-ušum* named his two sons, *Ama-^aDun-gi-e-^aUr-ru*, "The mother of the god Dungi is the goddess Urru"; and *^aDun-gi-u-nam-ti*, "The god Dungi is the food of life". Could laudation of a living monarch go further? It is a rare collection of sychophantic praise to be collected in one pay roll! One wonders whether this group of men were especially favored by the king.

There is one name which is peculiar. It is *Šag-gar-zu-erim*, "In the midst of thy food is a slave". It is probably addressed to a god, and indicates that the bearer is among the devotees of the deity from whose bounty he lives. Either the parent who gave this name had a sense of humor or he was a literalist as utterly lacking humor as some of the Puritans who gave their children names consisting of long sentences.

One name is puzzling. I have read it *Išib-ur-sal*, "The priest is a man-woman". *Ur* may have the meaning "dog" = "Sodomite" as in Deut. 23, 19, in which case the name would mean "The priest is a female dog", or "is a bitch"! The term *ur-sal* is probably of similar significance to the *sal-zikru* of the code of Hammurapi, which occurs in §§ 178, 180, etc., and designates a class of women devoted to a god.

Twelve years ago the writer claimed on the ground of the character of the deities and the mythology that the substratum of the civilization of southern Babylonia was Semitic.¹ Later Eduard Meyer² adduced more convincing proof of this

¹ *Semitic Origins*, 1902, 195 ff.

² *Sumerier und Semiten in Babylonien*, 1906.

from the evidence of the art, showing that the gods of the Sumerians in southern Babylonia were fashioned after the models of Semitic culture and that therefore the Semites must have been first in the country. The evidence of these proper names adds another bit of proof which tends to establish the same position. It is hardly possible that so many names should correspond to Semitic models — models which are found all over the Semitic area — had not the Semites been in Babylonia first. If the gods worshipped there by the Sumerians were Semitic, and the Semites formed the bulk of the population, this phenomenon is explicable, but on any other hypothesis it is very difficult to explain.

Striking Phenomena of Sumerian. — By J. DYNELEY
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New York City.

Professor Friedrich Delitzsch, in his recent work *Sumerische Sprachlehre für Nichtassyriologen*, Leipzig, 1914, § 5; § 14, mentions several peculiarities of Sumerian regarding which he invites comment and comparison with similar phenomena in other languages. In the following paper, the two most important features to which he alludes will be briefly discussed; viz., A. the multiplicity of meanings associated with single sound-values; and B. the abbreviation of verbal roots.

A. Multiplicity of Meanings.

One of the most striking characteristics of the Sumerian syllabary is the existence of a great number of words, apparently identical in sound, yet differing widely in signification; a problem which Delitzsch makes little attempt to explain in the work just mentioned, or in his *Sumerische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1914), or *Sumerisches Glossar* (Leipzig, 1914). It is evident, however, that many of these varying meanings must have been distinguished from one another in speech, as their sense-divergence precludes the possibility that they could have been pronounced alike. For example, Delitzsch calls attention to the fact that the syllables *aš* 'one' and *aš* 'six' could not possibly have had the same vocalic value, and hints that there must have existed in the spoken idiom "vocalic *nuances*" which the cuneiform writing was not fitted to express.¹ Such a supposition is perfectly reasonable, so far as it goes, but, as will appear from the following pages, there are other elements to be taken into consideration as well.

In MSL,² I have alluded to the necessity of supposing that

¹ *Sumerische Grammatik*, p. 14, d.

² *Materials for a Sumerian Lexicon*, p. XIX; XXI.

tones must have existed in primitive Sumerian, as in the system prevailing in spoken Chinese; but, while this theory still seems necessary as an aid in accounting for the kaleidoscopic nature of the Sumerian syllabary, it is not in itself sufficient to explain all the variations; first, because the different meanings attached to a syllable frequently exceed the possible, or at any rate probable, number of tones, and secondly, because syllables are often abbreviations of longer originals, a fact which would tend to change the vowel shading or quantity, rather than the tone. This becomes apparent from an examination of almost any sound-value showing a number of meanings.

For instance, Delitzsch mentions the syllable *aš* = 'one' and also = 'six', but this value *aš* seems to have served for seven distinct ideas, divisible into three sign-groups.¹

I. *aš* = the horizontal wedge.

1. *aš* = *êdu* 'one'; *îstên* 'one'; *gitmâlu* 'perfect', which latter is evidently a secondary meaning from the idea 'one', 'unique'; hence also = *magâru* 'agree' and *mitxaru* 'be alike' (see just below sub No. 5 in this list). There can be no doubt that *maš* = *ašâridu* 'first' also belongs to this association, which *maš* must have been pronounced *waš* = *aš*.

2. *aš* 'stretch out; direct': *šu aš-ni*, or *me-ri aš-ni* = *tiriğ gâtîšu* (or *šêpišu*) 'the stretching out of his hand' (or 'foot') Probably this idea of direction also appears in *gar-aš* 'decision'; literally 'making one', or 'making a direction' (order).

3. *aš* 'man', which may be rhotacism for *ur* 'man' (cf. *uš* and *eš* (GI) = 'man'), or else, in this case, the horizontal may have been pronounced *dil(i)*, also = 'man', or it may have been read *ru* as a metathesis for *ur* 'man'. Note in this connection that *aš* and *ru* both = *gitmâlu* 'perfect'.

4. *aš* occurs in the combination *aš-buluğ* 'hasten very much'; as Delitzsch suggests, for *a* = ID 'power' + KU = *š(u)* postposition = 'with power'; hence 'exceedingly'.

II. *aš* = *AŠ*.

5. *aš* = *ğibûtu* 'desire' (n.); = *xašâšu* 'need, want' (vb.). This sense seems to be a development from *aš* = horizontal wedge — *magâru* 'agree' (above in No. 1).

¹ *Materials*, p. IX, on sign-groups.

6. *aš* = *irritu* 'curse' (n.); = *ezêru* 'curse' (vb.), apparently an extension of the sense 'desire' (No. 5), i. e. 'desire' + 'evil' understood.

III. *aš* = Six-Sign.

7. *aš* = 'six', given by Delitzsch as necessarily pronounced with a vowel different to that in *aš* 'one' (No. 1). *āš* = 'six', however, is plainly for *i(a)* 'five' + *aš* 'one'; cf. *i-min* 'seven' = 'five and two'; *us* 'eight' = *i(a)* + *eš* 'five and three', with a change of the written vowel;¹ *i-lim* 'nine' = 'five and four'. The initial palatalized *i* was undoubtedly a weak consonant, as is seen also in Semitic Babylonian verbs, as in *iškun* = *iīškun*, which may really have been pronounced *yīškun*.

It is difficult to analyze satisfactorily even such a brief table of meanings as the above, according to vocalic pronunciation and tone, because there are so many elements of possible difference which do not depend either upon the vowels or the tone. Of the seven sense-values just given, the equivalents *aš* 'man' and *aš* 'six' leave us in doubt as to whether *aš* 'man' was really pronounced *aš*. Here it must be remembered that *aš*, *eš* and *uš* all appear in the sense 'man', and also that there are in Sumerian many other such values, similar to each other in sound, yet identical in meaning. Such are *laġ-luġ* 'wash'; *ġad-ġud* 'be bright'; *na-nu* 'lie down', etc. where exactly the same meaning appears with apparently quite a different vowel (Delitzsch, *Sprachlehre*, § 6). One is tempted to wonder, on examining such equivalents as these, whether some of the vowels in spoken Sumerian were not often obscure and indeterminate,² as, for example, in modern Algonquin Indian idioms. In such a word as Passamaquoddy *'l'mās* 'dog', there is really only one clear vowel; the *û*, and this word has been variously represented by English speaking recorders as *alamoos*; *elemoos*; *ulumoos*. A similar difficulty may well have been present in Sumerian speech, which may give an additional key to the variant writings of syllables which may have the same or allied meanings. On the other hand, all vowels were certainly not indistinct, as we have *zu* 'know', which is probably etymologically connected with *sa-a* = *nabû* 'make known,

¹ Cf. Langdon, *Sumerian Grammar*, p. 118.

² Almost like the *Schwund*; cf. *da-dib-dub*, all = 'seize' (*ṣabātu*).

announce, name'. Furthermore, in connection with *aš* 'man', we are in doubt, as indicated above, as to whether it may not have been pronounced not *aš*, but *dil(i)*, or *ru*. As to *aš* 'six' = *iaš*, this syllable may really have been uttered *iaš*, even when written *aš*, the *i* being a very weak palatal,¹ as noted above sub No. 7. The same principle seems to apply to *aš* 'one', as the form *maš* = *waš* occurs in the sense 'first'. The common ordinal 'first' was *ušu* which must have been pronounced differently to *ušu* 'thirty', plainly from *uš* 'three', a harmonic obscuration² of *eš* 'three' + *u* 'ten'. This *maš* 'first' must have been uttered *waš*, and here again it may be conjectured that *aš* 'one', even when written *aš*, may have been spoken *waš*, although with a very weak initial *w*-. In later speech, (*w*)*aš* 'one' and *i*(*aš*) 'six' may also have developed a short and a long pronunciation respectively. An almost parallel phenomenon appears in Magyar numerals, where *tizenegy* ('ten and one' = *egy*) 'eleven' must be carefully distinguished in pronunciation from *tizennégy* ('ten and four' = *négy*) 'fourteen'. It should also be noted that there are three meanings connected with *aš* 'one', i. e., 'one; perfect; agree', which, although allied in sense, may also have varied tonally; cf. in Chinese the three Mandarin tones *mo*; viz., *mo*¹ 'feel, touch'; *mo*² 'grind, rub'; *mo*³ 'rub out, obliterate', where there are certainly three tones used to distinguish variations of one and the same fundamental idea, while a fourth *mo*⁴ = 'afterwards, at last'.

Of the four remaining *aš*-values; viz., *aš* 'direct, stretch'; *aš* in the combination *a* = ID + *š(u)*; *aš* 'desire' and *aš* 'curse', these may have been distinguished tonally. Yet even here, it is not necessary to suppose four tones, as there are, for example, in English, a number of similar sounding words differing in meaning yet perfectly comprehensible by context without any tone differentiation or vowel shading; cf. "the mine is mine"; "I know that that 'that' is demonstrative"; "for four"; "so, sew, sow"; "fine" = "delicate"; = "magnificent"; "pay a fine", etc. Examples of such accidental sound resemblance may be drawn from any language.

¹ Palatalized *i* appears very weakly in Russian before *i*-vowels as in *aîi* 'they', which is not pronounced fully *anyî*. This does not appear at all in Servian *oni*, where there is no palatalization at all.

² Cf. Langdon, *Summerian Grammar*, p. 118.

It will be sufficient to choose only one other example, in order to demonstrate the difficulties of the Sumerian word-list. Thus *du* (DU) = 'walk, go', but as *di* also = 'go' this would seem to show that the vowel in this case was probably *ü*; *du* = 'hold, carry'; expressed by *šu-du* 'carry in the hand', no doubt an extension of the 'go'-meaning of *du*(DU), as many Sumerian verbs may be used both transitively and intransitively; as *te* 'approach' and 'bring near'; *ê* 'go out' and 'bring out'; *tu* 'enter' and 'bring in', etc. Closely connected with the 'carry'-idea is *du* = 'lift up', as in *našû ša êni* 'lift up the eyes'; *kullû ša rêši* 'raise the head'.

Also from the go-motion-idea must come the equation *du* (UL) = 'throw down; shove, push', a sense found likewise with *ru* (UL) which is probably etymologically connected with this *du*. Delitzsch also gives *šu* 'overpower' as being a possible connection here, but *šu* meant originally 'cover' and corresponds with this sense of *du* only secondarily, and not etymologically. Here, however, really must belong *tu* = *tug* 'split, loosen', whence *nam-du* 'freedom' = 'looseness', and possibly also *du* 'make bricks', from the idea 'throw down, spread'. Hence also *du* = *epû* 'bake' and *pixû* 'mend with bitumen'.

A number of the *du*-values are shortened forms of longer roots, as, just above *du* = *tug*, and *du* = *dul* (TUL) 'chamber', whence *du* = *nigigçu* 'ravine, hole'; *du* = *dug* (KA) 'peak'; *du* = *dug* (KAK; RU) 'make, construct', explained by the value *du-u*, but this KAK = *du* was also pronounced *ru* (*d* = *r*). Delitzsch thinks that such writings as *du-u* indicated a shading rather than a lengthening of the vowel, but this seems improbable, as, in the case just cited of *du* and *di*, both = 'go', the *di* plainly indicated an *Umlaut* of the possibly earlier *u*, and yet this value *du* is explained both by the prolonged *du-u* and by *du*¹ (*du-du* = KA-KA = *dabâbu* 'meditate'). The likelihood is that doubled vowels indicated long vowels just as in German *Boot*, *Loos*, etc. Many illustrations of this principle may be drawn from the Assyrian as *rabu-u* plainly = *rabû* (cf. all the Assyrian verbs "Final He").

It is difficult to explain why *du* (UL) should be equated with *asâmu* 'be comely, seemly', unless it be an erroneous asso-

¹ That is, by *du* with no evidence of vocalic prolongation.

ciation with *du* = *dug* (XI) 'good, be good'. The UL sign does not lend itself to this signification. Similarly *du* = *ki* 'land' was possibly due to an association with *du* = *paxaru* 'gather, assemble'; *napxaru* 'totality'.

Such lists as the above are sufficient to convince the student that we have two difficulties to meet in considering the Sumerian syllabary; 1. the association of many meanings with the same sound-value; and 2. the less frequent, but nonetheless evident, association of variant sound-values with identical meanings, as indicated above (*laĝ-luĝ*, etc.). The following six principles must be understood in order to untangle the Sumerian syllabary. 1. Roots are often shortened from longer roots, as above *du*, worn down from *dul*, *dug*, *tug*. 2. There was occasionally a distinction by means of tones as in Chinese, as indicated in the above commentary on the *aš*-words and possibly also in the *du*-list, between *dü* 'go, move'; *du* 'push'; *du* 'bake bricks' and *du* 'raise'. 3. There must also have been vowel shading, as *du*, *dī* = *du* 'go' and its probable derivatives: *du* 'push; spread bricks' and 'raise' ('move'). This may well have been a simultaneous phenomenon with tone variation.¹ 4. Often there may have been no distinction in sound at all, as in the similar sounding words in English cited above. 5. Paronomasia based on erroneous association of signs played a great part, as pointed out in MSL at length;² cf. in the *du*-list: *du* (UL) = *asāmu* 'be seemly', transferred to the sign UL (val. *du*) from the sign XI (val. *du* 'be good'). 6. Distinctions must have been made, as in Chinese, by means of combinations which fixed the meaning of the ambiguous syllable,³

¹ That is, there may have been and probably were *dü*-tones and *du*-tones.

² *Materials*, p. IX. Paronomastic association of Sumerian words with similar sounding Semitic words, as *e-me* = *amatu* 'word', was probably largely mnemonic.

³ In Chinese, such defining words are common, where the first word serves to limit the special meaning of the second; thus, 'milk-skin' = 'cream'; 'fire-leg' = 'ham'. Better, *chih tao* 'know the way', but now used for 'know', in general. There are great numbers of such two-word phrases and also a system of numeratives (Giles, *Encyclopaedia Brit.* VI. p. 217), such as also exist in English, as 'piece, pair, brace'. In Old English numeratives of this sort were much more common; as 'a sounder of boar'; 'a pride of lions'. We still distinguish between 'a herd of cattle', 'a flock of sheep', 'a flight of geese', etc.

as *dam* = 'conjuz' but *dam-dam* 'young married person'; *nita-dam* = the same; *di* 'judgment' and *di-kud* = the same; literally: 'cut (*kud*) a decree' (*di*). *Di* alone was an indeterminate root as to meaning. Thus, it might mean 'go' = *du*; 'speak' = *du* = *dug* (KA), but *di-kud* or *di-kuru* could only mean 'judge, decree'. Thus, also *šu-du* 'carry in the hands' (*šu*) = 'carry' *par excellence*. *Šu-du* was only thus combined to show that this was the *du* = 'carry' and not 'go'; *dab-du* 'go at someone's side', etc. Examples of this system may be multiplied by a study of Delitzsch's *Glossar* or my MSL. According to Giles (*Encycl. Brit.*, VI, p. 217), there are thirty-three instances of the Chinese syllable *shih* with different meanings, which are distinguished, not only by tones, but by indicative combinations, the same in principle as the above.

Sumerian suffered much from being used as a sacred idiom by an utterly alien people. The difficulties of its syllabary were greatly increased by misunderstandings of signs and false groupings owing to paronomastic associations of sound values. Upon this fact too little stress has been laid by recent Sumerologists. This punning association must have become more and more frequent as Sumerian ceased to be a spoken language and the bewildering result gave rise to the not unnatural Halévyan theory, that this was not a language at all, but a mere jumble of priestly inversions and rearrangements, similar, although this was not quoted, to the plays made by the ancient Irish monks on the Erse of their day. So apparent did this seem at first that Delitzsch himself believed for a time in the "cryptogram" theory, which has long since been disproved by indisputable grammatical evidences.

B. Abbreviated Roots.

The occurrence in Sumerian of a great number of roots which have lost their original consonant, which consonant reappears before a vowel ending is certainly strange, but not without linguistic parallel. Thus, we find in Sumerian *du* 'speak', but *dug-ga-mu* 'when I speak' = *dug-a-mu*.¹ In his *Sumerische Sprachlehre*, p. 9, Delitzsch gives a quantity of such examples, such as *pa(b)* 'brother'; *ša(g)* 'heart'; *u(d)* 'day', etc. If we were to find the French phrases: *les frères*

¹ This = *dug* (KA) + vowel of prolongation + *mu* = 1 p. ending.

sont là and *les frères sont ici* written: *lê frêr soñ la* and *lê frêr soñ-t-isi*, precisely the same phenomenon would be evident. Furthermore, in Celtic, particularly in Welsh and Irish, such consonantal changes as Welsh *pen* 'head', but *fy mhen* 'my head'; Irish *bo* 'cow', but *ar m-bo* (pron. *mo*) 'our cow' come from an original nasal in the possessive which affected the succeeding consonant, but which totally disappeared graphically from the possessive particle. In Eastern Algonquin also, the final *-l* of the third personal accusative (obviative), which appears in Passamaquoddy *skitap-y-il* 'man' has been quite lost in the kindred Canadian Abenaki *alnôba-a* 'man', a process of decay which may be observed taking place in the Penobscot of Maine, where this *-l* survives only as the faintest lingual touch, often inaudible even to a trained ear. The probability is that in Sumerian, even at first, the final consonants were pronounced very lightly, unless followed by a vowel. This phonetic peculiarity gave rise to the current eclipsis in the later language. It is, however, striking that the older form with the consonant was often written apparently contemporaneously with the shorter and later form, as *nitaĝ*, *nita* and *nid* 'male, man'; *suĝuš* and *suĝ* foundation,¹ etc.

It is tempting to try to see in Sumerian *ma-e* (*wa-e* = *wä*?) 'I' a resemblance to the Chinese *wu* of the first person; in Sumerian *za-e* = *zä* (?) the counterpart of the Turkish *sen* 'thou'; to compare Sumerian *dingir* (*dimer*) 'god' with Turkish *tangri* 'god', but, owing to the many confusing forces which contributed to its formation, Sumerian stands alone as a prehistoric philological remnant. Its etymologies should be studied only in the light which can be got from the Sumerian inscriptions themselves. On the other hand, it is permissible to seek analogies for striking Sumerian phonetic and grammatical peculiarities in known languages, without attempting to establish a linguistic affinity between Sumerian and any of these idioms on the basis of what are probably only accidental resemblances, such as occur between many unconnected linguistic groups.

¹ Delitzsch, *Sumerische Sprachlehre*, § 14.

Indo-Iranian Word-Studies (ii). — By EDWIN W. FAY,
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1) Old Persian *māniyam* 'estate'.

1. The origin of Old Persian *māniyam* is still as dubious as when it was treated by Gray in AJPh. 21. 17, where the derivation from the sept of μένω 'maneo' was relinquished for the comparison with Av. *nmāna*, but Gathic *damāna*: δέμω, Lat. *domus*. Gray renders by 'real estate' (l. c. p. 16) and Bartholomae by 'liegende habe', and this seems to be the most probable rendering. It coincides the more nearly with derivation from the root *men*¹. Analysis of the Latin compounds (for they are not derivatives) in *-mōnium* | *-mōnia* will serve to prove that *māniya-m* meant 'abode, estate', precisely the definition that I gave to *-mōnium* in AJPh. 31, 410¹. The words fall into the following larger groups:

2. A. Business words (*-mōnium*=estate, property): *patri-monium* (not till Cicero, but surely early) 'father's-estate, -property'; *merci-monium* (Plautus) 'trade, wares', but in Most. 904, 912 specifically of a house-trade; original sense was 'trade-property, stock in trade'. A *vadi-monium* (Plautus) was a 'stake' or 'forfeit' (*vadi*:- Goth. *wadi* 'forfeit') consisting of 'realty'; or *vadi-monium* was the 'surety's property'. By irradiation from *vadi-monium* came *testi-monium*, of that which the witnesses 'put up'; unless *-monium* originally referred to the sum put up by the litigants in support of the truth of their cause—which would include the truth not only of the litigant's own statement, but the truth of his witness as well. In *ali-monium* (Plautus), while we may perhaps feel *-monium* as 'maintenance', the definition as 'food-property' (what one was to spend for food) balances *merci-monium* as 'stock-in-

¹ It may be noted here that the root *nem* also has derivatives meaning 'dwelling, abode', viz. νομός and Lith. *namaž nāmas* (falsa ap. Walde, s. v. *domus*).

trade'. So *parsi-monia* was the 'saved-stock' or, reinforcing the original sense, 'what remained as savings'. From the neut. pl. *parsimonia* would come the fem. sg.= 'saving, frugality'.

3. B. Abstracts (-*mōnium*= 'estate, condition'): The transition to this group may have been formed by *matri-monium* 'mother's-estate', cf. *in matrimonium dare*, in contrast with *matrimonio uxorem exigere* (though the sense of 'dame's abode' might inhere in both these Plautine turns). A further transition to the abstract suffix -*monia* (-*monium*) might have been supplied by some jocular formation like *falsimonia* (cf. Plautus, Bacch. 541, *reperiuntur falsi falsimoniis* with Rud. 13, *falsas lites falsis testimoniis*). But the abstract sense of 'estate, condition' suits all the adjective derivatives, e.g. Plautine *aegrimonia* 'sick-estate'; *tristimonia* (Novius) 'sad (or angry) estate' (cf. Plautine *acrimonia* 'bitterness, anger'), with the late counterterm *gaudimonium* (Petronius). Laberius (ap. Non. 214, 17) employed *miseri-monium* for *miseria* and Gellius (16. 7. 2) seems to censure him for inventing *mendici-monium* 'beggary' and *moechi-monium* 'adultery'. By considering the three examples together we may realize the important rôle of a single author in spreading the vogue of a suffix. Of course *moechi-monium* may have been suggested by *matrimonium*, or by *castimonium* or *sanctimonia*. Extensions like *queri-monia* (Cicero) would belong in a group with *tristimonia* and *gaudimonium*; like *caerimonia* 'sanctity' (then 'awe, rite'), with the *castimonia* group. An apparent estray like (deorum) *sessimonium* (Vitruvius) 'assembly' might be explained, if genuinely old, as 'sitzen-bleiben' or, after *curia* 'aedificium; senatus', as a 'session (-abode)'.

4. The above classification of the Latin words involved proves, it is submitted, the verbal entity of -*mōnium* (-*mōnia*) with the definition 'estate', 1st concrete,= 'abode, property'; 2d abstract,= 'condition, state': Thus -*mōnium* seems to me nearly as well attested by OPers. *māniyam* 'property' as the original verbal entity of Eng. -*dōm* (in OEng. *cyne-dōm* 'kingdom', abstr. *ealdordōm* 'authority', see Wright's OEng. Gram. § 597) is proved by *dōm* 'judgement', OHG. *tuom* 'state, condition'.

2) Gen. plur., type of *asmā'kam*.

5. The material (with a slight addition) and the theory of these forms are found combined in Jackson's Avesta Grammar, § 440, n. 3.

Observe that *āhmākəm*, *yavākəm*, *yušmākəm* <Gathic. *xšmākəm*> employed as 'genitives' of the personal pronouns . . . , are really stereotyped cases of the possessive adjectives, as similarly in Sanskrit *asmā'kam*, *yuvā'kū*, *yušmā'kam*.

Besides these "stereotyped" forms we have in both languages possessives regularly inflected from the *ka*-stem, cf. OBulg. *svoya-kū* 'affinis' (Brugmann, Gr. 2. 1. 498). Further explanation of the forms may be found in Brugmann, Gr. 2. 2, § 398sq.

6. The reason for stereotyping the neuter (accusative) singular in *-kam* has never been given, and there is no reason that can be given. On the other hand, the forms inflected on a stem *asmā'ka-* grew up secondarily to *asmā'kam*, as in Latin the *obvius* paradigm arose from *ob viam*. I shall undertake now to show that the *-kam* of *asmā'kam* is identical with the *-cum* of Lat. *mecum*, the hitherto unexplained *ā* before *kam* being an instrumental case vowel. This involves the demonstration how in Indo-Iranian "*mecum*" has sunk to "*meum*".

7. Delbrück, ai. Synt. p. 204, remarks:

höchstens finde ich zu bemerken, daß die Gen. überwiegend in possessivem sinne erscheinen, also bei nomina, oder *as bhū* . . . *yušmā'kam* stets und *asmā'kam* meistens (es kommt außerdem vor bei *ṣru* hören <2^o> und *parikhya* vernachlässigen <1^o>).

8. A reference to Grassmann's index will show that the number of nouns used with *asmā'kam* is great, and their distribution such as not to favor the notion that the neuter form was in a position to overpower (and "stereotype") the rest. In the somewhat chaotic character of Avestan syntax, *ahmākəm* may have the look of enjoying a wider casual range than *asmā'kam*, though really it does not.

9. The examples of predicative *asmā'kam* in RV.—*yuvākū* (incorrectly accented by Brugmann, l. s. c.) and *yušmā'kam* (10^o, according to the Bombay index) are not predicative—here rendered into Latin by 'nobiscum', as well as by the appropriate forms of 'noster', are as follows:

1. 7. 10 (Arnold's A period), repeated in 1. 13. 10 (B): *asmā'kam astu ke'valah*=nobiscum (noster) sit solus.

1. 27. 2 (A), *midhā'ñ a. babbūyat* = largus nobiscum (noster) fuat.

4. 22. 10 (A), *a. sū M. bodhī godā'h* = nobiscum (noster) bene O M., fu bovidans.

7. 51. 2 (A), *a. santu bhūvanasya gopā'h | pībantu sōmam āvase no adyā* = nobiscum (nostri) sunt mundi custodes | bibunto vinum iuvare nos nodie.

8. 54. 8 (A), *tvām a. Ġ.* = tu <sis> nobiscum (noster), O Ġ.

8. 92. 31 (A), *tvām a., tāva smasi* = tu nobiscum (noster), tui sumus.

This is all. Every example is early Vedic. In every instance, if we do not turn our adjectives by substantives, 'nobiscum' is perhaps even a better rendering than 'noster'.

10. If the above renderings do not show the reader how original 'nobiscum' (a moribund predicate; cf. Lat. *frugi*, in a general way) shifted to 'noster', the following Latin examples, wherein 'mecum' approximates 'meus', may be noted:

Ovid. Am. 3. 1. 41, *sum levis et mecum (meus) levis est* . . Cupido; Lucan, 8, 143, *numen si quod adhuc mecumst (meumst)*; Propertius, 2, 18, 51, *vobiscum (vestra) est Iope, vobiscum candida Tyro*; Plautus, Cas. 451, *erit hodie tecum (tuum) quod amas*, cf. Ovid, Met. 3, 466, *quod cupio mecum (meum) est*; Cicero, Phil. 12. 23, *nobiscum (noster) nec animo certe est nec corpore*; Fin. 5, 86, <discipulus> *erit mecum (meus), si tecum (tuus) erit*, cf. Lig. 33, *nos omnes adversarios putare nisi qui nobiscum essent; te omnes, qui contra te non essent, tuos*. Examples of things: Plautus, Aul. 449, *hoc . . quoquo ibo, mecum (meum) erit*; Pacuvius, Trag. 424, *topper tecum (tua) sit potestas*; Terence, Ad. 347, *si infitias ibit, testis mecum (meus) est, anulus*; Phorm. 983, *una iniurias tecum (tua)*; Vergil, Aen. 4, 115, *mecum (meus) erit iste labor*; Epist. Sapph. 103, *nil de te mecumst (meumst)*; cf. Livy, postquam . . victoria cum Poenis (Poenorum) erat.

The possessive force of the *-kom* groups led to their adjectivization (stem *ko-*), and put them in competition with the genitive. Hence by syncretism of **mā-ka-s* 'meus' (cf. *svaka-s* 'meus, tuus, suus') and *māma* 'mei' there arose the possessives *māma-ka-s* (2^o in RV.) and *māma-kā-s* (3^o), cf. *t[ə]vāva-kā-s* 'tuus'. In Greek γυναι-ρός, originally = 'muliebris, femininus' (I suggest), we have the adjectivization of loc. *γυνῶι + **kom* (§§ 15-16)¹. Also in loc. pl. γυναι-ξί the posterius is from *ks[w]-i* (loc.: ξό-ν, acc.), attached to a locative prius (as in ἱπποτ-σι, Skr. *hāste-su*; see TAPA, 44, § 2). We have perfect analogies in other tongues, as e. g. in Osmanli, for the origin of the case suffixes in postponed prepositions.

¹ If, as I maintain, **kom* is from *[*s*]*k[w]-o-m* and ξό-ν from **sku-m* (the root *sekw-* | *seku-* 'sequi') then *(*s*)*k[w]os* (§ 16, fn.) is like παρός as *co-* (from *[*s*]*k[w]o*) is like παρό.

11. Thus Vedic usage and general semantic propriety admit of our explaining the *asmā'kam* type as parallel, when we look to the point of origin, with the *mecum* type. Further objective considerations that support the equation of *-kam* with *-cum* (IE *kom*) lie in the existence of *asmāka* (1⁰), *yusmā'ka* (2⁰), wherein *-ka* is to be matched with Latin *co-*; and the *-ā* before *-ka(m)*, as has been noted above, is best explained as an instrumental case ending.—IE *ko-* may perhaps be found in *Vkām* (i. e. *ko + am*) 'amare'.

12. We must also seek to account for *-ku* in *yuvāku'* 'vestrum duorum'. Its vocalism proves to be in entire accord with the derivation of *kom* as I have elsewhere sketched it (AJPh, 33, 197; Bull. Univ. Texas, no. 263, § 66). I have there conjectured an IE preposition *sku*, whence (in the form *ksu*) ξό-ν: Lith. *sù*; and a fuller form *skw-om* / *skw-o* (like *pro: per*). In OLat. *quom* (:Welsh *pwyl*) we have [s]kwom, with *s-* lost precisely in (IE) combinations like *nobis(s)k[w]om*. Alternating with *kwom* we have *k[w]om* (see Brugmann, Gr. 2. 2. § 665, 1). Evidence for [s]ku- I now see in *yuvā-ku'*¹; and, as I am showing more fully elsewhere, in Lat. *qu-aes-o*, i. e. 'co-aerusco' (see also Bull. Univ. Texas, l. s. c.).

3) Postponed *ka'm*.

13. As we look further about us we find *ka'm* quasi 'gratia' following upon datives of purpose (RV). This *ka'm* has been connected with OBulg. *kŭ* (Brugmann, Gr. 2. 2. § 668) and Irish *co* 'to'. If we bear in mind the cognation of *ka'm* with *secundum* (see above, § 12¹), this *kam* 'gratia', e. g. in *amṛ'tāya ka'm* 'immortalitatis gratia' and *ka'smāi ka'm* 'quoia gratia', may be compared with Lat. *secundum nostram causam* = 'nostra gratia'. In the example *amṛ'tāya ka'm*, [s]kam looks as though it may have been an infinitive, = 'for immortality to follow'. In Brugmann's first Slavic example, *pristapišē kŭ n-jemu* 'sie

¹ The connection of *sku* with the root of ξπομαι is undoubted. Instead of positing a root *sekwe*, dissyllabic *sekṣū* (in *secū-tus*), perhaps we should rather deal in ξπομαι with IE *sekw-*. Because of ξππος with -ππ- appearing to match -çv in Skr. *a'çva-* we have accustomed ourselves to think that, given IE *-kw-*, we must expect -ππ- in Greek from *-kw-*, and likewise some doubled consonant from *-kw-*. In view, however, of Lat. *vacca* (Skr. *vacā'*), with its clearly hypochoristic -cc- (cf. Engl. "Bossy"), it may be that ξππος also has hypochoristic -ππ-. Note proper names like *Ιππος.

traten zu ihm hin' *kū n-* is not unlike 'sequi' in 'pergunt sequi eum'. The abstract datives with *ka'm* are also semantically suggestive of Lat. *cum commodo* (*tuo*), cf. σὺν τῷ σῶ ἀγαθῷ.

4) The confixes *ka-* and *ku-*.

14. The study, after *asmā'-kam*, of the Sanskrit (*i. e.* IE) suffix *ka-* | *ku-*, yields a suprisingly simple interpretation of this group of words, viz. as containing in their suffix a posterius meaning 'with'. The examples are easily controlled in Edgerton's Hopkins dissertation on the *ka*-suffix. I will begin with his *3ka* as used in Bāhuvrīhis (Edg. §§ 12, 53-55). All Sanskritists know that the "*bare-foot*" type of compound is frequently extended at the end by *-ka*. In RV. we have *trj'-amba-ka-m* (acc.) 'tres-matres-habentem', but originally 'ter-matre-cum', let us say; also *tri'-kadru-ka-* designating a three-jar festival (orig. 'ter-cado-cum', let us say). AV. adds *sv-asta-kā-* 'bona-domo-cum', *sarva-keṣa-ka'* 'omni-capillo-cum' and, doubling the 'with', *sahā'-kanṭha-ka-* 'co-gula-cum'. Edgerton accidentally renders by 'with the throat', just as Whitney (Gr. 1222. c) renders *rū'pa-ka-* by 'with form'. These unpurposed renderings reveal the close connection between the sense of 'cum' and of 'habens' (cf. ἔχων 'cum'). The appositeness of *-cum* may be tested also in words like RV. *hlā'dika-* 'refreshing', *i. e.* 'with refreshment', *ṣīti-kā-* 'cooling': *ṣītam* 'frost' (Edgerton's 4 *ka*, § 56, containing 5 words only; there remain *a'nta-ka-* 'Death' [AV.], *i. e.* 'fine-cum', *yācana-ka-* 'mendicant', *i. e.* 'prece-cum', *vimanyu-ka-* 'allaying wrath', containing* *manyu-ka-* 'ira-cum'). For Latin examples wherein turns with *cum* approximate "possessive" derivatives cf. from Plautus (Am. 330 and) Poen. 852, *cum onere* (sc. homini)=onustus; Mil, 1021, *cum hac forma*=tam formosus; Cu, 286, *cum tanta gloria*=tam gloriosus.

15. Possibly the priora of these *-ka* words also sometimes exhibit instrumental form (§ 11). Thus we find (Edg. § 29, c) *pracalā-ka-* 'chameleon', prius **pra-calā* 'creeping' (noun): *pra-cala-* 'serpens' (adj.); *paṭā-kā-* 'banner', prius *paṭa-* 'cloth' (cf. *paṭi* 'stripe'), *i. e.* 'with a rag' (designating the pole + the "rag"). In *pr'dā-ku-* (Edg. § 29. a; note *ku-* not *ka-*) 'serpent' (also 'panther', lexical) the prius was [*s*]pr'dā- quasi 'macula', cognate with (σπόραθος | σπόρδαρον 'pill, pellet' (σπόραδ- 'scattered'?). Thus *pr'dā-ku-* = macula-cum, *i. e.* 'maculosus'.

Āyāmā'-ka- 'millet'=(grano) atro-cum, of the black variety. Cf. Lat. *pānī-cum* 'with a tuft' (*panus*). Of priora in *ī* to *ī-* stems (Edg. §§ 31-32) I note: *dr̥ṣī-ku'* 'conspicans' *dr̥ṣī'-ka-* 'conspiciuus', with prius from **dr̥ṣi-* quasi 'species'; *pūtī'-ka-* 'Soma-substitute, near-Soma, orig. 'purificatione-cum' (not with Edgerton, § 46, 'putidus'), identical with Av. *pūiti-ka-* 'cleansing' (Edg. § 109); *sūcī'-ka-* 'stinging' (*i. e.* 'acu-cum'); *kalmālī-kīn-* (*-kin* a "possessive" derivative of *-ka*) 'splendidus' (*i. e.* 'splendore-cum'). Before accented *-ka -ī* may be a reduction form of the locative in *-āi* (see § 16), or of an instrumental in *-yā* (*yā-* stem).

16. That the long vowel before *-ka* in these and like words is actually an instrumental ending there is no way of proving, but the hypothesis suggests the first rational accounting for the long vowel. If but few priora with the long vowel are retained, the conditions under which *-ka* sometimes bore the accent go far to account for the reduction of the previous syllable. Given an oxytone **hotrka'-* 'priest's assistant' ('sacerdote-cum'), it may represent an IE prototype of **hotr-a-kā-* with *hotr-a-* an original instrumental; or the prius might also have been a locative, *[s]k-om* being derived from the root of Skr. *sa'cate* 'sequitur'. Edgerton (§ 46) actually recognizes in *tiraṣci-kā* 'planities' *tiraṣci-*, loc. sg. of *tiryañc*. The same may be true of *vr̥ṣci-kā* 'scorpion' (*i. e.* 'aculeo-cum, cf. cum gladiis stare: in armis s.). Umbr. *veris-co* 'portas-apud' exhibits IE *kom* (or *skom sk[w]om*) as a localis.—In Lat. *mendīcus* 'beggar' we may realize the sense of 'in hole(s)', *i. e.* 'in rags', and in *mendī-* a reduced form (in composition) of the prehistoric locative **mendāi*¹. For 'in': 'with' cf. "She walks in beauty". It is particularly to be borne in mind that *sa'cā* 'cum' takes the locative in *RV*, not the instrumental. Cf. *ped-i-sequa*?

17. The further analysis of a few Sanskrit and Avestan

¹ An *ī*, whether of the stem or a locative ending, plays a large, not to say preponderant rôle in these forms. Thus we have Lat. *mord-i-cus* (? stereotyped nominative like *ôdāz* or Lat. *adversus*; or, according to § 10, fn., containing *-[s]k[w]-os*), orig. = 'im gebisse', I take it. A parallel form *i-sk[w]os* appears in the type of *νεαν-ί-στος* 'adulescens' ('youngish'): an adjective *νεανι-* 'young' (cf. *νεαννι-* 'puellam'). In Balto-Slavic the same ending *-isko-* designates the sort or material, in Celtic (cf. also Gothic *þiudiskō*) the nationality, as in *Taurisci*. A form like *παῖδ-ι-σση* 'courtesan' (Herodotus), if old enough, would lend itself to interpretation as 'pueri-sequa'. On Lat. *ped-i-sequa* (quasi masculine) see § 40.

examples (and groups), taken according to Edgerton's classification, may serve to show how aptly the hypothesis of derivation from *-ko(m)* 'with' explains a wide range of formations. Thus from *1ka* = 'characterized by, like', etc. (Edg. § 9): *chattrā-ka-* (*ā-*) 'mushroom' (not 'like' an umbrella, but 'with' one); Av. *daitika-* 'bestia' ('dentibus-cum'); Skr. *nāḍikā-* 'throat', not 'like' a tube (*nāḍi*), but 'with' one; *antaka-* 'death', i. e. fine-cum; cf., with a different turn of the sense, *anta-ka-* 'border'¹. Av. *mašya-ka-* 'mortalis' (homo) perhaps contains a prius meaning 'mors', cf. Skr. *mṛtyu-* 'mors'. In the numeral group represented by *dvaka-* *trika-* 'by twos, -threes' the sense of 'zwei-mit' has yielded 'zwei zusammen'. Note *ā* in *ekākin* (Edg. § 47), and cf. Lat. *unicus*, *ekaka-* / *ekaka-*. In the preposition group, the adverb *anti-ka'm* (RV.) 'prope' exhibits IE *kom* as a localis (cf. on Umbr. *veris-co*, § 16); cf. Lat. *anti-quos* (*-kwo-*) 'im vorne', but adjectivized as 'vor-stehend', i. e. 'prior' and 'priscus'. Does *pri-scus* contain the prius *prī* (see Brugmann, Gr. 2. 2. § 691; Lindsays Paulus-Festus 252. 25²), and the posterius *sk(w)o-*?

18. *2ka* 'connected with' (Edg. § 11): *hotra-ka-* (ib. § 51) 'sacerdos', i. e. sacrificio-cum; cf. *ho'tṛka-* (ib. § 66) 'assistant hotr', i. e. sacerdote-cum³.—By my analysis words like *svasti-*

¹ Along with this group I may explain Lat. *o(p)pa-cus* 'umbrosus', whose prius was the noun **ob-p-a-* 'schirm', cpd. fem. root-noun: Skr. *pā'ti* 'protegit', with *ob-* as in *ob-volvit*, *ob-tegit*. It will have been used something like Germ. *obdach*; **opā'-co* = 'tecto-cum'. Cf. *umbrā-culum* 'shelter', diminutive from a lost **umbrā-ko-m* 'shade-with'. Other "primary" derivatives susceptible to our explanation are Skr. *dhā-ka-* 'receptacle': *धृ-जृ* 'chest', orig. sense 'with (= *ξχων*) a holding', (*pīva*)-*sphā-ka-* 'having a swelling', i. e. 'swelling' (with fat). The morphologically riddle-some *muṣ-ka-s* 'testiculus' *muṣkā'u* 'vulva' originally signified 'with moss' (*mus-*: Germ. *moos*) cf. *μῦσταξ* 'mustache'.—Jean Paul called the beard the "moos der männlichkeit". Lat. *muscus* instead of meaning 'mossy' has again become 'moss', cf. the derivative *rāmāle* which approximated its primitive *ramus* (*tempestas* = *tempus*).

² I may be permitted to note *prī-stīnus* (? for **prī-stīnus*, after *diu-tīnus*) 'vorstehend'; cf. on ἀγχι-στῖνος 'prope-stans' προ-μνη-στῖνος 'prae-manu-stans' AJPh. 33. 392.

³ From words like this we realize how the diminutive and contemptuous force of *-ka* arose. Cf. Lat. *secundus* and Eng. "seconds" (PAOS 31, 403¹). If I may say so without offense, Edgerton attributes far too much imprecatory force to *-ka* in the Vedas. In RV. 1. 33. 4 *ā'yajvānaḥ sanakāḥ* = 'non-sacrificantes veteres' ('old-timers' as constantly in Varro, L. L., albeit here old-timers of a different race), and not "old rascals who give

ka- 'amulet' (*i. e.* fortuna-cum) and *madhū-ka-* 'bee' (*i. e.* melle-cum) become perfectly transparent. In *a'rtu-ka-* 'quarrelsome' a prius **artu-* 'ira' is to be recognized (*a'rātis* 'inimicitia'); cf. *mā'nusya-ka-* 'humanus' (orig. 'homine-cum' = mit-mensch). In old Latin we have (*ager*) *hosti-cus* 'with (belonging to) the enemy'.

19. *3ka* 'consisting of, containing' (Edg. § 53; the *bāhuvrihi* usage, § 54, has been considered above § 14): *āṇḍi-ka-* 'lotus' (*i. e.* ovo-cum); *muṣṭi-ka-* 'Mr. Boxer': *muṣṭi-* 'pugnus'; *hlī-ka-* 'pudicus': *hrī-* 'pudor'. Cf. ὀστρα-κος 'crab', *i. e.* 'with bone' (ὀστέον); Skr. *ṣā'lya-ka-* 'porcupine', *i. e.* 'with spine' (*ṣālya-*). Lat. *pudī-cus* will have a prius **pu-dī-* (*pu-* cognate with *pavor* 'fear, shrinking'), + *-dī-*: Skr. *dhī-* 'prudentia', though *pu-dēre* may be analyzed as from a compound root *pu-dhē-*¹.

20. *4ka*, "has active verbal force" (Edg. § 56), but see on *hlādika-* above (§ 14). Earlier examples, not here classified

no offering". Nor is there a common and usual *sana-* 'senex' on which *sana-ka-* 'vetulus' would be likely to be formed, while *sana-ka-* 'vetustate-cum' (or something like that) may have a prius cognate with *sā'nā* 'olim' cf. *sanā-jūr-* 'senectute debilis'. In RV. 10, 133. 1 *jyākā's* is rendered by "damned bowstrings", but in view of βίος 'bow' *jyā-kā-* may have started life as βίω-σύν'. As for *jyā'* 'bowstring', its formation may be illustrated by the proportion, Gāthic Av. *pada-m* 'foot' (measure): πῆδη 'fetter': βίος 'bow': *jyā* 'bowstring'. This type may be true even if, as I suspect, πῆδη is no mere *a*-derivative of *ped(o)-*. This change of meaning seems far too great to be ascribed to an *ā*-suffix. I suspect rather that πῆδα (plural) started as a dative 'ad pedem' (sc. "vincula"), like Lat. *frugi*; cf. Lat. *im-pedi-re* 'to fetter'. In AV. 6. 18. 3 I can conceive that the charmworker did not mean by *manaska'ni patayişṇuka'm* "accursed restless mind" but rather 'animulam volaticam', petting the thing he sought to drive away. We may think of cajoling formulae like "Grandfather Smallpox" (see Encyc. Brit. 22, 357). Surely the little bird that carries off the poison in RV. 1. 191. 11, is addressed affectionately, as the scapehare is called *lepuscule* in the incantation cited by Heim, Incantamenta Magica, no. 72 (Suppl. Annal. Phil. 19, p. 483).

¹ Isidore (10. 230) rightly connected *pavit* 'strikes' and *pavet* 'is smitten' (with fear); cf. *admiratione pavens* ('seized with astonishment') with our *fear-smitten*, *wonder-struck* etc.; and note ἐκπλαγής, strikingly defined by Stephanus, without change of the metaphor, as 'percussus, percussus, stupidus'. The Celtic cognates (see Walde, s. v. *paveo*) do not make in the least against this, and one can but wonder why Walde seemed to think so. There is perfect morphological correspondence between *pu-dere*, from a root *pu-* (weak stage) 'to strike' etc., and OBulg. *styǵeti se* 'pudere' from the root *stu-*, found in the sept of Lat. *tundit* and of *stu-pet*.

because the prius is not extant, are *yāyajū-ka-* 'sacrificans' *dandaçū-ka-* 'mordacious'. I see no sound reason, however, in view of an action noun like Lat. *im-pet-u-* 'onset' to refuse to admit **yāyajū-* 'sacrificium' **dandaçū-* 'morsus', cf. Lat. *volaticus* 'flying': *volatu-s* 'flight'.

5) The Vedic hapax *iṣu-dhyā* (RV. 1. 122. 1).

21. Ludwig and Griffith take as instrumental ('mit dem Verlangen'; 'with prayer'). The nominative may have ended in **dhīs* °*dhī* or °*dhyā*. I take the word as a tautological compound of **iṣu-* 'petens' (or 'petitio') + *-dhī-* (*-dhyā-*) 'precatio'. The cognate Avestan verb *iṣūidyāmahī* = 'supplicamus', with the generalized sense of 'veneramur'. The Avestan noun is *iṣud-* 'demand; petitem'.

6) Vedic *madrīk* *madrī-ak* 'me adversus'.

22. Grassmann (Wbch. 159) has collected the curious group of words in *-dri-añc-*, to-wit: *asmadrīac-* <*tvadrīac-*> *madrīac-* *viçvadrīac-*. This formation seems not yet to have been explained, though the essential combination was made by Joh. Schmidt (ap. Brugmann, Gr. 2. 1. § 86, anm.) when he explained the *-ñ* of *sa-dṛ'ñ* 'quoquoversus' (*i. e.* semper idem) by analogy of *pratya'ñ*; cf. *vicva'taḥ p.* 'nach allen seiten hingewandt' with *v. su'pratīkah sad'rñ* (RV. 1. 94. 7) = 'good countenance alike on every side'.—I take *madrīk* as for **madrk*, identifying *-drk* with *-ḍṛa[x]* in ὁπó-ḍṛα, original sense 'suspiciens', cf. *suar-dṛk* 'looking at (or like) the sun'. Note that the modern Hindu pronunciation of *r* is *ri*. In the prius of *madrīk* we may have *ma* = *μe* or *ma(d)*, the apparent stem of the 1st person pronoun in Sanskrit. Note the difference of meaning between *tvadrīk* 'facing thee' and post Vedic *tvādrk* 'like thee'. Upon these forms in *-drk* / *-dri'k* the adverbial group in *-añc* 'versus' played, resulting in *-dry'ak* as an adverbial neuter. For the intrusion of *y*, cf. *sam<y>-a'nc-* and fem. *udīc* (**ud<y>añc-*), with <*ypratya'añc* (which perhaps had a prehistoric byform **pratañc-*). In RV. we find *madryadrīk*, corrected (without comment) in PW.² to *madryadr'k*. Can this be a combination of *-drya[k]-dri'k*?

23. In the consideration of the problem offered by *madrīk* we may ask whether there was original gradation in the flexion of the posterius, *i. e.* nom. **-drak* (*k* for *ṭ* by dissimilation from

the previous *d*, cf. Class. Quart, 8, 53, on *rtvi'k*), gen. **-dr̥cas*. For **-drak* note fut. *dra'kṣyati*, aor. *a'drūk* 'vidit', nom. ag. *draṣṭr'*. Original **madrak* were more liable to analogy from *prat'yak* than **madr'k*, perhaps.—But the final form of *madri'ak* 'ad me versus' may have been suggested by *sadhri'ak* (AJPh. 35, 253) 'ad unum locum versus'. [Cf. **dhṛk* for **dhṛt*.]

7) The pair *duryonā'- duronā'*.

24. In the eyes of most linguistic scholars, I suppose, the chief value of etymology lies in its contributions either to phonetics or to morphology. I find it chiefly valuable for verbal interpretation. But the values are indivisible, after all, as may be seen from the study of the pair *duronā'-* and *duryonā'-*. The genesis of the former I cannot explain morphologically¹, whereas *duryonā'-* lends itself to easy analysis as a compound, viz. from *dur-* 'door' (? or *dus-* 'ill', see below) + *yonā'-* 'domus, locus', originally quasi 'iunctum': *yu-* (which brings us to the "wattled" house again). Cf. Av. *yaona-* 1) 'statt, stätte'; 2) 'heimstätte, heimat'; Skr. *yo'nis* 1) 'schoss—vulva' (i. e. locus 'iunctionis', cf. Lat. *loci muliebres*, ap. Varro, L. L. 5. 15); 2) 'heimat, haus, lager, nest, stall'—noting our American slang word *joint* 'a low resort'. The period at which a term like 'door-house' (*duryonā'-*) came into being was the time when such a house was supplanting an older type. For hut-urns with indicated porticoes (for a door-house would have been a house with a portico) see the Italian finds discussed and pictured by Montelius in Mannus, 2. 24.

25. A merely casual glance at the RV. usage of *duronā'-* (common) and *duryonā'-* (3⁰) would make one suppose that the rarer form was the secondary; and it would lie near to guess that *duryonā'* is *duronā'-*, blended with the not infrequent synonym *du'rya-*. But a study of the usage will perhaps reveal that *duronā'-* was derived from, though it almost entirely supplanted, *duryonā'-*. I am not going, lest I provoke the smile interaugural, to suggest that, in the hapax *duronā-yu'-* 'domi-peta', the succession **yona-yu-* was dissimil-

¹ The explanation retained by Brugmann, Gr. 2. 2, 171 was very properly rejected by Uhlenbeck. Wbch, s. v. In *da'mū-nas-* 'hausgenosse' *-nas-* is a grade form of the root of *vāzi-* 'dwells' (pace Brugmann, *ibid.*). On the contrary, in words like *vīcīnus-no-*, felt as a suffix, has replaced *-nos-*, a posterius of composition (see Fay, AJPh, 33, 369).

ated to *-[y]onayu-*. Instead, let us look first at the usage of *duroṇa'*. We find *duroṇa'm* 4 times, always at the end of a pada; loc. *duroṇé*, 19 times at end of a pada; 3 times before consonants, not at the end (3. 18, 5; 4. 28. 3; 6. 12. 11), and a 4th time (3. 1. 18, below), before a vowel. At the end of a pada before vowels we find *duroṇa' / ima'm* (5. 4. 5); *duroṇé' / ā* (10. 120. 7); *duroṇé' | (a)gnir* (7. 7. 4), but in the interior of a pada, *duroṇé' amīto* (3. 1. 18) — with violation of samdhi, i. e. *-é a-*, in both cases. The remaining examples are of the combination *duroṇé'*, followed by the preposition *ā'* (once in the samhita text *ā'ñ*, with *anunāsika*, see Wackernagel, Gram. 1, § 259, b, β), i. e. *duroṇa' ā* 'domum apud', 3 (4) times at the end of a pada (7. 16. 8 [*ā'ñ*]; 8. 19, 27; 8. 87. 2 = 10. 40. 13), and 1 time (4. 24. 8), not at the end. The conclusion I draw is that the original combination in this locative phrase was **duryoṇá'yā* with dissimilative loss of the first *y*. The syllable succession *duroṇá'y | ā*, (— — —) was rhythmically apt for iambic clausulae (jagatī, anuṣṭubh), and carried along with it *dur[y]oṇé'* in trochaic clausulae (triṣṭubh).

26. Of *duryoṇé* (3 times only) the usage is as follows: *nī duryoṇé' ku'yavācam mrdhī' gret* (1. 174. 4, Arnold's A period); *nī duryoṇé' āvṛṇān mrdhra'vācas* (5, 29, 10, repeated in the singular *vācam* in 5, 32, 2, both of later date). The 2^d pair of examples looks to be a mere broidery pieced out from the first: cf. [*ku'ya-*]*vācam mrdhī'* with *mrdhra'vācam*, the whole general sense of the padas being the same, an imprecation against the evil speakers. Thus *ku'ya-vācam*, (nom. pr.) is haplogic for *ku'yava-*¹ 'bad-harvest' + *vāc-* 'speaking', naming a conjurer that spoke words bringing a bad harvest. It is not without significance that *duryoṇa'-* is genuinely preserved only in an ancient verse reciting the downthrow of this evil spirit of the harvest. Elsewhere, it has yielded before the dissimilated locative turn *dur[y]oṇa'yā* 'domum-apud', whence *duroṇé* 'domi'. If, as I have suggested, a very special antiquity adheres in 1. 174. 4, then *dur-yoṇa'-* into which the imprecation—for *nī* *gret* 'deiecit' involves the imprecation 'deiciat'—would thrust *ku'yavāc-* may originally have signified

¹ The old connection of *ya'va-* 'getreide' with *yu-* 'binden' seems completely vindicated by *ku'yava-* = 'mis-ernte'. In Homer, ζεαί is 'fodder', i. e. the 'bundles' of grain, cf. *ya'rya-s* 'gerstenvorrath, fruchtvorrath'.

an ill sort of house (dus- 'male' -so Sāyana), a hole, or pit. But later, this force of *dur-* seems to have vanished.

8) The abstract suffix *-tā-* *-tā(ti)-*.

27. In the first volume of Kuhn's *Zeitschrift* p. 162 Aufrecht noted that the Hindu scholiasts explained words in *-tāti-* as compounds, deriving *-tāt(i)-* from the root *tan* ('to stretch'). On finding this explanation my immediate reaction was the prompt protest of hostile surprise; and certainly the applications cited by Aufrecht seemed unattractive. But the suggestion kept active in my mind till I began to realize that it might have a value not brought out by the Hindu scholiasts. On the merely formal side a noun or verb-root *tā*: the root *tan-* has plenty of analogies, in and out of Sanskrit, cf. Macdonnell's *Vedic Grammar* §§ 368-369, noting *ātā-* 'frame'. Macdonnell p. 249⁵ notes *khā*: *khan*, *gā*: *gām*, *jā*: *jan* *sā*: *san*, omitting *drā*: *dram*, *tā*: *tan*—and *bhā* 'appearing': **bhan* (φαίνω). In *-tati-* we seem further to have a *-ti* derivative from *-tā* 'stretching; strecke'.

28. Now I need no reminding that *-tā-* and *-tāti-* must have been started on their widely productive career as abstract suffixes before the upbreak of the IE period; but in Indo-Iranian, where the range of meaning is wide, the examples are few. By good fortune one of the Avestan examples shows tmesis of *-tāti-*, and Jackson (*Av. Gram.* § 842) cites the example in proof of "the independent origin" of the suffix. The example is *yavāēča tāite* = something like 'diuturnoque extensioni' (for eternity, forever); but more often we have *yavaētātāēca* = 'diuturnitatie'. How Bartholomae avoids the explanation by tmesis may be gathered from his lexicon. But the particular example in which the tmesis appears is the example above all others which best justifies the definition of *-tāti-* by 'extensio, strecke'. The only common Indo-Iranian examples seem to lie in *upara-tāt-* 'supremacy' and in *Av. haurva-tāt-*: *Skr. sarva-tat-* 'completeness', in both of which the local sense of 'extension' may still be realized. Temporal extension is indicated by *Skr. -tana-*: *Lat. -tino-*, in the type of compounds represented by *adya-tana-* 'hodiernus' *diu-tinus* 'longe extensus', with *posterius* also from *ten-* 'to stretch'.

29. The typical IE usage of *-tā-* 'strecke' may be traced in the pair βίος 'life', but βίο-τή (secondary βίοτος) 'lebens-strecke'

Lat. *vī(vi)tā* (*in vita* = per totam vitam), Lith. *gyvatā* (connoting the life everlasting). Like examples are found in Lat. *ae[vi]-tas vetustas tempestas aestas* (with *-tāti-*); and *senec-ta iuven-ta* (with *tā-*). Both space and time extension are denoted by Lat. *longinquitas*, cf. Skr. *dirghatā-*: OBul. *dlūgota* 'longitudo'.

30. The chief objection raised by Aufrecht to the explanation offered by the Hindu scholiasts lay against the appeal, in their definition of some of the *-tāti-* compounds, to a secondary sense of *tan*, viz, 'bereiten'. But, though foreign to *τείνω* and Lat. *tendo*, this is the sense we have, approximately, in Lat. *teneo*, which further yielded 'possideo' (cf. also Vedic *tams-* and its cognates ap. Grassmann). This sense we may restore to Skr. *a-go'tā* 'lack of cows', negative to a not recorded **go-tā* quasi 'bovi-tenentia': πολυ-βούτης; 'multibovitenens', cf. *vasu'-tā* and *vasu'-tāti-* 'divitiae' (orig. 'goods-holding'); a sense repeated in *ga'm-tāti-* 'fortuna', but adj. 'beneficent' (from a *bāhuvrihi* = fortunam-habens). Nor is *satya'-tāti-* 'veritas' (orig. sense 'truth-holding') essentially different. An apparent abstract like *dē'va-tā* 'god-head' may have started with the sense of 'divo-tenens' (*divum* = sky), nom. without *s* as in Latin compounds like *ad-vena*; cf. also the Vedic proper name *uṣa'nā* (masc.) and the adverbially used nom. *sa'cā* (RV.) as explained in TAPA, 44, 119, § 23.

31. As an independent monosyllabic word IE *tā* 'tenens; strecke, extensio' cannot be attested. As a monosyllable it was exposed to loss, the more exposed to loss as an independent word the more freely it was employed in composition. But the compound *ā-tā* 'frame' we seem to have, see Macdonnell, l. c. p. 253¹¹, 255⁶; and the monosyllable *tan-* 'extension, duration, continuity' (advb. *tā'nā* / *tanā* 'continuo'); also *tā'n* / *tā'nū-m* / *tā'nā-* / *tā'nas-* 'posterity, child' (cf. Lat. *tenus* 'length')¹. The dissyllable *-tāti-* 'strecke' seems to have been maintained only as a hapax in the Avesta. But, with due consideration of analogous formations, IE *tā-* *tāti-* 'strecke, extensio' seem entirely warranted; and surely the knower of English with its abstract suffixes *-hood* (:OEng. *hād* 'grade, rank') and *-ship* (:OEng. *scieppan* 'create')—cf. also OEng.

¹ The traditional syncretic explanation of Lat. *i-tiner* ought to be given up in favor of the definition 'geh-strecke'. In fact, the *itinera* were the distances, and not the roads, traversed.

treow-ræden 'fidelity' (:ræden 'state, condition'), OEng. *sorg-stafas* 'sorrow' (-stafas plur. of *stæf* 'stick')—cannot refuse on methodic grounds to consider the evidence offered for the contention that IE. *-tā- -tāti-* originally signified 'stretch, strecke'.

32. Brugmann has included in his group of words in *-tū* (Gr. 2. 1. § 309) much that belongs elsewhere; e. g. the military terms like ἀσπι-σται (from *ἀσπι-[σπ]-σται 'in scutis stantes'), χορο[σπ]-σται etc. (see Fay, AJPh. 34. 41). Possibly a rival confix *-sthā-ti-* 'state, condition' lies perdu behind Lat. *liber[s]-tas* etc. But *sth* could only be proved by Sanskrit, in which no trace has been left. In Lith. *gyvastis* = *gyvatū* I would see IE *-sthis* 'state', but know full well how to discredit the evidence of the *-s-*.

9) The Sanskrit Periphrastic Future in Latin.

33. In Vedic prose the paradigm *dātā'smi* 'daturus sum', *dātā'si* 'daturus es' *dātā* (lit. dator) 'daturus' (sc. est) is well known. As I have elsewhere noted, OLat. *auctor sum es est*, barring the time note and the regular ellipsis of 'est', are precisely like the Sanskrit future. A complete correspondent including the time note and the ellipses of *est*, may however have been preserved in Paulus-Festus (p. 166, 29, Lindsay):

nancitor in XII (inc. 1) nactus erit, praenderit. item in foedere Latino "pecuniam quis nancitor, habeto" et; "si quid pignoris nanciscitur sibi habeto".

In the antique language of a treaty, if anywhere, we might expect the preservation of an archaic, rather than an analogous, Latin formation of independent origin. A *nancitor* like this, made on the present stem of OLat. *nancio*, lies behind the "future" imperative of the deponent and passive (see Bull. Univ. Texas, no. 263, §§ 88, 92).

The Assyrian Chronicle. — By A. T. OLMSTEAD, Professor
in the University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.

Of the sources for Assyrian History, none is more valuable than the so called Assyrian Chronicle¹. For the reign of Shalmaneser IV, Ashur dan, Ashur nirari, and Shalmaneser V, it is practically our only authority. For that of Adad nirari, we must largely rely on it as the brief display inscriptions barely mention the most important facts. For the others, it fills up that unknown period which is found at the end of each reign. Even where we have contemporaneous documents, its data cannot be neglected, for it sometimes supplements and sometimes corrects. As to the chronology, its mention of the eclipse of 763 fixes the whole system of dating, and, with the

¹ First published II R. 52; the best edition in the cuneiform is still that by Delitzsch, *Assyr. Lesestücke*², 92 ff. The material collected up to his time is given by G. Smith, *Eponym Canon*, 42 ff., but only in English translation. Schrader, *Keilinschr. Bibl.* I, 208 ff., gives a transliteration and translation which are still useful. The fragments 82-5-22, 526, and Rm. 2, 97, are given by Bezold in *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* VII, 286 f. and plates. They are reproduced in transliteration and translation by Winckler, *Keilinschr. Bibl.* III, 2, 142 ff., but the dating is largely wrong. This was corrected by Olmstead for the reign of Sargon, *Sargon*, 15 ff., and a reconstruction attempted. This discussion, like others of a similar nature in the book, seems never to have been utilized by later writers, perhaps because the results were not incorporated in a regular edition. It is for this reason that in the present paper the reconstructed document is presented. It makes no claims to being a complete edition, its purpose is merely the making clear of the changes which ensue as a result of the study, but, until an up to date edition of the cuneiform text is available, it is hoped that in this way too it will be found worth while. — Mention should also be made of the important translations by Sayce, *Records of Past* 2, II, 120 ff. and by Barta, in Harper, *Assyr. Bab. Literature*, 209 ff. Since the original paper was prepared, a new transliteration and translation has been given us by Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels*, 226 ff., and this has been of much value in checking up results already secured.

aid of the eponym lists¹, the lists of the officials who gave their name in rotation to the year, it is our one sure clue for the chronology of the period.

Thus it will be seen that the value of this compilation, which, in its present form, gives the history from the accession of Shalmaneser III to the reign of Sennacherib, has long been recognized. At the same time, there has grown up the feeling that its value has been entirely utilized, that no further study of its dry lists is necessary. No doubt it is to this feeling that we owe the fact that no complete edition of its cuneiform text is available. The present article will attempt to show that a more intensive study will result in the acquisition of facts of real importance, and that a reconstruction of the text is often possible with consequent additions to our store of knowledge. Accordingly, such a restored text will be presented at the end of the article.

The so called Chronicle is really a chronological table in three columns. In the first is given the name of the eponym for the year. In large part this has been lost, but can be easily restored from the data of the eponym list, here utilized in the reconstructed text for the period covered by the chronicle. To the student of nomenclature, this long list is of great value, but to the would-be editor of the text, it is of equal difficulty, for the exact transliteration of these names is still often a matter of uncertainty. Occasionally the name itself has an interest, as when the eponym for 855, *Abu ina ekalli lilbur*, "May the father grow old in the palace", shows us a courtier inflicting so long a name on his innocent child in order to gain favor with the monarch.

But the names in the first column have little value without the second where we have given their office. First comes the king, then the turtanu or prime minister, then the other palace officials. Last of all come the governors of the provinces, the latter indicated by *ša*, "of", followed by the name of the province. This second column is an unworked mine, and a main purpose of this paper is to reconstruct a large part of it and to indicate what may be gained from its data.

First of all, we learn much about the careers of these

¹ II R. 68f., III R. 1; Delitzsch, *op. cit.*, 87; Schrader, *op. cit.*, 204ff.; Rogers, *op. cit.*, 219ff., are the most important publications.

governors, for their promotions can be clearly traced. In the study of the official inscriptions, we have only the traditional presentation of the king, and references to subordinates are rare indeed. For the last portion of the Assyrian history, the letters enable us to secure a knowledge of the personalities behind the mask of the conventional official narrative. But for the period covered by the Chronicle, letters are rare or non-existent. Fortunately, a close scrutiny of the data here given affords us a little more of that sense of personality without which history loses much of its human interest. And in so doing we sometimes stumble on a bit of real history of great importance.

For example, take the reign of Shalmaneser III. At the beginning, we have the king, *turtanu*, *rab bi lub*, and *nagir ekalli* in regular order. Then we should expect the other officials and the governors, as we find them in other sections. Instead, we find a new *turtanu*, Dan Ashur, and three years later a new *nagir ekalli*, or major domo, Bel bana who still holds office 824. On the other hand, Ashur bana usur, the *rab bi lub* of 856, still holds this office as late as 826 and 817. Evidently we have here the trace of a palace revolution, in which at least the *turtanu* and *rab bi lub* were changed. Nor are we without other proof of a revolution at this time. Dan Ashur became *turtanu* in 855, for he holds that office in 854. Now for this very year 855, the Monolith, a strictly contemporaneous inscription, dating from the following year, 854, gives not a single event. Clearly, then, conditions at home were too engrossing to permit a foreign campaign. The fact that the Obelisk¹ does give an expedition against Kashiari for 855 is no proof against this, rather it furnishes proof of such a revolution. The Obelisk dates from 829, a whole generation later, and is the latest, and, as I hope to prove in another article², the worst authority for the reign. This alone would prejudice us in favor of the earlier document and one strictly contemporaneous. But it can be shown that the Obelisk, which dates from the very year of the revolt of Ashur dan apal, is almost a formal apology for the prime minister Dan Ashur. For example, all its dates save one are by the year of the

¹ Obl. 52 ff.

² *Assyrian Historiography*, soon to be issued as a *University of Missouri Bulletin*.

king. This one is dated by the eponymy of Dan Ashur, and, to our amazement is placed in 856¹: Clearly Dan Ashur is trying to conceal the fact of 855, and to do so the more securely, he has padded out the following year with events which the Monolith did not know. Still further proof as to the relation of this document to Dan Ashur is to be found in the frequent references to his leading the army. This is generally explained as due to the approaching age of the old king. But can we assume that a man who was important enough to become *turtanu* five years after the accession of his monarch could have been much younger? The important fact is not the leading of an expedition by another than the king, that is not unusual. What is strange is the attribution of all this to the general in an official inscription. Clearly the *turtanu* who was powerful enough to falsify the earlier history of the reign in his favor and to usurp the glory of a series of campaigns in an official inscription that was supposed to be for the glorification of the monarch alone, must have been the real ruler of the kingdom. And this fits well with subsequent events. The Obelisk inscription ends with a fine list of conquests for the year 829. But it ends abruptly, without the usual list of building activities and without any glorification of the king. And in the Chronicle this same year is marked, not by an expedition against any of the lands mentioned in the Obelisk, but with the single ominous word "Revolt". And the Chronicle gives us also the natural reply of Dan Ashur to this revolt. Ashur dan apal had no doubt revolted because his father was a figure head under the control of his too powerful prime minister. As proof that the king still ruled, the next year, 828, Shalmaneser once more appears as eponym. Soon after, Shalmaneser died. The revolt continued under his son and successor Shamshi Adad, but the cause of it seems to have at last disappeared. When the *turtanu* of the new ruler appears in the lists, it is no longer Dan Ashur. It would appear that with the death of his nominal master his power came to an end, and we may without much difficulty conjecture that he met a violent death.

The place of Dan Ashur was taken by Iahalu, who had already been governor of Kakzi in 834, while in 825 he had

¹ Obl. 45 ff.

been apparently the *abarakku*. His tenure of office did not survive his master's rule, and we have no reason to see in him so dominant a personality as Dan Ashur. Aside from the *turtanu*, there seems to have been little change in the personal caused by the accession of Shamshi Adad. Bel bana held the office of *nagir ekalli* in 824 as in 851, and it is strange that an official who so obviously owed his position to the revolution of 855 and who held so intimate a place as major domo of the palace should have been allowed to remain under Shamshi Adad. Ashur bana usur was *rab bi lub* from 856 to 817. Ninib ila, governor of Salmat in 838, had been advanced to that of Ahi Suhina in 802. In all probability, this had taken place before 813, for in that year Salmat is under another governor. Nish pati Bel, governor of Kalhu in 832, had been promoted to that of Nasibina by 816. Nergal ila, who was destined to become *turtanu* under Adad nirari, seems to have held his place as governor of Arbaha in both 831 and 818, but had been promoted by 812, when he too was supplanted by another man. The only other official who seems to have survived the death of Shamshi Adad is Bel dan who is *nagir ekalli* in both 821 and 808. Worthy of note is the Bel tarsi Nabu who erects the famous Nabu statue in whose inscription Sammuramat is mentioned¹.

With the accession of Shalmaneser IV, Shamshi ilu becomes *turtanu*. As he never before is mentioned in the lists, his sudden elevation to supreme power is surprising. No less surprising is the fact that he held this supreme power under the two succeeding rulers as well. All this goes to prove the accession of another dominant personality of the type of Dan Ashur. For this reign and its successor this is not so surprising, for there is reason to believe that these rulers were minors for a considerable part if not all of the reign; but it is more difficult to see why he should have continued to reign under Ashur nirari. At any rate, it is clear enough that he was the power behind the throne during the long period from 781 to 745. How far he was responsible for the growing weakness of Assyria and for the ultimate fall of the dynasty is an interesting question which we do not have the data to answer. But we may note that, at the end of this period, he

¹ I R. 35, 2.

must have been a very old man. Is it possible that it was his death which gave the opportunity for the successful revolt of Tiglath Pileser?

As might be expected, continuity of office is characteristic of these reigns. Nergal eresh is found in charge of Rasappa both in 804 and 775; Ashur bel usur was at Kirruri in 797 and at Kalhu in 772; Mushallim Ninib held Tille in 793 and 766; it would seem that Ninib mukin abi was at Nineveh in 790 and in 761; Pan Ashur lamur, *shaknu* in 776, has become governor of Arbela in 759, unless the apparent lowering in rank means that this is another individual.

With the successful revolt of Tiglath Pileser, Nabu daninani becomes the *turtanu*, but we may assume that he had little of the power of his predecessor. Few of the officials seem to have weathered the storm. Adad bel ukin held in 738 the same position of *shaknu* he had in 748, but Bel dan, the *rab bi lub* of 750 has been degraded to the governorship of Kalhu in 744 and 734. Under Shalmaneser V, the old order continued for three years, and it is only in the fourth that the king is eponym. The *turtanu* was Ninib ila, who had been governor of Nasibina in 736. We know nothing of the other officials of the reign, for before the *limmu* of the *turtanu* was completed, Sargon was on the throne.

Sargon did not become eponym before his third full year. But his *turtanu* seems to have held this office the year before, for a tablet¹ gives as *turtanu* Ashur is who can only be the Ashur iska dan of 720. The revolt of Sargon brought an entirely new set of officials into office, if we may judge from the total absence of old names. For succeeding reigns, the letters and business documents give us the positions of practically all the eponyms, but, as this is not found in the Chronicle, it will not be discussed here.

But it is not only in the study of the officials that this second column is of great importance. Equally valuable is the insight it gives us into the provincial government. It will be noted that there was a regular *cursus*: first the king, then the *turtanu*, then the palace officials, and finally the governors of the various provinces; and it is on this general continuity of order that many of the restorations in the appended

¹ K. 998, quoted Johns, *Deeds*, II, 69.

text are based. It is also of special importance in showing the relative rank of the provinces themselves, for, with rare exceptions, all the changes in office of the various governors are promotions to some place higher in the list. For example, Ashur bel usur, at Kirruri in 797, is in 772 at Kalhu, and this immediately precedes Kirruri in 798.

When we come to study this relative order, a startling fact appears. The headship is not taken by Nineveh or Kalhu, the two provinces in Assyria proper. Thus Nish pati Bel, in 832 governor of Kalhu, has by 816 been promoted to Našibina. It may seem strange that a move from Kalhu, already at times the real capital of Assyria, to the foreign city of Nisibis, should be considered a promotion; but in this very passage it is placed before Kalhu, and the same is true of 853, 852, seemingly in 816, 815, certainly in 801, 798, in 774, 772, in 736, 734, in 715, 713; that is, so long as a regular *cursus* was in use. Why Nisibis, of all places, should so head the list, is a question we cannot answer. Equally strange is the position of Rašappa, the city in the far off North Syrian desert. The first time it occurs, 840, there is nothing remarkable about its position. But the second, in 804, it heads the list while Nisibis, at the head in 853, has now but fourth place. Rašappa again heads the list in 775 while Nisibis has been partly restored and given second place, and the same is true in 747-746, and 737-736. Why two such foreign cities should rank before Nineveh and Kalhu, the former of which actually appears near the bottom of the list, raises questions which we cannot here discuss.

These lists give us a very good idea of the extent of the empire. For the reign of Shalmaneser III, we have given Kalhu, Nineveh, and Kakzi in Assyria proper, Ahi Suhina from the country just south of the last and on the south east boundary toward Babylonia, and Arbaha, Mazamua, Salmat, and Kirruri on the mountain frontier on the east and north east. Of these, Kirruri and Mazamua certainly date from this reign as they were but recently hostile. Našibina was not far away on the north west. Thus we have for this period a compact group, centering about Nineveh, and with the frontier not far distant. The only exception to this is Rašappa, which first appears in 840. It is of course quite possible that other provinces were listed in the break which extends from 850 to

842 and so would allow possibly nine new ones. But we have no provinces to fill the gap. Nor was the *cursus* so well fixed as yet. We have an official breaking the list of governors in 835, and we even have Ahi Suhina in 839 when it had appeared but two years before. And when we find Nasibna and Kalhu, which had appeared in 853-852, repeated in 833-832, the poverty of choice is apparent.

We thus see that the territory actually incorporated into the Assyrian empire at this time was not of very great extent. The great period of reorganization seems to have been the reign of Adad nirari, whose own inscriptions tell us so little, but whose importance is proved by the long list of expeditions in our document. The first province seems to have been Amedi in 800, though the fact that it was conquered by Ashur nasir apal, that there is no mention of it in the records of Shalmaneser, and that it was included, even though in the second class, in the list of cities which revolted under Ashur dan apal, might point to its earlier incorporation into the empire. Then comes the group 795-791, which includes Tushhan, Guzana, Tille, Mehinish, and Isana. Of these, Tille had been hostile as late as 817 and Guzana as late as 809, so that these at least can be definitely dated to this period. Tushhan alone might with some probability be dated earlier, as it already seems to have been under the control of Ashur nasir apal, but its absence from the Ashur dan apal list seems equally strong against its actual incorporation. All thus far listed belong to the north west boundary, and Isana is of special importance as being 'the first province west of the Euphrates. Its addition is no doubt due to the Syrian campaigns of Adad nirari. A business document shows us that Shibaniba was added in 787, Rimusi occurs the next year in our document, and Kurban in 784, and the first and third occur also in the list of revolted cities. Since we have new provinces listed for 787, 786, 784, we should naturally assume that the blank should be filled by still another new one and that the same would be true of 788. Certain it is that all the provinces listed for previous reigns are accounted for in this. The blank of 788 is probably to be filled with Arbailu, as this follows in the same manner as here Kakzi in 759, and is also found in the Ashur dan apal list, while 785 is to be filled with the Parnunna of the same list and which occurs

in our document in 756.¹ It is true that in this latter place, it follows Kurban instead of preceding it as in 785, and is two years before Rimusi instead of following it as in the former case; but these new provinces seem not yet to have been given a definite order, and the fact that, in the later list, 759-754 are all taken by provinces formed not later than the reign of Adad nirari seems to place them all together. The occurrence of so many of these province names, Nineveh, Shibaniba, Parnunna, Kurban, Arbailu, Amedi, in the revolt list, is striking, but after all they are but six out of twenty seven, so that this list has no necessary connection with the eponyms.

During the period of decline of the dynasty, no new names seem to have been added. The first trace of another is in 732, under Tiglath Pileser IV, when Sime, already in the revolt list as Shimu, was incorporated, while Lulume is the only one proved by our document for the reign of Sargon. Under his successors, there were many additional provinces, but these must be reserved for a later paper.

As a result of this part of our study, two facts of great importance stand out sharply. One is the small amount of territory actually incorporated in the Assyrian territory at a date even so late as the time of Shalmaneser III. The distinction is thus more sharply than ever made between the actual Assyrian country and the buffer states which in but small part and at a much later time were incorporated as parts of Assyria proper.

The other fact is that the greatest period of provincial organization was not, as has been generally assumed by historians, the reign of Tiglath Pileser IV, to whom but one new province can be definitely assigned, but that of Adad nirari, under whom many, perhaps as many as eleven, were incorporated. Whether as many as eleven can be attributed to him or not, these eleven were made in his period and under the dynasty of which he was the last great representative. That this must shift the emphasis in Assyrian history is obvious, for credit should be as much given to the administrator as to the warrior. But Adad nirari was a warrior

¹ Shamshi Adad Ann. I, 46; the reading Udnunna is also possible. It occurs as eponym as late as 697.

as well, and so we must look with all the more eagerness to the day when the annals which Adad nirari must have composed to celebrate his many campaigns may be found.

The third column offers less of novelty, but still well merits a closer examination. For the earlier part of the reign of Shalmaneser III, we unfortunately have no data, but with 842 we begin to have traces. In this year we have a sign which is probably an error for *ka*, and so we must restore *Dimašku*, Damascus, to fit the official inscriptions. For the next two, we must restore Que and Qummuhi, as this best fits the data of the official inscriptions which give Hamanu and Que respectively. For 839, we have Danabi, the well known Tunip in North Syria, while the official inscription gives Damascus and Phoenicia. The year 838, which has Tabal in both the Obelisk and our document, shows that Winckler¹ is wrong and Barta² right in their dating of the fragment; indeed, the two agree literally down to 834 where, after the proper expedition against Que, the Chronicle adds another line "to Que, the great god went forth from Der". It is natural to take this as a separate year, but unfortunately, if we do this, it throws all the dates, before or after, one year out of the way. So the only thing we can do is to assume, reluctant as we may be to do so, that here there are two lines for one year, supply something like *rabute*, "nobles", before the "to Que", and translate "nobles were sent to Que". If we do this, we find 833 attributed to Urarti as the Obelisk³, 832 to Unqi, the 'Amq which was in the Patina of the Obelisk⁴, 831 to Ulluba, which was in the Kirhi of the Obelisk⁵, and 830 to Manna, another exact agreement with the same inscription⁶. The next six years are marked "revolt" because of that of Ashur dan apal.

The Annals of Shamshi Adad place in his first expedition a campaign against Nairi⁷. We know from the same sources that Amedi was one of the revolted cities and so we may connect the last year of the revolt according to our document, 824, with the first campaign of the Annals. For the next

¹ L. c.² L. c.³ Obl. 141 ff.⁴ Ibid. 146 ff.⁵ Ibid. 156 ff.⁶ Ibid. 159 ff.⁷ Shamsi Adad Ann. II, 1 ff.⁸ Ibid. I, 49.

year we have *ri-is*. Our natural restoration is Sikris, as we have later references to it as an important place on the frontier¹. This fits well with the second expedition of the Annals which is against Nairi². For the next year, 822, we have only *-a*. This we would naturally restore Manna, as the third expedition was against that place³. But the wide space vacant before that sign hardly allows more than one sign to have stood in the mutilated portion, so we should rather restore Mada, the Medes. The shumme I cannot identify. It may have been in Babylonia, as the fourth expedition was against that country⁴. For the next three lines, we have only *-e*. This may be restored Qarne to correspond with the Annals⁵, or Tille to correspond with the following year in our document. The Mada of 810 is the Mada of the Kalhu inscription of Adad nirari⁶ and proves the identity of Mat-a with the Medes. The Manna of 808-7 dates the Munna of the Kalhu inscription⁷ to these years, and the Syrian cities of the next four years show that the Hatte and Amurri of the same inscription⁸ date here. The *eli tamtim* of 803 shows that here is placed the detailed Syrian campaign of the Kalhu inscription, *adi eli tamtim rabiti ša šulmu šamši*⁹. It seems a general rule that the shorter display inscriptions deal most fully with the data of the year in which they are erected, so we may date the Kalhu inscription to this time. The fact that tribute of the Kaldi kings is later mentioned¹⁰ does not argue to the contrary, for our document gives no expedition against Babylon during the entire reign, and the position of Sammuramat hints at peaceful relations with Babylonia.

After the loss of the Kalhu inscription, we are entirely dependent on the chronicle for the history of the next half century, and so little new can be hoped for. The frequent

¹ Cf. Olmstead, *Sargon*, 121; years 823-819 are omitted by Winckler, Barta, and Rogers.

² Shamshi Adad Ann. II, 16 ff.

³ Ibid. 34 ff.

⁴ Ibid. III, 70 ff.

⁵ Ibid. IV, 9.

⁶ Kalhu 7.

⁷ Ibid. 8.

⁸ Ibid. 11.

⁹ Ibid. 13.

¹⁰ Ibid. 22.

expeditions against Urartu have often been noted and connected with the sudden rise into prominence of that country. Yet even as late as 773, an expedition could be made against so distant a place as Damascus. Then came the pest, no doubt the cause of the "in the land" of the next year. The revolts, beginning in the oldest capital, Ashur, at the time of the famous eclipse of 763, and then extending to the provinces, can only point to a disputed succession. It is interesting to note that the final fighting took place in Guzana, which reminds us of how the decisive battle after the death of Sennacherib took place in the not far distant Hani rabbat¹. This final defeat of the rebels resulted in the "peace in the land" and also in the "in the land" of utter exhaustion of the next two years.

Then come, in 755-4, expeditions against North Syria, Hatirika and Arpad. As we later find Tiglath Pileser forced to fight Sardurish of Haldia (Urartu) in the latter city², it is not too far a conjecture that the presence of an Assyrian army in this region was a last attempt to save North Syria and the Isana province from that ruler or from his predecessor Argishtish. It is clear that the power of Haldia was on the constant increase, even if expeditions against it are no longer chronicled in our document.

It would seem as if ill success here led to the downfall of Ashur dan. His successor Ashur nirari is not his son and he ascended the throne the very year of the Arpad expedition. After Arpad, our chronicle adds the enigmatic expression "from (?) the city of Ashur the return". Are we to connect this with the fact that Ashur was concerned with the earlier rebellion and to assume that it shows Ashur nirari a usurper? If so, how are we to square this with the fact that Shamshi ilu was still *turtanu* under Ashur nirari? The puzzle must be left unsolved with our present knowledge.

The constant "in the land" of this reign points to utter exhaustion. The fact that there are expeditions against Namri does not contradict this, for they are nothing more than attempts to beat back the tribes on the mountain boundary to the east. The revolt which finally put an end to the dynasty began in Kalhu, formerly its most staunch defender.

¹ Esarhaddon, Broken Prism I, 18.

² Tiglath Pileser IV, Ann. 91.

The data in our chronicle bearing on the reign of Tiglath Pileser have been discussed in detail by Rost in his edition of the inscriptions of that monarch¹. Without it, the sadly mutilated Annals could hardly have been arranged in chronological order. A serious difficulty is found under 743, where our document gives "in Arpad". Rost² seeks to obviate this by reading *ana*, "against", but an error from a common to a less common reading is hardly likely. And this emendation does not remove the real difficulty, which is topographical. The data in the Annals make it clear that Tiglath Pileser had not crossed the Euphrates before his great battle with Sardurish. The error of the compiler may have been due to the *ina kabal Arpad* of Annals 91, though this obviously refers to 741. The data for the next year must be found in the Annals in the badly mutilated lines 74-82, where the place-names are still clearly east of the Euphrates. The "after three years captured" of 741 seems at first sight strange in view of the fact that the next year still gives an expedition against Arpad, but this is really the expedition against Unqi and the south of the Annals³. For 739, "against Ulluba", the only reference in the Annals is the casual remark that the king settled captives in that land⁴. The display inscriptions⁵, however, tell of the conquest of Ulluba and Kirhu and the foundation of the city Ashur iqisha with which Rost⁶ rightly compares the "fortress founded" of our text. The only references to Nal, given under 736, in the slab inscriptions⁷, are clearly to be connected with the Ulluba campaign of 739 of which this is obviously the continuation. There is no part of the Annals to correspond to this, as all the data in 177ff. refer to the Urartu campaign of 735. It would appear that we must take the Pilishta of 734 as Palestine and not as the land of the Philistines, for strategical considerations are opposed to an expedition against them before the ones against

¹ Rost, *Die Keilschrifttexte Tiglat-Pileser*; cf. Anspacher, *Tiglath Pileser*.

² *Op. cit.*, xii, n. 2.

³ Ann. 92ff.

⁴ *Ibid.* 133.

⁵ Slab I, 28; II, 41; Clay I, 43.

⁶ L. c

⁷ Slab I, 28; II, 41.

Damascus the two following years, and moreover we cannot discover in the Annals anything but a Damascus expedition after that against Urartu. Sapia, the land attacked in 731, is not in the Annals, so we may with much probability date that document to the preceding year, 732. On the other hand, the Clay Inscription¹ deals most fully with the events of the year, and accordingly its composition may be dated immediately after. The "in the land" of 730 naturally is to be attributed to the settlement of Babylon and as naturally leads the next year to the "seizing the hands of Bel". When the Babylonian Chronicle² and the king lists³ date the accession of Tiglath Pileser to the Babylonian throne to 728, they are merely postdating. Whether the beginning of the second statement under 728 is to be restored as "Tyre..." may be left an open question.

It has already been pointed out that the city attacked in 727 must be assigned to the reign of Tiglath Pileser, as it is placed before the accession of Shalmaneser in our document, and we know that he reached the throne late in the year. The mutilated place name here must be restored as "Damascus"⁴. The "in the land" of the next year seems to point to some sort of internal troubles. The curious triangular agreement on the basis of which Samaria is to be restored in the blanks for the next three years has long ago been pointed out⁵.

For the reign of Sargon, we have the data given in the fragment Rm. 2, 97, this part of which has already been discussed by the present writer in his *Sargon*⁶. For the actual process of reconstruction and especially for the dating of the lines by the traces of the cities governed by the eponyms, reference must be made to this work. Here, only the data of interest for the document as a whole will be considered. Agreements with the official annals, at least with the later form of it which has alone come down to us with a fair de-

¹ II R. 67.

² Bab. Chron. I, 19 ff.

³ Cf. Schrader, *Keilschr. Bibl.* II, 290.

⁴ The *Di*, omitted by later editors, was evidently clear in the time of G. Smith, *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* II, 321 ff.

⁵ Olmstead, *Amer. Jour. Sem. Lang.* 1905, 179 ff.

⁶ *Sargon*, 15, n. 45.

gree of completeness, are not so frequent as in other reigns. For example, the Manna reference under 718 is given under 716 in the Annals¹, but this account on the face of it covers more than one year. The "governors appointed" of 717 may refer either to the settlement of Carchemish² or of Manna³. The next year has a reference to Muṣaṣir and then to Haldia, but as the latter has no determinative, it is left open to doubt whether it is the god of that name, or a unique occurrence of the native name of the land which the Assyrians called Urartu. Another expedition against Musasir is listed under 713. "The nobles in the land of Ellipa" seems a reference to the events of Annals 83ff. Although the Annals has an expedition for each year, our document under 712 has "in the land", and this alone would make us doubt the accuracy of our official annals. With 711, "against Markasa", we have for the first time an exact chronological agreement with our Annals⁴, and the two following, "to Bit Zirnaid, the king was distant in Kesh", and "Sargon seized the hands of Bel", fit in with the respective events of the same years in that document⁵. The first part of 708, "Qummuh captured", agrees with the Annals⁶, and dates this part of that document to this year, but the second, "a governor established", has no parallel. It may refer to Babylonia. "The king returned from Babylon", seems to be a reference to his return to meet the Cimmerian invasion⁷. "He of Dur Iakin went out", and "Dur Iakin was destroyed" for 706 and 705 must refer to Merodach Baladan, but they can hardly be connected with the account in Sargon's Annals. Rather do they form the prologue and the result of the first expedition of Sennacherib⁸, while "the nobles into Karalla" must refer to the events of his second expedition,⁹ for the conquered tribes are annexed to the province of Arrapha.

¹ Sargon, Ann. 52 ff.

² Ibid. 50.

³ Ibid. 52 ff.

⁴ Ibid. 208 ff.

⁵ Ibid. 228 ff.

⁶ Ibid. 388 ff.

⁷ Cf. Olmstead, *Sargon*, 157. — Thureau-Dangin, *Huitième Campagne de Sargon*, xiv, places the whole set of events referred to in the Urartu letters in the time of Rusash.

⁸ Bellino 5 ff.

⁹ Ibid. 20 ff.

There is still another fragment, seemingly fitting the one just described but unfortunately the actual text seems never to have been published¹. Under 701, our authorities tell us, it had "from the land of Halzi"; under 700, there is a reference to "Ashur nadin shum, the crown prince", who was later killed in Babylonia, and we have also a notice of the building of the walls of the palace Qabal ali, a part of Nineveh, of Kalhu, and of the city of Dargitu; and Bel shanaia, governor of Kurban, is also mentioned.

In addition to these purely historical facts, there is a certain number of references to religious events which show the religious leanings of the compiler. These are "the great god went to Der", in 815 and 785; the return from that city in 834; the "foundations of the temple of Nabu were laid" in 788, and seemingly in 722; the resulting "Nabu entered a new house" 787 and 721; and the same statements in regard to the house of Nergal in 719 and 714. With Winckler², we must restore under 704 "the gods of Shumer and Akkad] to their houses returned". Perhaps here too belongs the "former" of 702.

These are all the known fragments of the chronological table we call the Assyrian Chronicle. But, before closing this article, we must glance for a moment at another document of this character, the fragment K. 4446. This is somewhat more literary in type and is at times so close to the Babylonian Chronicle that one may be used to restore the other³. Like the Assyrian Chronicle, it has been long known and often published or referred to⁴, but, as certain corrections and improvements have never been incorporated, it too will be given at the close of the article. As for its translation, this should run about as follows:

708 In the eponymy of Shamash upahhir, governor of
Kirruri

the nobles to the city of Qummuhi [went . . .

707 In the eponymy of Sha Ashur dubbu, governor of
Tushha[n, the king from Babylon] returned. The

¹ K. 10017 used by G. Smith, *Eponym Canon*, 55; later identified and discussed by Johns, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* XXVI, 260 f.

² *Keilinschr. Bibl.*, III, 2, 147.

³ Cf. Olmstead, *Sargon*, 15.

⁴ K. 4446; II, R. 69, 6; Schrader, *op. cit.*, I, 214 f.; Rogers, *Parallels*, 238.

- great gods who were captur[ed to their houses returned.] On Tashritu 22, the gods of Dur Shar-ruken [to new houses entered?]
- 706 In the eponymy of Mutakkil Ashur, governor of Guzana, the king . . .
- On Aru 6, the city of Dur Sharruken had its foundations laid.
- 705 In the eponymy of Upahhir Bel, governor of Amedi,
Against Eshpai the Kulummite
A hostile king the camp of the king of Assyria [took.]
On Abu 12, Sennacherib [ascended the throne.]
- 704 In the eponymy of Nabu din epush, governor of Nineveh,
The cities of Larak and Sarabanu [were taken.]
The palace of the city of Kakzi, which was being built, had its founda[tion laid.]
Great

The Assyrian Chronicle.

860 Tab Bel	ša Šulman ašarid mar Ašur našir apal i[na kussi ittušib	
<hr/>		
859 Šarru balti(?) niše		a[na Ḫamanu
858 Šulman ašarid	šar Ašur	a[na Bit Adini
857 Ašur bel ukin	(amelu) turtanu	[ana Bit Adini
856 Ašur bana ušur	(amelu) rab bi lub	[ana Bit Adini
855 Abu ina ekalli lilbur	(amelu) nagir ekalli	[ina mati?
854 Dan Ašur	(amelu) turtanu	[ana Ḫatte
853 Šamaš abua	(amelu) šaknu ša (alu) Našibna ¹	[ana Til Abni
852 Šamaš bel ušur	ša (alu) Kalḫa	[ana Karduniaš
851 Bel bana	(amelu) nagir ekalli	[ana Karduniaš
850 Ḫadi lipušu	ša (alu) . . . ?	[ana Gargamiš
849 Nergal alik pani	ša . . .	[ana Ḫatte
848 Bir Ramana	[ša . . .	ana Paḫarḫubuna
(End of 82-5-22, 526)		

¹ The fact that we here, and here only, have *šaknu* prefixed to the *ša* and the name of the province seems to point to this being the first reference to a governor of a province, in other words, that 860 probably marks the real beginning of the document. — The form *Našibna* here and in 833 is curious, not so much in view of the form later used, *Našibina*, as of the present day form *Niṣibīn*.

847 Ninib mokin niše	[ša	ana Iaeti
846 Ninib nadin šum	[ša	ana Hätte
845 Ašur bana ¹	[ša	ana Nairi
844 Tab Ninib	[ša	ana Namri
843 Taklak ana šarri ²	[ša	ana Hamanu
(Beginning of Rm. 2, 97)		
842 Adad rimani	[ša	ana Dimaš]ka
841 Bel abua	[ša Ahi S]uḥina	a[na Ku]e :
840 Šulmu bel lumur	[ša] Rašappa	ana(matu)K[umu]ḥi
839 Ninib kibsi ušur	[ša Ahi] (naru) Su- ḥina	ana (matu) Danabi
838 Ninib ila	[ša] Salmat ³	ana (matu) Tabali
837 Kurdi Ašur ⁴	[ša Ki]rruri	ana (matu) Melidi
836 Šep šarri	[ša N]inua	ana (matu) Namri
835 Nergal mudammik	abarakku ⁵	ana (matu) Kue
834 Iaḥalu	[ša Kak]zi [rabute] ana (matu)	ana (matu) Kue ilu rabu ištu (alu)
	Kue	Diri ittalka
833 Ulula	[ša Naši]bna	ana (matu) Urarṭi
832 Niš pati Bel	[ša Kal]ḥi	ana (matu) Unḳi
831 Nergal ila	[ša Arba]ḥa	ana (matu) Ulluba
830 Huba	[ša Mazamu]a	ana (matu) Manna
829 Ilu mokin aḥi	[ša]	siḥu
(V. l. — —)		
828 Šulman ašarid	šar [Ašur]	siḥu
827 Dan Ašur	[(amelu) turtanu] ⁶	siḥu
826 Ašur bana ušur	[(amelu) rab bi lub]	siḥu

¹ Is Ashur bana the same as the Ashur bana ušur of 856? S. 726 = J. 926 is dated in the *limmu* of Ashur ban Johns, *Deeds*, I, 561, dates 846 and reads Ashur bani ai ušur, but this begs the question of identity.

² S. 736 places before Ashur ban . . . another eponym Taklak In spite of its position, this must refer to 843 as the next earlier Taklak is in 888.

³ Cf. for reading the river Salmat of the letter Rm. 2, 3; Olmstead, *Sargon*, 154, n. 29.

⁴ We can hardly identify him with the eponym of the same name in 873 or in 767.

⁵ Johns, *Deeds*, II, 94, is evidently making a slip when he makes Dan Ashur a *tukultu* in 854.

⁶ For the titles in 827—824 cf. under 854, 856, 834, and 851 respectively.

825 Iaḥalu	[(amelu) abarakku s]iḥu	
824 Bel bana	[(amelu nagir ekalli s]iḥu	
<hr/>		
823 Šamši Adad	šar [Ašur	ana Sik]ris
822 Iaḥalu	[(amelu) turtanu	ana Mad]a
821 Bel dan ¹	[(amelu nagir ekalli	ana ...]shumme
820 Ninib upaḥḥir	[(amelu) abarakku ²	ana Kār]e
819 Šamaš ila	[(amelu) šaknu	ana Kār]e
818 Nergal ila	[ša Arbaḥa	ana Till]e
(End of Rm. 2, 27; beginning of K. 51)		
817 Ašur bana ušur	[(amelu rab bi lub] ³	ana (matu) Till[e
816 Niš pati Bel	[ša Na]šibina	ana (matu) Zarate
815 Bel balaṭ	[ša K]alhi ⁴ ana (alu)	ilu rabu ana (alu)
	Deri	Deri ittalak
814 Mušikniš	[ša K]irruri	ana (matu) Aḥsana
813 Ninib ašarid	[ša Sa]lmatš	ana (matu) Kaldi
812 Šamaš kumua	[ša] Arbaḥa	ana Babilu
(Beginning of 81-2-4, 187)		
811 Bel ḳata šabat	[ša] Mazamua	ina mati
<hr/>		
810 Adad nirari	[šar] Ašur	ana Mada
809 Nergal ila	[(amelu) tur]tanu	ana (alu)Guzana
808 Bel dan	[(amelu) nagir]	ana (matu) Manna
	ekalli	
807 Šil Bel	[(amelu) rab]bi lub	ana (matu) Manna
806 Ašur taklak	[(amelu)] abarakku	ana(matu) Arpadda

¹ The Bel dan of 750, 744, and 734 is a younger and less important person.

² By their order, the eponyms for 820-819 must have been palace officials. All are represented but the *abarakku* and *šaknu*, so these must be the ones required. As the *abarakku* precedes the *šaknu* in 806-805, this order should be followed here. Comparison of the two groups may assist us in restoring the mutilated name in 805. The official here was *šaknu*, the same office we have secured for 819, and as the eponym for this year was Shamash ila, we restore this for 805 as the traces very well fit this name. It need hardly be pointed out that Shamash ila is not the same person as Shamshi ilu.

³ For the office, cf. 856.

⁴ Sayce, *ad loc.*, restores [turta]nu, but this fits neither the traces nor the order. The sign *gu* seems an obvious error in copying. The easiest restoration would be K]alḥ[i on the basis of 832, though we must admit the possibility of Amedi which likewise follows Našibina in 800.

⁵ Barta, *ad loc.*, reads *turtanu*, which agrees with neither traces nor order.

805 Šamaš ila ¹	[(amelu) ša]knu	ana (alu) Hazazi
804 Nergal ereš	[ša R]ašappa	ana (alu) Ba'li
803 Ašur balti niše	[ša (a)]lu Arbaḥa	ana eli tamtim mu- tanu
802 Ninib ila	ša (alu) Aḥi (naru) Suḫina	ana (alu) Hubuškia
801 Šep Ištar	ša (alu) Našibina	ana Mada
800 Marduk šimani	ša (alu) Amedi	ana Mada
799 Mutakkil Marduk	(amelu) rab šake	ana (matu) Lusia
798 Bel tarši Nabu	ša (alu) Kalḫi	ana (matu) Namri
797 Ašur bel ušur	ša (matu) Kirruri	ana (alu) Maṣuate
796 Marduk šaduni	ša (alu) Salmat	ana (alu) Deri
795 Kin abua	ša (matu) Tušḫan	ana (alu) Deri
794 Mannu ki (matu) Ašur ²	ša (alu) Guzana	ana Mada
793 Mušallim Ninib	ša (alu) Tille ³	ana Mada
792 Bel iḫišani	ša (alu) Meḫiniš	ana(matu)Hubuškia
791 Šep Šamaš	ša (alu) Isana	ana (matu) Itūa
790 Ninib mukin aḫi	ša (alu) Ninua	ana Mada
789 Adad mušammir	ša (alu) Kakzi ⁴	ana Mada
788 Šil Ištar	ša (alu) A[rbailu] ⁵	(uššu ša bet Nabu ša Nin)ua karru

¹ For restoration of name of eponym, cf. p. 362 n. 2.

² K. 3042 = J. 1077 from the time of Sargon, refers to the *limmu* of Mannu ki Ashur, in the time of Adad nirari, VIII, 10; K. 2655, Smith, *Canon*, 81, and K. 310 = J. 651 are dated in his year.

³ The insertion of Guzana in the list, between Tushhan and Tille, seems to have been based on topographical considerations, if Tille is really the Til at the junction of the eastern and western Tigris.

⁴ The section 789-785 is based on K. 51, supplemented in 788 by 81-2-4, 187, the portion in parenthesis. So far as preserved, the two agree exactly as regards the events, but differ in the dating. The error in 81-2-4, 187 can easily be explained. The initial error took place when the scribe started to put down the line for 785, which began with the name of Marduk shar ušur, but when he began to write the second section, his eye wandered to the very similar Nabu shar ušur of the next line and so he completed the line with the second and third parts of 784. Nabu shar ušur was then given 787, displacing Balatu, and the loss of 785 forced the scribe to antedate by a year all the events to 789. The eponym list Rm. 580, quoted by Bezold, *ad loc.*, follows 81-2-4, 187, in giving Nabu shar ušur for 787, an interesting proof of interdependence.

⁵ The reading is by no means certain as only two horizontal hastae remain. These might be remains of the sign *Ar*, and Arbaha was at first considered. But in 759 Arbailu comes after Ninua and Kakzi as here and so this is made almost certain.

787 Balātu	ša (alu) [Šibaniba] ¹	ana Mada Nabu ana bet ešši etarab
786 Adad uballiṭ	ša (a[lu] Ri]musi	ana (matu) Ki[s](ki)
785 Marduk šar ušur	ša [Parnunna]	ana Ḫubuškia ilu rabu ana (alu) Deri ittalak
784 Nabu šar ušur	ša [Kurb]an	ana(matu)Ḫubuškia
783 Ninib našir	š[a Maz]amua	ana (matu) Itu'
782 Nabu li'	š[a Našib]ina	ana (matu) Itu'
— — —	— — —	
781 Šulman ašarid	[šar A]šur	ana (matu) Urarṭi
780 Šamši ilu	[(amelu) turt]anu	ana (matu) Urarṭi
779 Marduk rimani	[(amelu) rab b]i lub	ana (matu) Urarṭi
778 Bel lišir	[(amelu) nagire]kalli	ana (matu) Urarṭi
777 Nabu išid ukin	[(amelu)] abarakku	ana (matu) Itu'
776 Pan Ašur lamur	[(amelu) šak]nu	ana (matu) Urarṭi
775 Nergal ereš	[ša R]ašappa	ana (matu) Erini
774 Ištar duri ²	[ša Našib]ina	ana (matu) Urarṭi (matu) Namri
773 Mannu ki Adad	[ša Sa]lmat	ana (alu) Dimaška
— — —	— — —	
772 Ašur bel ušur ³	[ša Kal]ḫi	ana (alu) Ḫatarika
— — —	— — —	
771 Ašur dan	šar [Ašur] (ki)	ana (alu) Gananati
770 Šamši ilu	[(amelu) turt]anu	aua (alu) Marrat
769 Bel ila	ša (alu) Arbaḫa	ana (matu) Itu'
768 Aplia	ša (alu) [Ma]zamua	ina mati
767 Ƙurdi Ašur	ša (a[lu] Aḫi) (naru)	ana(matu) Gananati
	Suḫina	
766 Mušallim Ninib	ša (a[lu]) Tille	ana Mada
765 Ninib mukiṇ niše	[ša] (matu) Kirruri	ana(matu) Ḫatarika mutanu
764 Šidki ilu	[ša] (matu) Tušḫan	ina mati
763 Bur Sagale	[š]a (alu) Guzana	siḫu ina (alu) Ašur ina Simanu šamšu atala ištakan

¹ The reading Balatu is proved by K. 2829 = J. 653, dated in the *limmu* of Balātu of (a)lu Shibaniba, a welcome restoration of our text.

² Identification with the Ishtar duri of 714 is not probable.

³ Bezold, *Catalogue*, ad K. 290 et al., ascribes a number of documents dated in the *limmu* of Ashur bel ušur, to 773 (sic), but Johns, *Deeds*, I, 561, rightly dates them to 695.

762 Tab Bel	[š]a (alu) Amedi	siḫu ina (alu) Ašur
761 Nabu muki alī	[š]a (alu) Ninua	siḫuina(alu)Arbaḫa
760 Lakipu	[š]a (alu) Kakzi	siḫuina(alu)Arbaḫa
759 Pan Ašur lamur	[ša] (alu) Arbailu	siḫuina(alu)Guzana mutanu
758 Bel taklak	[ša (a)]lu Isana	ana (alu) Guzana šulmu ina mati
757 Ninib iddinna	[ša (a)]lu Kurban	ina mati
756 Bel šadua	[ša] Parnunna	ina mati
755 Ikišu	[ša] Mehiniš	ana (matu) ¹ Hata- rika
754 Ninib šezibani	[ša] Rimusi	ana (matu) Arpadda ištu (alu) Ašur taiartu

753 Ašur nirari	[šar] Ašur	ina mati
752 Šamši ilu	[(amelu) tur]tanu	ina mati
751 Marduk šallimani	[(amelu) nagir] ekalli	ina mati
750 Bel dan ²	[(amelu) ra]b bi lub	ina mati
749 Šamaš ken dugul	[(amelu)] abarakku	ana (matu) Namri
748 Adad bel ukin ³	[(amelu)] šaknu	ana (matu) Namri
747 Sin šallimani ⁴	[ša] Rašappa	ina mati
746 Nergal našir	[ša (a)]lu Našibina	siḫu ina (alu) Kalḫi

(End of 81-2-4, 187)

745 Nabu bel ušur	[ša] (alu) Arbaḫa	ina Aru XIII Tukul]ti apal ešarra ina kussi ittušib ina Tašri]tu ana birit nari ittalak
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(V. l. — — —)

744 Bel dan	[ša] (alu) Kalḫi	ana (matu) Namri
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(V. l. — — —)

743 Tukulti apal ešarra	[ša]r Ašur	ina (alu) Arpadda diktam ša (matu) Urar]ti dikat
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¹ Here and in the next line K. 3403 (alu) for (matu).² Bel dan appears in K. 6069, according to Johns, *Deeds*, I, 562.³ There is a variant reading, Ashur bel ukin, but the Adad bel ukin of 738 proves this correct.⁴ Sin shallimani occurs in K. 326 = J. 412, and as Sin mushal]limani in K. 976 = J. 67.

742 Nabu daninani ¹	(amelu) turtanu	ana (alu) Arpadda
741 Bel Harran bel ušur	(amelu) nagir ekalli	ana (alu) „ ana III šanati kašid
740 Nabu eṭirani	(amelu) rab bi lub	ana (alu) Arpadda
739 Sin taklak	(amelu) abarakku	ana (matu) Ulluba (alu) Birtu šabtat
738 Adad bel ukin	(amelu) šaknu	(alu) Kullani kašid
737 Bel emurani	ša (alu) Rašappa	ana Mada
736 Ninib ila	ša (alu) Našibina	ana šepa (šadu) Nal
735 Ašur šallimani	ša (matu) Arbaḥa	ana (matu) Urarṭi
734 Bel dan ²	ša (alu) Kalḥa	ana (matu) Pilišta
733 Ašur daninani ³	ša (alu) Mazamua	ana (matu) Dimaška
732 Nabu bel ušur	ša (alu) Sīme	ana (matu) Dimaška
731 Nergal uballiṭ	ša (alu) Aḥi (naru)	ana (alu) Sapia Suḫina
730 Bel ludari ⁴	ša (alu) Tile	ina mati
729 Napḥar ilu ⁵	ša (matu) Kirruri	šarru kata Bel iṣṣa- bat
728 Dur Ašur	ša (alu) Tušḥan	šarru kat Bel iṣṣa- bat (alu) Šurri?
— — — — —		
727 Bel Harran bel ušur	ša [G]uzana Šulman ašarid	ana (alu) ⁶ Di[maška] ina k[ussi] ittušib
726 Marduk bel ušur	[ša Ame]di	i[na] mati
725 Maḥde	[ša] Ninua	ana (matu) ⁶ [Same- rina
724 Ašur šimani	[ša Kak]zi	an[a] Samerina
723 Šulman ašarid ⁷	[šar Ašur] (ki)	a[na] Samerina

(Beginning of Rm. 2, 97)

¹ K. 422 = J. 75 is dated in the *limmu* of Nabu] daninani tur[tanu] tarši Tukulti apal ešarra.

² K. 378 = J. 90, *limmu* Bel dan ina šane purišu; cf. Rm. 2, 19 = J. 415 where to this is added "governor of Kalhu".

³ Ashur daninani has the unusual honor of being mentioned in the royal inscriptions, Slab. II, 27; Clay I, 42, as the governor who led an expedition against the Medes, evidently in his character of governor of Mazamua.

⁴ Bel ludari is eponym in K. 369 = J. 295; K. 384 = J. 1; Rm. 2, 194 = J. 658.

⁵ Napḥar ilu governor of Kirruri is eponym in Rm. 187 = J. 195.

⁶ So G. Smith, *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, II, 321 ff.

⁷ K. 407 = J. 395 is dated in the *limmu* of Shalmaneser King of Assyria.

722. Ninib ila	[(amelu) turtan]u	[uššu ša beṭ Nabu kar]ru ¹
721 Nabu tariṣ	[(amelu) nagir ekalli (?)	Nabu ana bet ešši e]tarab
720 Ašur iška dan (V. l. — — —)	[(amelu) turtanu ²	ana Ta]bala
719 Šarruken ³	[Šar Ašur	uššu ša bet Ner]gal karru
718 Zer ibni	[(amelu) rab bi lub	ana (a]lu) Manna
717 Tab šar Ašur	[(amelu) abarakku]	piḫati šaknu
716 Tab šil ešarra	[ša Ašur]	a (?) di (alu) Mušašir Haldia
715 Taklak ana Bel	[ša Našibina]	rabute ina (matu) Ellipa
714 Ištār duri	[ša Arbaḫa]	Nergal ana be]t ešši etarab
713 Ašur bani	[ša Kalḫu	ana] (alu) Mušašir
712 Šarrū emurani	[ša Lulume]	ina mati
711 Ninib alik pani	[ša Sime]	ana (alu) Markasa
710 Šamaš bel ušur	[ša Ar Suḫina]	ana (alu) Bet Zer- na'id
709 Mannu ki Ašur li'	[ša Till]e ⁴	šarru ina Keš bedi Šarruken ḫata Bel iššabat
708 Šamaš upaḫḫir	[ša Kirru]ri	(alu) Kumuḫa kašid (amelu) peḫu šakin
707 Ša Ašur dubbu	[ša Tušḫ]an	šarru ištu Babili issuḫra
706 Mutakkil Ašur	[ša Guza]na	ša (alu) Dur Iakin naša
— — —		
705 Upaḫḫir Bel	[ša Ame]di	(alu) Dur Iakinnabil
(V. l. — — —)		
704 Nabu din ipuš	[ša Ninua	ilani] ana betatišunu etarbu

¹ Nabu is restored on the basis of 787; for the dating of the events on the reverse of Rm. 2, 97, cf. Olmstead, *Sargon*, 15, n. 45.

² Turtanu is restored on the basis of K. 998, quoted Johns, *Deeds*, II, 69.

³ K. 3781 = J. 767 is dated in the *limmu* of Sargon.

⁴ For the officials, cf. K. 4446 and Olmstead, *l. c.*

- | | | |
|--------------|-------------|-------------------------------|
| 703 Kaṇuna | [ša Kakzi | rabut]e ina (matu)
Karalli |
| 702 Nabu li' | [ša Arbailu |]maḥra |

K. 4446

- 708 limme [Šamaš upaḥḥir (amelu) šakin (matu) Kirruri
rabute ana (alu) Ḳumuḥḥi
- 707 limme Ša Ašur dubbu (amelu) šakin (alu) Tušḥa[n
issuḥra ilani rabuti šallut]e¹
(arah) Tašritu umu XXII (kan) ilani ša (alu) Dur
Šarruken
- 706 limme Mutakkil Ašur (amelu) šakin (alu) Guzana šarru
MU MA
(arah) Aru umu VI (kan) (alu) Dur Šarruken karu
- 705 limme Upaḥḥir Bel (amelu) šakin (alu) Amedi
ina muḥḥi Ešpai² (amelu) Kulumma
šarru² nakru madaktam ša šar (matu) Ašur
(arah) Abu umu XII Sin aḥe erba [ina kussi
ittušib
- 704 limme Nabu din ipuš (amelu) šakin (alu) Ninua
(alu) Larak (alu) Sarabanu
ekallu ša (alu) Kakzi epeš ka[ru
rab be ka

¹ Cf. Olmstead, *Sargon*, 146.

² So on the original according to Delitzsch, *Beitr. z. Assyr.*, I, 615 n.; cf. Olmstead, *Sargon*, 157, n. 44.

The Sothic Cycle used by the Egyptians. — By FRANCIS
A. CUNNINGHAM, Merchantville, N. J.

In this paper I present a new solution of a most interesting and important problem regarding the use of the Sothic Cycle by the ancient Egyptians in dating some of their monuments. This solution enables us to arrange the chronology of Egyptian history in a much more satisfactory manner than has heretofore been done and to harmonize the lists of Manetho and the monuments.

It is universally conceded that the Cycle used was a cycle determined by the Heliacal Rising of the Dog Star Sirius, known to the Greeks as Sothis, on the First of the month Thoth of the civil calendar of the Egyptians. If this calendar had remained always the same there would be little difficulty in arriving at fixed dates in the History of Egypt, but this was not the case. The same difficulty presents itself in Babylonian History where a 360-day year was in vogue. Using as the Egyptians did first a year of 360 days, but later a year of 365 days by the addition of the Epagomenae, a little month of five days, they failed to take into account the fraction of a day needed to make up the true year, 365 days decimal .24239, about eleven minutes longer than the civil year. This difference of almost one-quarter of a day gave rise to the Sothic Cycle.

In 1460 Sirius years, 1461 Civil years elapsed. The Sirius year was a little longer than the Civil year and practically equal to the Julian year, owing to the precessional movement. The Rising of Sirius, heliacally, annually, dropped back on the Civil year one day in four years. This was called a Tetramene and no date can be given more exactly than within four years. The statements on the monuments give the day in the Civil year on which the Rising took place. From this we can find the number of days from the beginning of the Civil year and multiplying by four we get the number of years

that have elapsed since the beginning of the Sothic Cycle. This would be simple enough if the Civil Calendar had always remained the same, but that it was changed in order to make it agree with the seasons cannot be doubted, as Lockyer clearly shows.

I shall add an additional proof. The latest date arrived at, by Dr. Breasted, for the 7th year of Senusert (Usertsen) III, 1872-76 B. C., is based upon the use of a Cycle calculated backwards from 1321 B. C. Julian. This Cycle would begin 2781 B. C. That it was not in vogue among the Egyptians prior to 1321 we have certain knowledge, as will be shown. In determining the first use of the Sothic Cycle, lacking monumental evidence, we should consider what prominent event would lend itself pre-eminently as a starting point. In the first place we have the annual rise of the River Nile, which took place each year at the same time at the Summer Solstice, and the observation of the Dog Star Sirius, the Greek Sothis, known as the Heliacal Rising of Sothis, occurring exactly at the same time each year Julian.

These would present suitable starting points for calculating the lapse of time. How much more suitable would be the combination of the three. Now we find that the Heliacal Rising of Sothis, the Summer Solstice, and the annual rise of the river Nile coincided in the year 3000 B. C. Julian in the latitude of Memphis on July 18 Julian, according to Oppolzer. I am firmly convinced that the founders of the Monarchy came from Babylonia, and brought with them the astronomical knowledge acquired from the Chaldeans, and that the priests became observers of the heavenly bodies in the Temples of Egypt as they had been in Chaldea, and proofs are not wanting to substantiate this position.

Assume, therefore, in the absence of direct evidence that the year 3004, to be within the limit of accuracy, was the year in which the Heliacal Rising of Sothis took place on the First Thoth of the Civil year and hence the beginning of a Sothic Cycle. According to my chronology this was about the 30th year of Menes, whose true name was Ea: Thoth. We must now consider how this assumption agrees with the known facts derived from the monuments.

First, we have a notice of the Heliacal Rising of Sothis in a papyrus found at Kahun from which we learn that the Rising

took place in the seventh year, eighth month, sixteenth day of the fourth winter month that is sixteenth of Pharmuthi. Calculating in the usual way we have 7 (mos.) times 30 equals 210 days plus 16 equals 226 days. 226 (days) times 4 equals 904 years from the beginning of the Cycle. 3004 minus 904 gives us 2100 B. C. as the date sought for. This is the fourth year of a tetramene 2103-2100 B. C. Julian. My date for the seventh year Usertsen III is 2105, obtained by dead reckoning, a result which is marvellously close. The next notice occurs in the Papyrus Ebers where it is stated that in the ninth year of a certain king, supposed by many to be Ser-Kepher-ra, Amenhotep I., by Lieblein to be Beon a Hyksos King, whilst I maintain that the proper rendering of the name, which is difficult to decipher, should be Uat-Kepher-ra—Kames, the Heliacal Rising of Sirius took place on the Ninth Day of the Eleventh month or the 9th of Epiphi. From this we have 3004—1236—1768 as the date. For many reasons this result cannot be correct and we are compelled to suspect that some change in the Calendar had taken place. The question is, when and by whom was a change made?

In a notice attached to the Shepherd King Asseth we have the statement by Anianus that "this one added the five Epagomenae to the year". Now we know that they were in use long before his time, at least as far back as the beginning of the Twelfth dynasty. It indicates, however, that Asseth did something to the calendar by adding days to the year. Moreover, we have another indication preserved by Nigidius Figulus regarding the kings after the Hyksos, namely that "each Egyptian King on his accession to the throne bound himself by oath before the priest of Isis in the temple of Ptah in Memphis not to intercalate either days or months, but to retain the year of 365 days as established by the Antiqui". My date for Asseth is 1744 B. C. Using the Cycle of 3004, the Heliacal Rising of Sothis took place in that year, $3004-1744 = 1260$ years for the elapsed period which, divided by 4 gives us 315 days, or in other words, it occurred on the 15th of the 11th month, or 15th of Epiphi. If, therefore, Asseth undertook to correct the civil calendar he would probably start a new cycle. How? By making the Heliacal Rising of Sothis begin again as of 1st of Epiphi, which would practically be adding 15 days to the Civil year at that time.

Taking again the notice of the 9th of Epiphi, we will have 9 times 4 = 36 years to 1st of Epiphi. Deducting 36 from 1744 when the change would be made, we will have 1708 B. C. as the date of the notice, according to my chronology, taking place in the 9th year of Uat-Kepher-ra—Kames.

The next notice confirms this conjecture. An inscription of Thothmes III states that the Heliacal Rising of Sothis occurred on the 28th of Epiphi. 28 times 4 = 162, the number of years since 1st of Epiphi, which gives the date 1632 B. C. The tetramene 1635-2 includes the date 1634 B. C., which is my date for the 3d year of Thothmes III when a 30-year Sed Festival took place, and which was probably the cause of the inscription being made.

The change made by Asseth would create a Cycle calculated backwards beginning in 2944 and ending in 1484 B. C., which date happens to be the 3d year of Rathotis and also the occurrence of a 30-year Sed Festival. This new Cycle was the Cycle used by Menepthah Hotephima son of Rameses II, as we shall see. The very name of the King Ra Thoth seems to be connected with a new Cycle beginning with the 1st of the month Thoth.

The notice of Menepthah II in his 2nd year states that the Heliacal Rising took place on the 29th of Thoth. 29 times 4 equals 116 years. 1484 minus 116 gives us 1368 B. C. as the date. I have strong reasons for suspecting that this date should be 1364 B. C., as a 30-year Sed Festival occurred in that year. This is extremely close and seems to prove that Menepthah made use of a Cycle beginning 1484 B. C. in the reign of Rathotis. Taking up the next notice we find that another change must have been made in the civil calendar, and it is this change that was not taken into account in arriving at the date for Usertsen III 1881 B. C. This notice is found in the tomb of Rameses VI, where it is stated that the Heliacal Rising took place on 1st of Paophi, year of reign not given. Comparing this with the notice in Menepthah's 2nd year we find the dates only two days apart, 29th Thoth to 1st Paophi. As each day counts four years in the Cycle, we have 8 years as the interval between them. Needless to remark, this is clearly impossible. The interval between the two dates cannot be less than 150 years.

What results from this? It shows absolutely that a change

in the calendar has taken place, and that the notice of Menephtah cannot refer to the same Cycle as that of Rameses VI. The latter, doubtless, referred to the Cycle of Censorinus, better known as the Era of Menophres beginning 1321 B. C. Julian. The Era of Menophres, contrary to the attempts of many to identify it with the name of a king, for example, with Men-pehti-ra Rameses I., is not named from a king, but from a place. In other words, Menophres is the Greek rendering of the name of the city of Memphis, Menofer with the usual "s" added, and indicates that the Era of Menophres was established at Memphis when the Civil Calendar was a second time corrected by making the Heliacal Rising in that year, 1321 B. C., count as of 1st Thoth in the Civil Year, whilst in the old Cycle it would fall on the 11th of Paophi in the close of the reign of Menephtah II, or beginning of the reign of Seti Menephtah II. The names of these sovereigns betray a more intimate connection with Memphis, where Ptah was worshipped, than with Thebes, where Amen ruled supreme.

The notice of the Heliacal Rising on the 1st of Paophi fixes the date 1197 B. C., as the 12th year of Rameses VI.

The close of the Cycle falls in 139 A. C. During this time there are evidences of various changes in the Calendar, but as they do not appear to have been generally accepted, we may dismiss them for the present. My conclusions are that the Cycle used by the Egyptians was a Sothic Cycle beginning in 3004 B. C. Julian; that a change was made in the Civil Calendar under Asseth, by adding 15 days to the year in 1744; and that a second change was made in 1321, when 11th of Paophi began again as of 1st of Thoth.

The Kashmirian Atharva Veda, Book Six.—Edited, with critical notes, by FRANKLIN EDGERTON, Ph.D., Assistant-Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

Prefatory.—Professor Leroy Carr Barret, of Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut, has for some years been occupied in editing the text of the Atharva Veda in the Pāippalāda recension. He has already published Books 1, 2 and 3; see this Journal, 26. 197ff., 30. 187ff., and 32. 343ff. At his kind suggestion I have undertaken to help a little in his slow and laborious task by editing Book Six. Needless to say, I should not have taken such a step without a suggestion from him. And I am indebted to him not only for the initial impulse, but also for many helpful hints—both as to general method, and in regard to troublesome details. Editing the Pāippalāda is a task of very peculiar difficulty (for reasons which Barret has fully set forth), and success can be hoped for only within certain limits—alas, much narrower limits than we should all desire. But such success as I may have attained is certainly greater than it would have been without Barret's generous assistance.

I have adhered strictly to the general principles of procedure laid down by Barret. To be convinced of their soundness one need only try for himself a very little of the work of editing this exasperating manuscript. As Barret has made clear, this can only be regarded as a preliminary publication; we are still far from being ready for anything like a final edition. It has been one of my first aims to present a strictly accurate transliteration of the text. This is printed throughout in heavy black-faced or Clarendon type, as in Barret's edition of Books 2 and 3.

In one slight point of typography I have deviated from Barret's custom. He keeps each line of the manuscript distinct in his

transliteration by always beginning a new line of the transliteration at a point where a new line begins in the ms. I hav hoped to accomplish the same end, and to indicate at the same time (for handy reference to the ms.) the exact line on the page which begins at the spot, by putting in the line-number in parenthesis. When a new folio or page begins, I hav introduced in like manner the number of the folio and the letter of the page (a for obverse, b for reverse), with the numeral 1—indicating the first line of the page. These indications of page and line of the ms., being not part of the transliteration, ar not in Clarendon type. I trust their meaning will be clear to the reader. Thus, hymn 1 begins in folio 90a, line 10; accordingly the first word of its transliteration is preceded by (90a, 10). Where line 11 begins, in the middle of the word jyestham, (11) is inserted, and so on down to çarcate in vs 6, after which comes (90b, 1), indicating that the reverse side of folio 90 begins here.

In some hymns, where it seemed simpler to indicate the verse division in the transliteration itself, I hav done so by introducing at the end of a verse its numeral, in parenthesis, and preceded by the abbreviation 'vs' = verse. This is done, for instance, in hymn 3. The use of 'vs' will distinguish these numbers from the numbers of the lines of the ms., and the use of ordinary type instead of Clarendon will make it clear that they, too, ar introductions of my own, and do not represent anything found in the ms. The ms., as a rule, does not represent verse-divisions in any way (see below), and when it does use a mark of punctuation I hav always preservd the same in my transliteration. Let it be borne in mind that the Clarendon type represents the literal transliteration of the ms. thruout.

I believ that all my other signs and abbreviations will be self-explanatory, especially to one who is alredy familiar with Barret's text. Ç means Çāunakiya, the vulgate text of the Atharva Veda: P or Ppp means Pāippalāda: ms. means manuscript: z means a period, and a vertical bar a colon. Following Barret's custom, I hav represented the jihvāmūliya and upadhmāniya in my transliteration by ṣ; they ar only used occasionally in the ms. In editing the text I hav substituted ḥ for them, for the sake of uniformity.

Introduction.

The manuscript.—This sixth book of the Kashmirian ms. begins on folio 90a, line 9, and ends on folio 97b, line 17. It therefore consists of about 15½ pages, or a little less than 8 folios of the manuscript. Nearly every one of these pages contains exactly 19 lines; a few hav 20. The ms. is in this part complete and undamaged.

Divisions in the manuscript.—Book Six is composed of 4 anuvākas; anu 3 contains 7 hymns, the others contain 5 each, making 22 hymns in all. The division of the hymns is always clearly and correctly markt in the ms., and in all but three cases the number of the hymn in its anuvāka is given—always correctly. The ms. does not attempt to number the hymns consecutivly thruout the book.

The stanzas, on the other hand, ar not divided with any regularity in the ms., and ar never numberd. Often a mark of punctuation, a colon or less often a period (represented in the transliteration by | and z respectivly), is put at the end of a verse—as also frequently at the end of a half-verse; but these marks ar more often omitted, and sometimes they ar wrongly inserted in the middle of a half-verse. In my transliteration I hav strictly followd the ms. in this matter, as in others; but in editing the text I hav introduced punctuation when it seems to be required, without comment.

Peculiarities of the text as written.—The lack of verse-division in the ms. makes it not infrequently hard to ascertain with certainty the end of one verse and the beginning of the next. Sometimes failure to observe sandhi, or the use of the virāma, indicates a verse-end; cf. Barret, JAOS 30. 188f., 32. 344. These guides must however be used with great caution. The matter is further complicated by several peculiarities in the method of writing the text. Thus:

1. When a stanza has occurd previously in the text of the Paippalāda itself, only the first words ar written, followd by 'ity ekā'. This practis was first noted by Barret in Book 3 (JAOS 32. 344). Neither Barret nor I feel certain at present as to just what 'ity ekā' stands for; Barret suggests possibly *ity ekarcam* ('thus to the extent of one verse') or the like. At any rate, it means that the verse is to be supplied in full from a previous occurrence in this same text. It occurs three

times in Book 6, viz.: 7. 5 (where by mistake ity akā is written in the ms.), 11. 1 and 22. 20.

2. When several consecutiv stanzas contain repetitions of the same pada or padas, the text is frequently abbreviated in some way. The simplest case is that in which a refrain is carried from one stanza to another. The refrain may be omitted altogether in the stanzas following the first, without any indication that it is to be supplied except the sense, which seems to require it: so in 5. 2-12 incl., 18. 2-5, 19. 2-8 (supply the 5th pada), and probably 14. 2-5. Or, the first word or words of the refrain may be written—with or without a mark of punctuation: so in 6. 6, 17. 3-9 incl., and 19. 5-8 incl. (where the beginning of the 3d pada is written). In either case the ms. always writes the refrain out in full with the first and the last verses where it occurs.

3. Sometimes when the beginning and the end of juxtaposed verses are identical, only some words in the middle being different, the text abbreviates by leaving out most of the identical portions in all verses after the first, or in all except the first and last; only the new parts of the other stanzas, with perhaps the adjoining words of the context, ar given. This seems to explain the readings found in 12. 9-11 and 15. 6.

4. Still more confusing is a way the ms. has of occasionally jumbling together several verses which are identical thruout most of their extent, but hav different beginnings; in such a case it is liable to write the initial words of all the verses, one after another, and even united by sandhi as if they formed a consecutiv passage,—following this up with the common conclusion.¹ That is, if one verse reads a, b, c, d, the next p, b, c, d, the next r, b, c, d, and the next t, b, c, d, the text may read thus: a, p, r, t, b, c, d. Examples ar found in 11. 6-8 and 12. 1-4.

Hymns and stanzas.—Some of these devices of abbreviation occasionally cause uncertainty about the verse-division, tho they ar in the main easily detected. The state of the ms. is, however, such that even when deliberate abbreviation has not taken place, it is not always possible to divide the verses with certainty. The following figures ar therefore not to be taken as absolutely accurate. They show, however, that the normal

¹ Just as at Ç 8. 8. 2, see Lanman, *Album Kern*, 301 f.

number of stanzas in the hymns of this book is 9, and that when a hymn deviates from the norm it almost always exceeds it. Only two hymns appear to contain less than 9 stanzas. Of these one, No. 18, is uncertain, and should perhaps be red with 9 stanzas; the other, No. 21, may perhaps owe its location in this book to the fact that it is closely connected with the preceding hymn, for both deal with the same subject, and they are found juxtaposed also in Q 19.

There are in Book 6—

- 2 hymns of 6 stanzas,
- 9 hymns of 9 stanzas,
- 3 hymns of 10 stanzas,
- 3 hymns of 11 stanzas,
- 1 hymn of 12 stanzas,
- 3 hymns of 13 stanzas,
- 1 hymn of 25 (?) stanzas,—

making in all 232 stanzas in the 22 hymns of the book.

New and Old Material.—More than half of this material is found in Vedic texts already published. 9 of the 22 hymns are found practically entire in other places: 2 others are made up of verses found in various previously known sources: 3 others contain important sections found in such sources. Only 8 may be regarded as practically new, and some of them contain, of course, occasional verses or padas found elsewhere. The Vedic Concordance now makes it easy to discover the location of these materials. When an entire hymn, or a considerable section thereof, is found elsewhere, I have called attention to the fact under the heading of the hymn: where it is a question of a single verse I have referred to the parallel passage in my editorial notes, under the verse in question. Transpositions in the order of stanzas I have not, as a rule, thought it worth while to mention; nor have I undertaken to catalog the numerous variant readings found in the parallel passages. All such matters can be easily traced with the aid of the Concordance.

As to the relation of this book to Q, it cannot be said to correspond very definitely with any of Q's books, though it contains more material from Q 5 than from any other. Hymns 1 and 2 of Q 5 are our 2 and 1 respectively, and our book reproduces more or less closely four other hymns of Q 5. Besides this, it contains 1 hymn from Q 2, 1 from Q 4, and 2 from Q 19. It contains no material from Q 6. Our first hymn occurs twice

in Ç, once in Book 5, and once in Book 20—in the latter place in a form much closer to the RV version of the hymn. It is noteworthy that Ppp's version of this hymn is much closer to the version found in Ç 20 and in RV than to that found in Ç 5.—Besides the hymn just mentiond, two other complete hymns of our book and a considerable part of a third occur in RV: one of these also occurs in full in KS. Part of another of our hymns occurs in KS, and nowhere else: still another occurs only in TB. This exhausts the list of hymns or considerable passages which ar found in other parts of the Vedic literature.

Accents.—Accents ar never written in this book.

Colophons.—Of the extraneous material of the sort which Barret found in Book 3 (JAOS 32. 344f.) practically none occurs in Book 6. Only two hymns hav colophons or quasi-titles stating the purpose of the preceding matter, viz. No. 13 'iti rākṣoghnasūktam' and No. 22 'iti grāddhavrahmaṇam'. See the passages, below. A bit of brāhmaṇa-like matter seems to hav crept into the text at the end of hymn 22.

ATHARVA VEDA PĀIPPALĀDA ÇĀKHĀ, BOOK SIX.

(For typographical devices, signs, and abbreviations used, see p. 374f.)

(90a 9) z atha ṣaṣṭhaṣ kāṇḍā likhyata z z om̐ namamo jvālā (10) bhagavatyāi z om̐ namo tilotamāyāiḥ z z om̐
Read: z atha ṣaṣṭhaḥ kāṇḍo likhyate z z om̐ namo jvālāyāi bhagavatyāi z z om̐ namas tilotamāyāi z z om̐

With the last frase compare the invocation of Book 2 (JAOS 30. 190f.), which Barret would now emend to om̐ namas tilotamāyāi.

1.

Mystic-Filosophical.

RV 10. 120; Ç 20. 107. 4-12; Ç 5. 2.

(90a 10) ud id āsa bhavaneṣu jye-(11)-ṣṭham̐ yato jajña ugras tvecanṛmṇaḥ sadyo jajñāno anṛṇīta çatrūn̐ anu yaṁ (12) viçve sadanty ūmāḥ vāvṛdhānaç çavasā bhūryojāç çatrūn̐ dāsāya bhiyasam̐ da-(13)-dhātī | avyanac ca avyanac ca sastri sam̐ te navantaṣ pipṛtā madeṣu tve kratu-(14)-m̐ api vṛñjanti viçve dvir yad ete trir bhavanty ūmā svādos

svādiya svādunā (15) sṛjā sam adhas su madhu madhunābhi
yodhī | iti cid vi tvā dhanā jayantam (16) raṇam raṇam anu
madanti viprāḥ ojiyo dhr̥ṣṇo ḥciram ā tanuṣva mā tvā da-
(17)-bham durayavā yātudhānāḥ tvayā vayan̄ cāsadmahe
raṇeṣu prapaṇyanto (18) yudhenyāni bhūri | codayāmi thā-
yudhā vacobhis sam te ḥcāmī vrahmaṇā (19) vayānsi | snu-
ṣeyyam puruvarpasam ṛtvam inatamas āptyam āptyāṇām
| ā ḥarḥate (90b 1) ḥavasā saptadānūn pra sākṣate pratimānāni
bhūri | nyadidyadiṣe varam param ca (2) yasminn āvathāvasā
dureṇ | ā mātara sthāpayase jighantva ata iṇoṣi (3) karvarā
purūni | imā vrahma vṛhaddivo vivaktīndrāya ḥṣam agryas
svarṣāḥ (4) maho gotrasya kṣayati svarājo durāḥ ca viḥvā
avṛṇod apa svāḥ evā mām (5) vṛhaddivo tharvānocat svām
tanum indram eva svasāro mātarihvarir aripṛā hiṇva-(6)
-nti ca yavasā vardhayanti ca | z 1 z

It is noteworthy that our text agrees much more closely
with RV and Q 20. 107 than with Q 5. 2. It may be red as
follows.

tad id āsa bhavaneṣu jyestham yato jajña ugras tveṣanṛmṇaḥ |
sadyo jajñāno ni ripāti ḥatrūn anu yaṁ viḥve madanty ūmāḥ z 1 z

This vs occurs also in SV, VS, AA, ApQ, MQ and N (see
Conc.). tad . . . āsa for ud . . . āsa: u and ta ar so much alike
in Qār. that this change to the reading of all other texts
seems cald for, in view of the fact that ud with the root as
seems not to occur, altho ud with bhū is common enuf and
would make good sense in this place. All other texts read
bhuvaneṣu. ṣa is written above the line for ca in tvecanṛmṇaḥ.

vāvṛdhānaḥ ḥavasā bhūryojaḥ ḥatrur dāsāya bhiyasam dadhāti |
avyanac ca vyanac ca sasni sam te navantaḥ pipṛtā madeṣu z 2 z

The vs also occurs SV 2. 834 and AA 1. 3. 4. In pada d
P's reading seems superior to that of the other texts (navanta
prabhṛtā). I construe sam with pipṛtā, which is for pipṛatā
(pipṛata)—a form which might perhaps better be inserted in
our text: navantaḥ is a participle.

tve kratum api vṛñjanti viḥve dvir yad ete trir bhavanty
ūmāḥ | svādos svādīyas svādunā sṛjā sam adas su madhu ma-
dhunābhi yodhīḥ z 3 z

The vs also occurs in SV, TS, AA and MQ (see Conc.).

iti cid vi tvā dhanā jayantam raṇam-raṇam anu madanti vi-
prāḥ | ojiyo dhr̥ṣṇo sthiram ā tanuṣva mā tvā dabhan durevā
yātudhānāḥ z 4 z

vi, construed with jayantam. — For the accus. raṇam-raṇam cf. Wh. Gr. 277: or possibly it may be dependent on anu. In any case it seems unnecessary to insert the loc. as found in the parallel texts.

tvayā vayam çācadmahe raṇeṣu pra paçyanto yudhenyāni bhūri | codayāmi ta āyudhā vacobhis sam te çiçāmi brahmaṇā vayānsi z 5 z

stuṣeyyam puruvarpasam rbhvam inatamam aptyam aptyānām | ā darṣate çavasā saptadānūn pra sākṣate pratimānāni bhūri z 6 z

The vs also occurs N 11. 21 (readings agreeing with RV). ā darṣate with RV, Ç 10. 107. 9 and N; Ç 5. 2. 6 has ā darçati. To keep the ms reading of P seems impossible, altho some thot of the root çṛ may hav been in the mind of the copyist who was originally responsible for the corruption.

nī tad dadhiṣe 'varam param ca yasminn āvithāvasā duroṇe | ā mātaras sthāpayase jighatnva ata inoṣi karvarā purūni z 7 z

I hav not ventured to change the ms reading in pada c (except to put jighatnva for 'ntva, which is hardly an emendation), altho it is bad as to form an inferior to the parallel texts as to meaning. As the text stands mātaras and jighatnvas must be construed as accusativs.

imā brahma bṛhaddivo vivaktindrāya çūṣam agryas svarṣāḥ | maho gotrasya kṣayati svarājo durāç ca viçvā avṛṇod apa svāḥ z 8 z

Perhaps read durāç with the other texts (Ç 5. 2. 8 turaç), rather than assume a stem durā-

evā mām bṛhaddivo 'tharvāvocat svām tanvam indram eva | svasāro mātarihbharir ariprā hinvanti ca yavasā vardhayanti ca z 9 z

Other versions hav mahān for mām: but the real meaning of the verse is unknown, and for aught we know svām tanvam, as well as P's mām, may be correlativ with indram ("me, himself and Indra"). It is very likely that we should read çavasā with the other texts in pada d.

2.

Mystic-Filosophical.

Ç 5. 1.

(90 b 6) vṛdhan mantra yoni no vibhāvā amṛ-(7)-tāsu sva-janmā vardhamānaḥ adubdhāsu bhrājasā ihava trato dādḥāra

trī-(8)-ñi | vi ni yo dharmañi | prathama svasāa taī vapuñsi
 kṛṇute puroṇi | (9) yaç ca yoniṁ prathamā viveça | yo vācam
 anucitām jigāya | yas te çokas ta-(10)-nvā rireca kṣuviraṇyo
 çucayo na svā | atrā dadhrşe mṛtāni nāmāsmi (11) vastrāñi
 şerayanta | pred ete prataram pūrvyam gus svadha svadhā
 tiṣṭhanto duryam | kari çu-(12)-şasya mātārā rihāṇe jāmīva-
 dhvaryuḥ pratimānamitā || tad ū şe ta mahā (13) prathūrya-
 sam namaş kaviş kāvyenā kṛṇo yat samyañco bhyañco
 yakṣādāmāivoda (14) cakrā vavardhā | sapta maryādāş ka-
 vayas tataksus tāsām anakām abhyañhuro (15) gāt | utāmṛ-
 tāsū vrata kṛṇvam asurāş pūtas svadhayā samadgū | utā-
 (16)-yu jyeṣṭho ratnā dadhāty ūrjāvāyurṁ ca te kavir dāt
 | putro vā yat pitarā kṣantu-(17)-m īnte jyeṣṭham maryādam
 ahvayam svasti | darçāñnu tām varuṇe ca iṣṭāv āvaravra-
 (18)-jata | kṛṇavo vapuñsi | ardhām ardhena çavasā pṛṇaçy
 ardhena çuşmām vardhayase (19) mura | avivṛdhāma çagṇyo
 sādhyam varuṇam putram adīter iṣiram | kaviça-(20)-sthāny
 asmāi vacām vocāma rodasī satyavācāu z 2 z

The appearance of this hymn in Ç (5. 1) helps us little, since the text there is very uncertain (see Wh. AV. 1. 220 ff.), and very different from our text. I am unable to offer a complete reconstruction of this discouraging hymn.

Vs 1: ends with dādhāra trīṇi. Pada b seems practically right: amṛtāsus svajanmā vardhamānaḥ. The second hemistich begins adabdhāsur. For the rest I am in despair; on the whole our text looks like a corruption of Ç rather than vice versa. Cf. the Ç readings, and note in Wh.'s translation.

Vs 2: vi ni yo jigāya. I cannot construct pada a. The rest may plausibly be red: tato (i for to is an easy mistake in Çār) vapuñsi kṛṇute puruṇi | yaç ca yoniṁ prathama ā viveçaḥ
 in vācam anucitām jigāya z

Vs 3: yas te şerayanta. I can do nothing with this verse.

Vs 4: pred ete pratimānamitā. No suggestions occur to me.

Vs 5: tad ū şe vavardhā. Read kṛṇomi in pada b. For the rest I have nothing to offer.

Vs 6: sapta samadgū (? The second hemistich of Ç is missing here: our c-d is Ç 7 a-b). Vs 9 of Ç consists of 6 padas, which makes it appear that Ppp may represent the original form of the hymn. Nevertheless, RV (10. 5. 6) contains

this whole stanza in its Q form. Padas a and b occur also in N. 6. 27). Padas a-b seem to need no change. Padas c-d are certainly corrupt (cf. Q's reading, itself probably corrupt), but I cannot improve upon them.

Vs 7: utāyu jyeṣṭho . . . svasti. Possibly the following may be approximately right:

utāyur jyeṣṭho ratnā (ratnā ā) dadhāti ūrjām vāyūm (? or vāyur, i. e. vā-āyus ?) ca te kavir dāt | putro vā yat pitaram kṣantum iḍe (nt is an easy corruption for d) jyeṣṭham maryādam ahvayam svasti z

Vs 8: darṣānu . . . mura. Read darṣan nu in pada a: possibly ā varvrajataḥ (or ā vāvṛ: gen.) in pada b: prṇasy (pr "fill") in pada c, and 'mūra in pada d.

Vs 9: avivṛdhāma . . . vācāu. Pada a: probably ṣagmyam is to be red, and sādhyam is an easy corruption for sakhāyam. Pada b needs no change. In pada c read probably kaviṣastāny asmāi vapūṇsy avocāma, with Q, or the like: vacām looks like a lectio faciliior. Were it not for this, it might seem simpler to emend the adjectiv to kaviṣastām, preserving the superior meter of the verse as it stands.

3.

To the waters; for prosperity and good luck.

(90 b 20) ko vaṣ paṇcā-(91 a 1)-t prāvicchāyat kaṣ puraṣ purākhanat pathā yad ejātu parimāṇā varuṇapra-(2)-sūtā apaḥ prajāpatir asṛjata sa puraṣ (vs 1)

purā so no annavāsṛjat tena (3) sṛṣṭā kṣarāmasi | (vs 2)
punānāsāu bahudhā kṣiyantīsaṅ ca lokān pradi-(4)-ṣaṣ ca sarvā | puram tasmāduritād avidyā muñcantu mṛtyor nirṛter udasthāḥ (vs 3)

(5) āpo asmān mātaraś sūdayantu ghṛtena no ghṛtapuvaṣ punantu | viṣvam hi ri-(6)-pram pravahantu devīr ud id ābhyāṣ ṣucir ā pūtay emi | (vs 4)

āpo devīr mātaraś sū-(7)-dayiṣṇavo ghṛtaṣcuta madhunā sampapṛcchre tā asmābhyam sūdayo viṣvam ā-(8)-yu kṣapa usrā varivasyantu ṣubhrāḥ | (vs 5)

udakamśyodakatvam ā revatvam ā re-(9)-vatīnām ṣundhotvām āpaṣ ṣundhantv asmān (vs 6)

yūyam āpo viraṣṛiyor yūyam (10) sūdayathā ṣucim yaṣ kumākamid diṣo ma hiryamte pradiṣaṣ pṛthak (vs 7)

(11) yūyam mittrasya varuṇasya yonir yayam somasye dhenavām adhiṣṭhāḥ yakṣmām (12) devīr devā kṣiyatīryam rurī yūyam jinvata vrahma kṣatrāpaḥ (vs 8)

çaçva-(13)-dābhiç çāçadānā çamanām nayāmasi | āpo viçvasya sūdānī-(14)-r yā devā manave dadhuḥ | (vs 9)

yad dhāvan vipunatedad āpo yas tiṣṭhati çuddhā (15) yat tad (ud ?) bhavanti | nāsām avadyam avadamtya ripum sanād eva madhunā saṃpapr-(16)-cchre | (vs 10)

hiranyavarṇāç çucayaṣ pavaka pra cakkramarhitvāvadyam āpā (17) çatām ca vaḥ prasravaṇeṣu devīs sahasram ca pavitāraḥ punantī (vs 11)

tā-(18)-s tvā ruçī vrahmāṇam sūdayanty aṅgoṣṭhiya stotriyā jīvadhanyā | yā (19) viçvasya sucakriyo vayāthorgāvāiva payasās tā ajāya (the first a of ajāya is corrected to dra) (vs 12)

viçvā-(91b 1)-d riprān muñcantu sindhavo no yāny enāsi cakrmā tanūbhiḥ indraprasṛtā varu-(2)-ṇasya prasūtā siñcatāpo madhvā samudre (vs 13) z 3 z

Vs 1: pada a, prāvicchāyat "prest forth, brot out". pada b? ejanti? pada c, āpaḥ?

Vs 2: pada a, perhaps purā sa no avāsrjat. (The waters speak.) pada b, srṣṭāḥ.

Vs 3: pada a, punānāso. pada b, imāñç ... sarvāḥ. pada c, probably read puram tās tasmād duritād avidyā(h). pada d, upasthāt.

Vs 4 (is Ç 6. 51. 2): pada d, pūta emi.

Vs 5: pada b, saṃpaprcre. pada c, āyuḥ. Cf. RV 6. 52. 15 c-d.

Vs 6: probably read: udakasyodakatvam ā revattvam ā revatinām | çundhyutvam āpaç.

Vs 7: pada a, viraçriyo. pada b, sūdayathā. padas c-d? hriyante could easily stand for hriyante or hiyante.

Vs 8: pada a, mittrasya. pada b, yūyam somasya. pada c: yakṣmām seems probable, the verb seems to be a form of kṣi "destroy", and rurī probably conceals a form of rūra "hot". pada d, kṣatram āpaḥ.

Vs 9: pada a, çāçadānāḥ. pada b? Something like çamanam ā nayāmasi? pada d, yad for yā? daduḥ?

Vs 10: pada a, dhāvati vipunatedam. pada b, yat for yas; çuddhā yad ud bh°? ("that they may become pure"?). pada c is dubious (na-āsām is all right: for ripum might be red ripram, and the final vowel of avadamtya may belong to the next word). pada d, °paprcre.

Vs 11: pada a, pāvakāḥ. pada b, pra cakramur hitvāvadyam āpaḥ. pada d, punanti.

Vs 12: pada a, rucir? brah°. pada b, the crucial word is aṅgoṣṭhiyā(h), which might also be red ṛstriyā(h): if the text is correct it is a new word: cf. aṅgoṣin, epithet of Soma? Read jīvadhanyāḥ. pada c, su-cakrayo vyayāth(a). pada d, (ū)rjāyāiva: for the last word in the pada I have no suggestion. It is probably a dative of some noun. The text is confused here; it means to read tādrajāya. Compare the root dhraj "glide"?

Vs 13: pada b, enāṁsi cakrimā. pada c, varuṇaprasūtāḥ. pada d, sūncantv āpo.

4.

To heal wounds; with the lākṣā-plant.

Vss 1-9 = C 5. 5.

(91 b 2) rātrī mātā nabhaṣ pi-(3)-tāryamā te pitāmahaḥ
çilādī nāma vāsi sā devānām asi svasā | (vs 1)

(4) yas tvā pivati jīvati trāyase puruṣam tvam | dharatrī
ca (5) çaçvatām asi çaçvatām tyanvañcanīm (vs 2)

yad aṇḍena yad uṣṭā yad adur harasā kṛ-(6)-tam tasya
tvam asi bhīṣajīm niṣkṛtir nāma vāsi z (vs 3)

bhadrā prakṣeṇa tiṣṭhasy a-(7)-çvatthe khadire dhava |
bhadrā nyagrodhe parṇe mā nehy arundhatī z (vs 4)

vṛkṣam vṛkṣam ā roha-(8)-si vṛṣaṇnyantīva kanyalā | jayanti
pratyātiṣṭhanti samjayā nāma vā-(9)-sī | (vs 5)

hiraṇyavarṇe yuvate çuṣme lomasamakṣaṇe | apām asi
svasā laṅkṣe (10) vāto yat sā babhūvyathe | (vs 6)

hiraṇyabāhū subhage sūryavarṇe vapuṣṭame | rutaṁ ga-
(11)-cchami niṣkṛdhi semaṁ niṣkṛdhi pāuruṣam z (vs 7)

ghṛtācī nāma kānīno ta babhūrū pitā (12) bhava | açvo
yamasye çrāvas tāsya hāstrāsy ukṣata | (vs 8)

açvasyāstras saṁpatitā sā (13) parṇam abhi çuṣyata | sadā
patatinnrasi sā nehy arundhatī | (vs 9)

ghṛtācake vāmarate (14) vidyutparṇe arundhatī yātur
aṅgamiṣṭhāsi tvam aṅganiṣkarīy asī | (vs 10)

yat te ja-(15)-gradham piçāçāis tat tārhapya āyatām punaḥ |
lākṣāya tvā viçvabheṣajir deve-(16)-bhis trāyatām saha
(vs 11) z 4 z

Vs 1 needs no change (C has silācī for çilādī).

Vs 2: pada a: read pivati. pada c: read dharatrī. pada d: with

much hesitation I propose *çaçvatām tv anvañcanī* (cf. *anvañc*, and *Pāṇ.* 3. 4. 64).

Vs 3: pada a: read *daṇḍena* and *iṣvā*. pada b: read *yad ārur*. Above *sā* (in *harasā*, pada b) is written *mā*. pada c: read *bheṣajī* or *bheṣajam*. pada d, *vā asi*.

Vs 4: pada a: read *plakṣeṇa*, or perhaps *plakṣe nistiṣṭhasy*. pada d: read *sā na ehy*, and probably *arundhati*.

Vs 5: pada b: read *vṛṣaṇyantiva*. pada d: read *vā asi*.

Vs 6: pada b: read, probably, *lomaçavakṣaṇe* (with *Ç*). pada c: read *lākṣe* (cf. vs 11). pada d: possibly read *babdhū-vitha?* ("since thou here wast born as *Vāta*—as the wind").

Vs 7: pada a: read *°bāhu*. pada c: read *gacchasi*. pada d: read *pūruṣam*.

Vs 8: pada b: uncertain. I can suggest nothing more attractive than the reading of *Ç*, *'jababhru pitā tava*, tho this is not very satisfactory itself. (Whitney reads *tava* in *Ppp*. for *bhava*: the mistake is an easy one on account of the similarity of the letters, but the ms clearly has *bhava*.) padas c-d: again I can suggest nothing better than the unsatisfactory readings of *Ç*: *açvo yamasya yaḥ çyāvas tasya hāsnāsy ukṣitā*.

Vs 9: pada a: read probably *açvasyāsnas*. pada b: *çuṣ-* as trans. is impossible; possibly read with *Ç* *siṣyade?* Cf. 6. 4b. pada c: read *patatriny asi*. pada d: read *na ehy*.

Vs 10: pada b: read *arundhati*. pada c: ? perhaps *yātūn*, or *yātor*, *aṅgābhiṣṭhāsi*. pada d: read *aṅganiṣkarī asi*.

Vs 11: pada a: read *'jagrabham*. pada b: ? *tarhāpy (√trh)* *āy°?* pada c: ? possibly *lākṣā tvā* (sc. *puruṣam*) *viçvabheṣajī(r)?*

5.

For protection from dangers.

Cf. *Ç* 2. 15, *MG* 1. 2. 13.

(91 b 16) *yathā dyāuṣ ca pṛthivī ca na bibhīto na* (17) *ri-ṣyataḥ evā me prāṇa mā bibher evā me pāna mā riṣayā |* (vs 1) *yathā vāyu-*(18)-*ç cāntariṣam ca* (vs 2) *yathā sūryaṣ candramāç ca |* (vs 3) *yathāhaç ca rātrī ca* (vs 4) *yathā dhenuç cā-*(19)-*naḍvāñç ca* (vs 5) *yathā mitraç ca varuṇaṣ ca |* (vs 6) *yathā vrahma ca kṣatram ca z* (vs 7) *yathendraç cendri-*(92 a 1)-*çcendriyam ca |* (vs 8) *yathā vīraç ca vīryam ca* (vs 9) *yathā prāṇaṣ cāpānaṣ ca |* (vs 10) *yathā mṛ-*(2)-*tyuṣ cāmṛtam ca* (vs 11) *yathā satyam cānṛtam ca |* (vs 12) *yathā bhūtam*

ca bhavyam ca | na bibhīto na riṣya-(3)-taḥ | evā me prāṇa mā bibher evā me pāna mā riṣa (vs 13) z 5 z (4) z anu r z

Notes. Only pada a is given in vss 2-12 incl.: padas b, c and d ar to be supplied from vss 1 and 13. (In pada d read 'pāna mā riṣya in each case, where vs 1 has riṣayā and vs 13 riṣa.)

Vs 7: read, as usual, brahma.

Vs 8: a case of dittography. Read yathendraç cendriyam ca.

6.

A woman's charm to get or retain a lover; with an herb.

(92a 2) madhuman me nikramaṇam madhuman me parāyaṇam | vācā madhu-(5)-madudyāma akṣo me madhusam-dṛcī (vs 1)

mām anuprasārayaṇ sa sa patto ni me divām (6) atho te punar āyato kṣo kāmēna çuṣyatām (vs 2)

vaçā madhuga te mātokṣā bhrājaḥ-(7)-ṣabbah pitā dhen-vādhi prajāto si rājā sammadhumattamaḥ z (vs 3)

viṣāṇam vṛṣṇyā-(8)-vantaṁ sā parṇam abhi çiṣyatam in-drāṇy agrābharam madhurī bhagāya kaṁ (vs 4)

pitubho-(9)-jano madhugas sāuṣkāmyo hṛdayāya kaṁ sa mā madhunā vakaktu yathāham (10) kāmāye tathā | (vs 5)

sindhuṣ prajāno madhugo çvīva nīyate janān anu sa mām (vs 6)

(11) madhumatī sinīvālī madhunā mā samakṣatu z sā mā madhunānaktu (12) yathāham kāmāye tathā | (vs 7)

yathā madhu madhukṛtas sam bharanti madhāv adhi | (13) evān yunajmi te mano ddhy asyām māmakī tanuṁ | (vs 8)

ye tu manaḥ parāgataṁ yad va-(14)-m iha vaha vā | tat tayā vartayāmasi | api badhnāmi te manaḥ (vs 9) z r z

Vs 1: pada c, read madhumadudyāmā (cpd., udyāma in the sense of the later udyāma). Pada d, read 'kṣyāu ('kṣī?).

Vs 2: pada b, patito. pada d, 'kṣyāu ('kṣī).

Vs 3: pada a, madugha. (mātokṣā, i. e. mātā ukṣā.) pada c, dhenvādhi for dhenvām adhi, Macdonell Ved. Gr. 70, 3, b and 75, 1. 'si. pada d, sa (or san?) for sam? or su?

Vs 4: pada a, vṛṣāṇam. pada b occurs above in hymn 4, vs 9b, and appears to hav been inappropriately adopted from that hymn into this one. In that place the ms has çuṣyata as çuṣ trans. is impossible, we must probably read siṣyade (with Ç 5. 5. 9b) in both places. pada c, agra abhavan.

Vs 5: pada a, madughas. pada b, sāukāmyo? pada c, ryanaktu.

Vs 6: pada a, sindhupraj°, madugho. pada b, 'civiva. padas c-d, read sa mā, and supply the rest of padas c-d from vs 5.

Vs 7: pada c, madhunā ryanaktu.

Vs 8: padas a-b = Ç 9. 1. 16 a-b. pada c, evā. pada d, 'dhy, tanū (loc. sg.: so also māmakī, loc. sg. fem.!).

Vs 9: pada a, yat te or yat tu. pada b, perhaps yad u iha veha (vā iha) vā?

7.

Against poison; with an amulet of earth from an anthill.

(See our note to vs 6 below.)

(92 a 15) kaçyapasya suparṇaç ca yan marīcyām abhiṣṭha-
tām suparṇaḥ z paryavāpaçcat sa-(16)-mudre bhūmim āvṛ-
tām suparṇam abhiṣaṇcatām z (vs 1)

paryapaçca antar maha-(17)-ty arṇave | tām sūkaratvān
māyā tīras samudrād udābhara | (vs 2)

yām samudrād u-(18)-dudbharo bhūmyām sūkaramāyā |
sāiṣa viṣasya dūṣaṇy asmāi bhavanta bheṣa-(19)-jī | (vs 3)

acyutā hiraṇyena yā satye adhitiṣṭhati | tasyās te viçvadhā-
(92 b 1)-yaso viṣadūṣaṇam udbhare (vs 4)

asyāṣ kulāyam ityakā | (vs 5)

yasyā bhūmyā ūpacikā-(2)-d grhaṁ kṛṇvatātmane | tasyās
te viçvadhāyaso viṣadūṣaṇam udbhare | (vs 6)

yas tvā (3) bhūmim na vindad yas tvā bhūmim udābharat |
tayos sahasradhāmaññ ahañ nāmāni (4) jagrabhaḥ | (vs 7)

yāni u indro akrṇod bhāume nāmāni vṛtrahā | tāni te (5)
babhros samvidmas sahāiva viṣadūṣaṇī | (vs 8)

yāni te marutaç cakrur yāni sa-(6)-ptarṣayo viduḥ viçvā-
dityā yām vidus sā bhūmir viṣadūṣaṇī (vs 9) z z z

Vs 1: pada a, kaçyapaç ca. pada c, omit the punctuation z,
and read paçyat. pada e, abhi-ṣiṇcatām. The division of vss
in the text is very dubious: perhaps what we have printed as
pada e of vs 1 is really the beginning of vs 2.

Vs 2 (see the preceding note): pada a, paryapaçyad. It is
possible that the subject has been accidentally omitted. pada b,
māyāñ. pada c, udābharat.

Vs 3: pada a, udābharat or udā°. pada b, māyām. pada d,
bhavatu.

Vs 4 needs no change.

Vs 5: the ms means to read *yasyāṣ kulāyam ity ekā*. See our introduction, p. 376f. The verse is quoted from Book iii, hymn 15, stanza 4 (Barret, JAOS 32. 361), and reads in full: *yasyāṣ kulāyam salile antar mahaty arṇave | tasyāṣ te viçva-dhāyaso viṣadūṣaṇam ud bhare z*

Vs 6: pada a, *upacikā* occurs in the same connection in Ppp 1. 8. 3 (Barret, JAOS 26. 207), and it is unnecessary to emend to *upajikā* (with Ç 2. 3. 4, 6. 100. 2): read *upacikā(h)*. See Bloomfield, SBE XLII, p. 511; AJP 7. 482 ff., and references there quoted. The form *upacikā* occurs in Pāli. Our form is a nom. pl. and is understood as subject of *kṛṇvata* in pada b. pada b, *ud grhaṁ*.

Vs 7: pada a, *na avindad*. pada c, *sahasradhāmāny*. pada d, *jagrabha*.

Vs 8: pada a, *yāny*. pada d, perhaps *viṣadūṣaṇī*?

Vs 9: the sense is anacoluthic, but no emendation is necessary. With *yāni* of course supply *nāmāni*.

8.

Against demons and sorcerers; with an herb.

(92b 7) *sahasva yātudhānān sahasva yātudhānyāḥ sahasva sarvā rakṣāṁsi saha*-(8)-*mānāsy oṣadhe* | (vs 1)

sahamāne sahasvati saṁhatyāham uttarā | *utāham a*-(9)-*smi sāsahi* | *sahaseva sadhānvā* | (vs 2)

yā sahasāna carati sāsahā-(10)-*nāiva vṛṣabhaḥ sadānvāghnī rakṣoghnī sā tvam ugrāsy oṣadhe* | (vs 3)

khelehalaṁ (11) *manastani naç cebhaṣ purām utaṣ pathā na tvāmamavya tad iho akṣe vu çṛṅga*-(12)-*vac chirah* (vs 4?)

amuvāne bahuput্রে anamtraçvyে mahodari | *pathas sat sattare* (sature?) *tvam ça*-(13)-*rkarāvapsatitara* | (vs 5?)

ye rāyāç carati pākasyecchaṁ tvā çucim tān agne kṛ-(14)-*ṣṇavartmane tikṣṇaçṛṅgo dṛçaṁ ihi* | (vs 6)

ado yad dāru plavate sindhor madhye apū-(15)-*ruṣaṁ ucārabhasya durhaṇo tena yāhi parastaram* | (vs 7)

asyājaniṣṭam i-(16)-*ṣṭargā ariṣṭāṣ krimayaṣ puruṣāya ta-syāi balā sa patnī namaḥ kṛṇo*-(17)-*mi* | (vs 8)

kuṣṭhī sarvaput্রে bhava pattriyād u trāttas sadānve ta-syādhi putrān bhrātrī-(18)-*ç ca yatra tvā vi nayāmasi* (vs 9)

This hymn contains some old material, more or less altered, and some new—which is very difficult of interpretation.

Vs 1 has a close parallel in VS 12. 99. It needs no change except yātudhānyaḥ in pada b.

Vs 2, cf. in a general way ApMB 1. 15. 2, 1. 16. 3. Pada b, read saḥantyāham uttarā. pada c, sāsaḥiḥ. pada d, sadānvāḥ.

Vs 3: padas a-b, yā saḥamānā carati sāsaḥāna iva (read as if sāsaḥāneva) vṛṣabhaḥ.

Vss 4 and 5 I cannot solv.

Vs 6: padas a-b, read perhaps ya irāyāç carati pākasyecchan tvā çucim. padas c-d ar from RV 10. 155. 2 (slightly altered). Read kṛṣṇvartane, dṛṣann.

Vs 7 is RV 10. 155. 3 entire. In pada c read tad ārabhasva durhaṇo.

Vss 8 and 9: I can suggest no improvement, except the obvious tasmāi for tasyāi in 8c. In 9b the word trāttas might equally well be red trātus; this would be an easy corruption from bhrātus, which may be the true reading.

9.

Against enemies (of a king); with the sacrifice of a bull.

Cf. TB 2. 4. 7. 1ff.

(92b 18) vṛṣāyam ūcur vṛṣabhāya grhya-(19)-te vṛṣāyam ugro nṛcakṣase divyo nir yo acikradaṁ nahaṁ nāma ṛṣa-bhasya (93a 1) yat kakut | (vs 1)

viṣuvān vṛṣṇyo bhava tvam yo nṛpatir mama | atho indreva devebhyo vi (2) vibhravītu janebhyah (vs 2)

manuṣebhyo dhivravītu sajūr indreṇa medinā | agni-(3)-ç ca tubhyām saḥamtyo rāṣṭraṁ vāiçvānaro dadhat | (vs 3)

yasmāyam bhāgam ṛṣabham indrā-(4)-ya pariṇiyate | sa haṁtu çatrūn āyato atho haṁtu parāyataḥ (vs 4)

sa haṁtā ça-(5)-trūn bhavatu ahaṁtā bhavatu dodhatām viṣāsahaḥ praṇīr ayad agra madhubhirdatā-(6)-v asat | (vs 5)

āyusmantam varcasvantam atho adhipatiṁ viçām | asyās pṛthivyāç cetta-(cetu-?) (7)-nem imam indra vṛṣabham kṛṇu | (vs 6)

asya çṛṅgasuṣaṇ-padaḥ(!) kalyāṇo barhir āsa-(8)-dat | kār-ṣīvaṇaprajānena ṛṣabhena yajāmahe | (vs 7)

ṛṣabhena yajamānā (9) krāureṇāiva sarpiṣā | mṛdhaç ca sarvā indreṇa pṛtanāç ca sāmahe | (vs 8)

yañ tubhyañ (10) bhāgam ṛṣabhañ devāṣ kāivalyañ da-
duḥ | tena vṛtrāṇi johanaç çatrūñç ca jahy āha-(11)-ve | (vs 9)

jahi satrūn pran prati rañdhayasva kṛdhyāt sambhūto si
vīryāvān | indrā-(12)-ya bhāgam pari tvā nayāmo ruño loko
apṛtanyo stu | (vs 10)

ghṛtavṛddha ghṛtāhu-(13)-ta sahasraçṛṅga suṣṭutaḥ | ghṛtā-
havana dīhi (vs 11)

yo ghṛtenābhīghārita-(14)-m ugro jāitrāya tiṣṭhasi sa nas
sañkusu pārayā | pṛtanāsāhyeṣu ca (15) (vs 12) z 4 z

Vs 1: pada c, acikradan. pada d, for nahani (which is cer-
tainly corrupt) TB has bṛhan, which is probably to be red.

Vs 2: pada c, indra iva. pada d, omit vi (dittografy) and
read vibravitu.

Vs 3: pada a, 'dhibravitu. pada c, tubhyañ sahanityo.

Vs 4: pada a, yasyāyañ bhāga ṛṣabha (indr°).

Vs 5: pada b, hantā. pada c, viṣāsahaḥ is either a corrup-
tion of, or a parallel formation to, viṣāsahiḥ. pada d, read
agra udbhindatām asat (cf. TB 2. 4. 7. 3).

Vs 6: pada c, the absurd cettanem (cetunes?) seems to me
to conceal some form of cettṛ, a word which occurs repeatedly
in the sphere of rājanyāni sūktāni. Perhaps the gen. pl. cettṛñām,
depending on vṛṣabhañ of pada d? Cf. pada d of the pre-
ceding vs. Or (more natural in sense) cettāram?

Vs 7: pada a, çṛṅgasuṣaṅgadaḥ seems to me to hav been
the reading (giving good battle with the horns). It is obviously
an epithet of the bull. Of course n̄pa of the ms is an absurd
and impossible combination: the scribe doubtless ment to write
ñgha, which would not be very dissimilar from n̄pa. I take it
then that (su-)ṣaṅgha, the evidently intended reading of the
ms, is a corruption for (su-)ṣaṅga (sañ-ga), "war", "conflict"
(RV 4. 20. 1 etc.). pada c, read perhaps *prajātena (but
TB has pragānena, which Barret would prefer to read in this
passage).

Vs 8: pada b, akrāureṇāiva or *neva. pada d, sahāmahe.

Vs 9: pada c, vṛtrāṇi. For johanaç some form of the root
han must be read: possibly (a)jighanaç? (But this tense-form
seems to be otherwise not known in the Veda!)

Vs 10: pada a, çatrūn, omit pran (dittografy). pada b, the
dh of kṛdhyāt is probably a badly made ṣ and I do not hesitate
to read kṛṣyāt; I take the word to be a gndv. formation of
kṛṣ, in a hitherto undiscovered use as a noun, "field". kṛdhy

āt would, so far as I can see, be a senseless reading.—pada d, for ruino (!) possibly read 'rugno?

Vs 11: this vers is taken from the sfere of Agni. pada b, read suṣṭuta. pada c, didihi.

Vs 12: pada a, read °ghārīta (nom. sg.). pada c, saṅkāsu.

10.

For progeny and prosperity; with the offering of a cow.

(93 a 15) kavīḥ subhāgaṛṣabhasya patnīḥ prajākāmā vaçi-
(16)-nī vāçitā gāuḥ tām sahasram ekamukhā dadāti garbham
dadhānā mithu-(17)-nā carantī z (vs 1)

garbham dadhānāpāiduhānāgnihotram vāiçvadevī duhānā |
(18) dāurgamāhīnsīr varuṇasya patnīm karkyā yānīm sa-
manaso bhi gāvaḥ | (vs 2)

(19) prajāṃ icchanto dhiṣaṇaḥ carantīmān etv aditi viçvārū-
pābhikrandanti (93 b 1) bhuvanāny ūnām | prajāpatineṣitām
ṛtviyāvati nahīnām prajāyā ṛṣabhā çraya-(2)-nte | (vs 3)

vṛṣaṇyanti vṛṣaṇas saptanāmnīm himkṛṇvanto abhinudanti
vāçitām (3) sā pratyusanis suṣadā suvarṇaḥ çukram vasānā
varuṇaḥ ca ninnudaḥ (vs 4)

vāiçva-(4)-devī sudhayām ārabhante | prajāṃ dātā puṣyatu
gopatiṣṭhe | svayam sthāvarya vṛ-(5)-vṛṣabhāyā tiṣṭhiti pratiçi
somaṃ prati sūryam agnīm | (vs 5)

ahiṃsanti vāçi-(6)-temām upehi paçūn dātā puṣyatu go-
patiṣṭhe | vāçidā bhavatu vāçitāyā-(7)-m agner bhāgam usri-
yām yo dadāti | (vs 6)

priyam dhāma hrdayam sāumyam madhu vāji-(8)-nīm tvā
vājino vājayantu z (vs 7)

yo vāçitāyam gavy amṭad agnir yad asyām nṛ-(9)-mṇām
mahinā babhūva z namas te stu pratigrhṇam grṇomi syonā
me stu tanve (10) suçevāu (vs 8)

yema gam vāçitā tām pratīmaḥ puṇsām vrātena sā puṣty-
ānā gāuḥ (11) ūrjam dadhānā ghṛtam id duhānām sahasra-
poṣā ime stu dātre (vs 9) z z (12) z anu 2 z

Vs 1: pada a, kavīḥ subhāgaṛṣabhasya (as two words, subhāgā
ṛṣo: but it might also be taken as a karmadhāraya cpd.) patnī.

Vs 2: pada a, dadhānā apa id duhānā (agni°). pada b, vāi-
çvadevīm (as name of ceremony), or °vīr, duhānāḥ. pada c,
patnīḥ. pada d, karkīr (?) yānī (?) subj.) sumanaso 'bhi gāvaḥ.

Vs 3: pada a, dhiṣaṇaḥ. pada b, aditir viçvar°. pada c, urūṇi

for ūnām? pada d, rtviyāvatīm. pada e, na-hīnām? (Or should we read *vatīm a-hīnām?). ṛṣabhāḥ.

Vs 4: pada a, vṛṣanyantīm. pada b, hīnkr°. padas c-d I cannot solv: the readings are not all clear. suṣadā seems certain, and for the next word suvarṇā is to be red. It seems that the word pratyusanis contains sanis "bestowing"; perhaps pratyu- may be for prabhu-. Read varuṇasya nir-°?

Vs 5: pada a, not certain: perhaps sudhā yām ār-°? pada b needs no change (cf. next vs). gopatiṣṭhe = goṣṭhe. pada c, sthāvari vṛṣabhāya tiṣṭhati.

Vs 6: pada c, perhaps vaçidātā bh-°?

Vs 7 needs no change: it should perhaps be regarded as part of vs 6.

Vs 8: pada a, yo vāçitāyām gavy antar agnir. pada b, nṛmṇām. pada c, pratigrṇaṇ grṇāmi. pada d, 'stu, suçevā.

Vs 9: pada a, perhaps ya [or yām?] imām gām vāçitām tāni pr°. pada b, perhaps sā puṣṭānām gāuḥ (a kind of kāmadhenu!). pada c, duhānā. pada d, sahasrapoṣāya me 'stu dātṛe(?).

11.

For protection.

(Made up of parts of Q 5. 6, 5. 9, and RV 9. 73.)

(93 b 12) vrahmā jajñānam ity ekā anāptā ya va prathamā yāni (13) karmāṇi cakkrire | vīrā no atra mā dabham tad vetat puro dadhe | pratrātmānā-(14)-t pari ye sambabhūvuh çlokavantas somanasya vamtavaḥ | apānakṣāso badi-(15)-ram astantasya panthā na taranti duṣkṛtaḥ sahasradhāram abhi te samasmaram divo (16) nāke madhujihvā açasyataḥ | tasya saraço na nimiṣanti bhūrṇayaḥ pade-(17)-pade | pāçinas saṁtu setave | pary u ṣa pra dhanva vāñjasātaye pari vṛtrāṇi (18) sakṣaṇiḥ divas tudarṇavān nīyase | sahasraço nāmāsi trayodaço (19) māsah indrasya gr̥ho sīndrasya çarmāsi indrasya varmāsi | indrasya vāirū- (94a 1) -tham asi | vīte-nāvāitenāmāitenarātstrīdad asāu svāhā | tigmāyudhāu ti-(2)-gmaheti suçevāgnīṣomāv iha su mṛdātām naḥ samuktam asmād gr̥bhī- (3) -thā- | (!) -d avadyāj juṣethām yajñam amṛtam asmāsu dhattām svāhā z cakṣuṣo (4) hete manaso hete vrahmaṇo hete menyā menir asi | anena yas te santu yo (5) smān abhyabhāyantu svāhā z yo smān cakṣuṣā manasā yaç ca vāçākūtyā (6) dityā vrahmaṇāghāyur abhidāsā tvam agne tvam menyāmeniṁ kṛṇu svāhā z (7) ud āyur ut

kr̥ta bad valam aṁ nanīṣo yad indram nṛmṇam asmāsu
dhehi svāhā | (8) āyuṣkr̥tāyuṣmatī svadhāvanto gopā me stho
gopāyatan vā | ātmasadhū me sta-(9)-n ve suṇāu | mā mā
hīnsiṣtam svāhā z z

Read as follows:

brahma jajñānam ity ekā z 1 z

This is the pratika of Ç 5. 6. 1 = 4. 1. 1, which occurs
in Ppp. Book v (see Whitney's note on Ç 4. 1. 1), and is
therefore quoted by pratika; see our introduction p. 376f.
anāptā ye vaḥ prathamā yāni karmāṇi cakrire | virān no atra
mā dabhan tad va etat puro dadhe z 2 z

pratnān mānāt pari ye saṁbabhūvuḥ çlokavantas sāumanasya
mantavaḥ | apānakṣāso badhīram † astantasya † panthām na
taranti duṣkr̥taḥ z 3 z

This is RV 9. 73. 6. The text even as found in RV is
very obscure, and our text apparently was somewhat dif-
ferent from RV's in spots: to restore it with any confi-
dence is evidently hopeless. Pada a, at least the last part
of it, seems reasonably sure. It would perhaps be better
to take over pada b bodily from RV (çlokayantrāso ra-
bhasasya mantavaḥ). The end of c and beginning of d ar
hopelessly corrupt in our ms: RV has *badhīrā ahāsata
for c, and begins d with rtasya.

sahasradhāram abhi te samasvaran divo nāke madhujihvā
asaçcataḥ | tasya spaço na nimiṣanti bhūrṇayaḥ pade-pade pā-
çinas santu setave z 4 z

This vs is RV 9. 73. 4, from which all of our emenda-
tions ar taken. RV also reads santi setavaḥ in pada d,
and perhaps this should be red here.

pary u ṣa pra dhanva vājasātaye pari vṛtrāṇi sakṣaṇiḥ | dviṣas
† tudarṇavān niyase † sahasraço nāmāsi trayodaço māsaḥ | in-
drasya gr̥ho sīndrasya çarmāsīndrasya varmāsīndrasya varūtham
asi z 5 z

Most of this vs is found Ç 5. 6. 4 (thru indrasya gr̥haḥ):
part of it also (ending na iyase) in RV 9. 110. 1. The
last part of our vs seems like a sort of index to the
vss Ç 5. 6. 11-14 (see below, Hymn 12). The last part
of the vs, at least, is prose. In pada a it would seem
natural, but not necessary, to read pary ū ṣu with RV
and Ç. Pada c I give up, except that it seems certain
that dviṣas should stand for divas: Whitney remarks that

Ç's reading here (dviṣas tad adhy arṇave neyase) looks like a corruption of RV dviṣas taradhyā rṇayā na iyase, but our incoherent jumble looks more like Ç than like RV. Perhaps tudarṇavān should be read tu rṇavān.—Our sahasraço looks like a lectio facillior for Ç sanisraso, but the whole thing is too dubious to justify the emendation, in my opinion.

vy etenārātsīr asāu svāhā | tigmāyudhāu tigmahetī suçevā
agnīṣomāv iha su mṛdataṁ naḥ z 6 z

avāitenārātsīr asāu svāhā°° z 7 z

apāitenārātsīr asāu svāhā°° z 8 z

That this is what our text is ment to read may be seen at once by comparing the jumble of the ms with Ç 5. 6. 5-7, the vss which are equivalent to ours. Our ms has simply put together the two opening words of each stanza (vy etena, avāitena, apāitena—for which last is red the corrupt amāitena) at the beginning, and followd it up with the rest of the text, which is common to all three vss. The same method was followd below in hymn 12, vss 1-4, q. v.

mumuktam asmān grbhithād avadyāj juṣethām yajnam amr-
tam asmāsu dhattam svāhā z 9 z

This is equivalent to Ç 5. 6. 8.

cakṣuṣo hete manaso hete brahmaṇo hete (tapasaç ca hete?)
menyā menir asi amenayas te santu ye 'smān abhyaghāyanti
svāhā z 10 z

This is Ç 5. 6. 9. There is no sign in the ms of the omission of the words tapasaç ca hete, and as the passage is non-metrical there is no way of proving that they were originally there: nevertheless I believ I am right in inserting them from Ç. Our text follows Ç very closely at this point, and moreover there is a sort of cadence in the passage which requires the insertion: this is evidenced by the evidently false placing of the comma after asi in the ms. Haplografy would easily account for the omission.

yo 'smān cakṣuṣā manasā yaç ca vācākūtyā cittiyā brahma-
nāghāyur abhidāsāt'tvam agne taṁ menyāmeninḥ kṛṇu svāhā
z 11 z

This (also prose) equals Ç 5. 6. 10, which reads in the last clause tām agne menyāmenin.

ud āyur ut kṛtam ud balam un manīṣā(m?) ud indriyaṁ
nṛmṇa asmāsu dhehi svāhā z 12 z

This, with the exception of the last clause, is found in Q 5. 9. 8, without the aid of which I should certainly not have emended so boldly (nor—it is safe to say—with such success: I think in spite of the extreme corruption of the ms that the text as restored is essentially sound).

āyuskr̥tāyusmatī svadhāvantāu gopā me stho gopāyataṁ mā ātmasadhū me staṁ me suḥvāu mā mā hīnsiṣṭaṁ svāhā z 13 z

Mostly corresponds to the last part of Q 5. 9. 8. Q has āyuskr̥d—(which Wh. suggests might better be read *kr̥t*)—āyuspatnī (for which our āyusmatī looks like a lectio faciliior). In the second half, Q reads ātmasadāu.

Our text gives really no help to the understanding of these very cryptic materials.

12.

For protection.

Cf. Q 5. 6. 11-14; Q 5. 9. 7; KS 37. 15, 16.

(94a 9) indrasya gr̥ho sindrasya ̥a-(10)-rmāsi indrasya var-
māsi indrasya marhatam asi | ta tvā pra viḥāmi sarvām
sa-(11)-rvātmā sarvagus sarvapāuruṣaḥ sam ye stu tena
astṛto nāmāham ayām assi mātmanāṁ pari dadhe dyāvā-
pr̥thivībhyām gopīyāya prahūyase | astṛto nāmā (13) prājā-
patyo devapurāyaṁ antaḥ prahāgām devapurāt saha grāmas
svastaye z (14) samvatsarasya sapyatas sarvāis sahodarī
saha z om̐ sarvāis sahodarī saha praha-(15)-ṇagām devā-
purāyevāsmi me vanam̐ yo mā kaṣcābhīdāsati | sa prajāpa-
(16)-tim iva gacchati | asmāsu pratismaḥṣaṣ pāhi riṣaṣ pāhi
dviṣaṣ pā-(17)-hi devyābhiḥasyāt sa mīya tanvaṁ pāhi | yo
sman prācyā diḥo ghāyur abhi (18) dāsā | etat sa ditsād
aḥmavarma ṇo stu asmām dakṣiṇāyā diḥaḥ (19) asmān pra-
tīcyā diḥaḥ z 2 z

indrasya gr̥ho 'si taṁ tvā pra viḥāmi sarvaṁ sarvātmā sar-
vagus sarvapāuruṣaḥ | yan(?) me 'sti tena z 1 z

indrasya ̥armāsi taṁ tvā... z 2 z

indrasya varmāsi taṁ tvā... z 3 z

indrasya varūtham asi taṁ tvā... z 4 z

That this is what the text means to read may be inferd from Q 5. 6. 11-14: see also above, hymn 11, vss 6-8. I am not very confident that Q's reading yan me 'sti should be substituted for sam ye stu: and if we adopt it, very

probably the final of the preceding word should be changed according to the rules of sandhi, since there is hardly enuf of a break in sense to justify the punctuation which I hav introduced.

astrto nāmāham ayam asmi sa ātmānaṁ pari dadhe dyāvā-
prthivībhyāṁ gopithāya prahūyase z 5 z

This is Q 5. 9. 7 in part: cf. also KS 37. 15, 16.

astrto nāmā prajāpatyo devapurāyām antaḥ † prahāgām
devapurāt saha † grāmas svastaye z 6 z

This seems to hav no parallel, and I cannot make the last part of it clear: the three words prahāgām . . . saha certainly need emendation, but I hav no suggestion.

saṁvatsarasya saprathas sarvāis sahodarī saha om sarvāis
sahodarī saha prahanagām devapurāyevāsmi(?) me vanaṁ yo
mā kaṣṣābhidāsati z 7 z

Most of this vs is wholly unclear to me, and the read-
ings ar of course very open to suspicion. For sapyatas,
saprathas seems likely: I think the last part of the vs is
approximately correct.

asmāsu pratispaçaḥ pāhi riṣaḥ pāhi dviṣaḥ pāhy adevyā
abhiçastyā sa ma iha tanvaṁ pāhi z 8 z

For most of this vs cf. KS 37. 15, 16. I think pratispaçaḥ
is right: cf. TS 5. 7. 3. 1.

yo 'smān prācyā diço 'ghāyur abhidāsāt | etat sa rccḥād
aḥmavarma no 'stu | asmān dakṣiṇāyā diçaḥ | asmān pratīcyā
diçaḥ z 9-11 z

Cf. the following hymn. For abhidāsāt(t) might also be
red abhidāsati.—I am almost certain that three verses ar
ment to be red here insted of one, the last two padas
being nothing but short-hand methods of indicating a
repetition of the vs with the variations indicated. If so, we
should supply yo before, and aghāyur abhi... after, each
of the last two padas, thus making vss 10 and 11. Cf. the
similar treatment of vss 1-4 above, hymn 11, vss 6-8, and
hymn 15, vs 6.

13.

For protection (especially against demons).

Cf. Q 5. 10. 1.

(94a 19) asmān udīcyā diçaḥ (94b 1) asmān dhruvāyā
diçaḥ yo smān ūrdhvāyā diço ghāyur abhidāsāt z (2) tat

sa ritsād açmāvarma ño stu | (vs 1) prācyāi diçe svāhā |
 (vs 2) dakṣiṇāyāi diçe (3) svāhā | (vs 3) pratīcāi diçe svāhā |
 (vs 4) udīcyāi diçe svāhā | (vs 5) dhruvāyāi di-(4)-çe svāhā |
 (vs 6) ūrdhvāyāi diçe svāhā | (vs 7) dive svāhā | (vs 8) an-
 tarikṣāya svā-(5)-hā | (vs 9) deve (!) svāhā (vs 10) z 3 z iti
 rākṣoghnasūktam z z

For vs 1 cf. Ç 5. 10. 1. In it read asmān, 'smān, 'ghāyur,
 rechād for ritsad, açmāv°, and 'stu.

The remaining formulae mostly need no emendation:
 in vs 4 read prācyāi. In vs 10 deve must certainly be
 a corruption of pṛthivyāi, which I should not hesitate to
 put in the text: it probably arose in the first place thru
 the accidental omission of the syllable pṛ, after which a
 later copyist changed the monstrous-looking thivyāi to a
 more reasonable-looking form. The label of the hymn
 should be red iti rākṣoghnasūktam.

14.

Against all manner of demons.

(94b 6) mahākaṇṭham karīṣājam abaddhyādam anāhutam |
 oṣṭhaṣ kokhamukha-(7)-ç ca yas tāy ito nāçayāmasi (vs 1)
 rāmadanta sodanam prahāram ahināsi-(8)-kaṁ upavṛttram
 balāhakam khenam gardabhanādinam | grddhram hastyāya-
 nam (9) tyā | pramṛṣyādina satyamam | (vs 2?)

bhīmahastam sarīṣṛpaṁ | bhrastākṣam mṛdva-(10)-ṅgulim |
 nakhogran dañcavīryam tān pary andami bhi pāpadam |
 (vs 3?)

jigīṣmāṇo rūpakam | atho çalalyam çevalatām | taṇḍam
 agre tuṇḍika dalyam çā uta (12) vatsapam | (vs 4?)

dāsagranthyam sanisrasam udranyedam cārusyantām
 idiya-(13)-jñāna keçavam rakṣaç caraty āhutam (vs 5?)

barhiḥ predam icchati | asyāu napāsyo-(14)-ç cage jñānu-
 rāyāmçukihyanas tāy ito nāçayāmasi | (vs 6?)

yaṣ kumā-(15)-rāñ jarasyāmi tṛṇām (?) dāsāsura arāyaḥ ke
 çyākila na yohvanā-(16)-nahanvaktica tam ito nāçayāmasi |
 (vs 7)

hīrājño nāma gehyo rāya (17) nāma sūnuha | tam ito nā-
 çayāmasi z (vs 8)

nītulambhakṣam ākhi-(18)-dam vanakroçam ca roruham |
 āmādam prayatīṣṇam paryamdānam paridra-(19)-vam vṛka-
 sya nṛçagam grānam tāy ito nāçayāmasi (vs 9) z 4 z

This hymn consists largely of a list of demons, whom its purpose is to exorcize. Its flavor strongly suggests Ç 8. 6, which is directed against demons which attack women in pregnancy and travail: but whether this is the exact application of our verses or not is not clear. I seem to detect in vss 7 and 8 rather a reference to demons which attack children. But the text as a whole is very corrupt, and I can get no clearer idea of what it is all about than what I have just said. Ç 8. 6 also consists largely of a mere list of demons, a sort of demoniacal Almanach de Gotha; many of the names it contains are, as Whitney's note says, "unknown elsewhere and untranslatable". This is a fortiori true of our hymn, which contains only one or two of the names found Ç 8. 6. Even the division of verses is highly problematic in some cases; possibly *tān ito nāçayāmasi* should be supplied at the end of each stanza, see Introduction p. 377.

Vs 1 is fairly clear. Read *karīṣajam* in pada a. In pada c I cannot better *oṣṭhaṣ*: the following word is of course *koka*. In pada d read *tān ito*.

Vs 2: pada a, perhaps *rāsabhadantaṁ sodaraṁ* ("big-bellied"?) pada b, *ahināsikaṁ* is certainly sound. padas c-d seem all right (reading *upavṛtraṁ*), tho *kheṇaṁ* is otherwise unknown. In padas e-f (if they really belong to vs 2!) the only certain word is *gr̥dhraṁ*.

Vs 3: padas a-b are all right if we read *bhraṣṭākṣaṁ*. The margin has *marimṛçam*, evidently as a substitute for *sarīṣpam*. For padas c-d I suggest hesitatingly *nakhograṁ dançavīryaṁ tān paryasyāmy abhipādān*.

Vs 4: pada a, *jigīṣamāno*. pada b, *çalalyaṁ* may conceal a form related to *çalalī*. Perhaps we may read *çevalam* for *çevalatāṁ*; cf. Ç 1. 11. 4, where *çevala* is an epithet of the afterbirth (*jarāyu*). Or the syllable *tān* may belong to the next pada. pada c should probably end with *tuṇḍikaṁ* (Ç 8. 6. 5), and pada d may be read *dalyaṁ ca uta vatsapam*. The name *vatsapa* occurs Ç 8. 6. 1, but *dalyaṁ* is an unknown word, and of course open to suspicion.

Vs 5: I can suggest no improvement. I suspect that pada b ends with *ca* plus a participial form from *aruṣyati*. The name *keçava* occurs Ç 8. 6. 23. My verse-division may be incorrect; it looks very likely that 5d goes closely with 6a.

Vs 6: except that the *tāy* of the last pada should be (probably) *tān* (possibly *tā*) I can make no suggestion.

Vs 7 is also too much for me, tho it of course contains some words that are obviously correct or nearly so.

Vs 8: pada b, read *'rāyo nāma sūnuhā*.

Vs 9: most of the names here look sound, and I at least can venture no improvement on those which do not. In the last pada of course read *tān ito*. In pada c possibly *ghrāṇān*?

15.

To Indra, for prosperity.

(95a 1) *yaç ca bhāumā yā ca sphāti yayorja yo rasasya te | havāmi çakra tām han taya prattām* (2) *çacīpate kṣetrāt kṣetrād āharāmi sphānti sarvām çacīpate | tayāham vṛtrahañ* (3) *patum ā harāmi | grhāñ upa yas te sītā bhagā kṣetre | ārādhir yaç çacīyate |* (4) *atho yā niṣṭhā te kṣetre itv āhārṣi vrahmaṇā | yat khale nasay āde yad goṣṭhe yac ca* (5) *çevadhāu | athotkussyāmse tasya te rasam ā dadhe | ūrjā yā te nṛpa tasyorjā yāva-*(6)*-hatasya te ūrjam te paçyamānasyorjam piṣṭāt tādadhe | te nṛpa tasyorjāvātā asya* (7) *te | ūrjam te pihyamānasyorjam pakvā te ūrjā yā te praṇugdhasyojā yā madhita-*(8)*-sya te | ūrjā te duhyamānasyorjam dugdhān tādade | ā tetade gavām ūrjam ū-*(9)*-rjām avityā dadhe | ajādyā ūrjam ādāyāta ekaçapā dadhe ūrjā yā te* (10) *puruṣūrjā citte ca vedye | ūrjā te sarveṣām aham grhāṇām vrahmaṇā dade* (11) *z 5 z*

Read as follows:

yaç ca bhūmā yā ca sphātir yā corjā yo rasaç ca te | harāmi çakra tām aham tvayā prattām çacīpate z 1 z

kṣetrāt kṣetrād āharāmi sphānti sarvām çacīpate | tayāham vṛtrahañ pitum āharāmi grhāñ upa z 2 z

yās te çitā bhagāḥ kṣetre ārādhir yaç çacīpate | atho yā niṣṭhā te kṣetre ita (ito) āhārṣi brahmaṇā z 3 z

In pada d the only question is one of sandhi—whether the original text read *ito* or *ita*. In pada a there is a real problem, and I am by no means certain of my attempted solution: I have assumed *çitā(h)* as a ppp. from the root *çī-*; undoubtedly a bold assumption, but I can see no more likely guess.

yat khale rasam ādade yad goṣṭhe yac ca çevadhāu | †athotkussyāmse † tasya te rasam ādade z 4 z

Pada c is hopeless. I am fairly confident of my restoration of pada a: the signs for na and ra ar easily confused in Čā-radā, and yat may be taken as a conjunction, tho it would be better to hav it agree with the noun as a relativ pronoun.

ūrjā yā te nrpa tasyorjā yāvahatasya te | ūrjān te pacya-mānasyorjān piṣṭān ta ā dade z 5 z

Pada a: yā-avahatasya? pada d: piṣṭāt might stand were it not for the parallels pakvām and dugdhām of pada d in vss 6 and 7, which make the accus. almost certain here.

(ūrjā yā) te nrpa tasyorjā † vātā asya † te | ūrjān te piṣya-mānasyorjān pakvām ta (ā dade) z 6 z

The first two and last two words of this verse are evidently ment to be supplied from the preceding and following verses. The method used by our ms to indicate such omissions of repeated passages is often very imperfect. Compare 12. 9, and Introduction p. 377.—Note the curious chiasmus in the second hemistichs of this and the preceding verses: pacyamānasya... piṣṭān, piṣyamānasya... pakvām.

ūrjā yā te pradugdhasyorjā yā maditasya te | ūrjān te duhyamānasyorjān dugdhām ta ā dade z 7 z

ā te dade gavām ūrjān ūrjām avinām ā dade | ajānām ūrjām ādayāta āikaçaphām ā dade z 8 z

The constant interchange between the stems ūrj and ūrjā is striking. Insted of the genitivs avinām and ajānām perhaps derivativ adjectivs (avityām?) analogous to āikaçaphām (from ekaçapha) may hav stood here originally. Pada d begins, of course, with ata(s), and is hypermetric if my reconstruction is correct (perhaps read with secondary crasis atāika*).

ūrjā yā te puruṣānām ūrjā † cittecavedye † ūrjān te sarveṣām ahañ grhānām brahmaṇādade z 9 z

The restoration of puruṣānām is made nearly certain by the preceding stanza and the metrical requirements. I cannot solv pada b.

16.

To the soma-drink, for blessings.

RV 1. 187; KS 40. 8.

(95 a 11) pituṁ na stoṣān maho dharmānām taviṣi | yasya trito vyojasā vṛ-(12)-trañ viparyamardayat | svādo pito madho pito vayan tvā vivṛñmahe | asmāka-(13)-m avitā bhava | utta naṣ pittav (pituv?) ā gahi çivaç çivābhir ūtibhiḥ

mayobhūr a-(14)-dviṣeṇyas sakhā suṣeva edhi naḥ tava
 tye pito rasā rajāṅsy anu viṣṭhitāḥ di-(15)-vi vātā iva ṣṛitāḥ
 tava tye pito dadataḥ tava svātiṣṭha te pito | pra svādmāno
 rasā-(16)-nām tuyyagrīvā iverate | yat te pito mahānām
 devānām mano hitam | akāri cā-(17)-ru ketunā tavāhim
 avasāvadhīt yad adaṣ pito ajagan vivasva parvatānām (18)
 atrā cin no madhupito ram bhakṣāya gamyām | yat te soma
 gaāciro yavāciro bhajā-(19)-mahe | vātāpe pīva id bhava |
 yad apām oṣadhīnām balim samāriṣā-(95 b 1)-mahe | vātāpe
 pīva id bhava | karamba oṣadhe bhava pīvo vṛkka udārathih
 (2) vātāpe pīva id bhava | tan tvā vayam pito vacobhir gāvo
 na havya suṣū-(3)-dima | asmābhyam tvā sadamādam de-
 vebhyas tvā sadamādam z 6 z

pitum mardayat z 1 z

Read nu for na (pada a) and taviṣim (pada b). Pada d
 seems better than the reading of the parallel texts, viparvam
 ardayat. This vs also occurs VS 34. 7 and N 9. 25.

svādo bhava z 2 z

Pada b: vivṛmahe is very likely corrupt (the other texts
 have vavrmahe), but cf. BR s. v. varj with vi, 3).

uta naṣ pitav ā gahi ṣvaṣ edhi naḥ z 3 z

tava tye iva ṣṛitāḥ z 4 z

tava tye iverate z 5 z

Pada b: read svādiṣṭha. Pada d: read tuyigrīvā.

yat te pito avasāvadhīt z 6 z

The only different reading in RV and KS is tve for yat te
 in pada a.

yad adaṣ gamyām z 7 z

Pada d: read 'ram (perhaps also gamyāḥ, as the parallel
 texts do?)

yat te soma id bhava z 8 z

Pada a: read gavāciro.

yad apām id bhava z 9 z

(Pada b seems superior to the reading of the parallel texts.)

karambha oṣadhe id bhava z 10 z

tam tvā vayam sadhamādam z 11 z

Padas c-d: read sadhamādam both times.

17.

To Agni and the Maruts.

Vss 1-9 = RV 1. 19.

(95 b 4) prati tyam cārum adhvaram gopīthāya prahūyase |
marudbhir agna ā gahi | (vs 1)

(5) na hi devo na martyo mahas tava kratum purāḥ ma-
rudbhir agna ā gahi | (vs 2)

yameha (6) rajaso vidur viçve devāso adruhaḥ marudbhi |
(vs 3)

ye çubhrā ghoravarpa-(7)-sas suksatrāso riṣādasah ma-
rudbhi | (vs 4)

ya ugrā arkam ānṛtar anādṛ-(8)-ṣṭāsa ojasā | marudbhi |
(vs 5)

ye nākasyādhi rocane divi devās sa-(9)-hāsate | marudbhi |
(vs 6)

ayam kṣayanti parvatān tiras samudram ojasā | (10) ma-
rudbhi | (vs 7)

ā ye tanvanti raçmibhis tiras samudram arṇavam | ma-
rudbhi | (vs 8)

abhi tvā (11) pūrvapītaya sṛjāmi somyam madhu | ma-
rudbhi | (vs 9)

ā yantu maruto ga-(12)-ṇāi stutā dadhatu no rayim | ā
tvā kaṇvā hūṣata grṇamtu vipra te dhi-(13)-yaḥ marudbhir
agna ā gahi (vs 10) z 7 z anu 3 z

The text of this hymn is practically as it is written, except that the third pada (refrain) of vss 3-9 is abbreviated in the ms. Vs 1 is also found SV 1. 16, Kāuṣ 127. 7, and N 10. 36.—Vs 2: pada b, read paraḥ for purāḥ.—Vs 3: for yameha read perhaps (with RV 1. 19. 3) ye maho.—Vs 4 pada b: perhaps riçādasah should be red (with RV vs 5), but riṣ- and riç- are almost interchangeable.—Vs 5 pada a: read ānṛcur. Pada b: read anādhrṣṭāsa.—Vs 7 pada a: read probably ya iṅkhayanti parvatān, with RV vs 7.—Vs 8 also occurs MS 4. 11. 2.—Vs 9 pada a: read pūrvapītayas? but better, pitaye with RV vs 9, and all other texts (see Conc.). This vs entire occurs N 10. 37, and pada a repeatedly elsewhere, see Conc.—Vs 10 (cf. RV 1. 14. 2): pada a, read gaṇāis: pada c, read perhaps ahūṣata? pada d: read probably grṇanti.

18.

To various gods, for blessings.

Cf. Q 7. 33. 1, and the following hymn.

(95 b 13) saṁ mā siñcantu (14) marutas saṁ pūṣā saṁ
vṛhaspatiḥ saṁ māyam agnis siñcatu prajāyā ca (15) dha-
nena ca | dīrgham āyus kṛṇotu me | (vs 1)

saṁ mā siñcantv ādityās saṁ mā si-(16)-ñcantv agnayaḥ
indras saṁ asmān siñcatu (vs 2)

siñcantv anuṣā saṁ arkā ṛṣa-(17)-yaç ca ye | pūṣā saṁ
siñcatu gandharvāpsarasas saṁ mā siñcantu devatāḥ (vs 3)

(18) bhagas saṁ siñcatu pṛthivī saṁ mā siñcantu yā diva |
antarikṣaṁ saṁ (19) siñcantu pratiḥsas saṁ mā siñcantu yā
diḥaḥ (vs 4)

āçā saṁ siñcantu kṛ-(20)-ṣayaḥ saṁ mā siñcantv oṣadhīḥ
saṁ mās saṁ siñcantu nabhyas saṁ mā si-(96 a 1)-ñcantu
sindhavaḥ samudrās saṁ | (vs 5)

saṁ mās siñcantv āpas saṁ mā siñcantu vṛ-(2)-ṣṭayaḥ
satyaṁ saṁ asmāna siñcatu prajāyā ca dhanena ca | dīrgham
āyus kṛ-(3)-ṇotu me (vs 6) z 1 z

The division of verses which I have introduced in this rig-
marole is highly problematic: the ms indicates, as usual, no
division, and the sense gives little help. I think it most pro-
bable that there were more than six verses in the hymn as
originally recited; perhaps the normal nine. Padas d and e
of vss 1 and 6 are to be supplied at the end of each vs.

Vs 1 = Q 7. 33. 1 (all that Q 7. 33 consists of).

Vs 3: pada a is corrupt. The only fairly certain thing about
it is that Uṣas appeared in it. It might be written siñcantv
asmān uṣasas.

Vs 4: pada b, divaḥ (!).

Vs 5: pada a, āçās. pada c, probably read saṁ mā siñcantu
nadyas.

Vs 6: pada a, mā for mās. pada c, asmān for asmāna.

19.

To various gods, for blessings.

Cf. the preceding hymn.

(96 a 3) saṁ bhargo varcasā māgne saṁ viṣṇus puṣṭyāsrjat
(4) kṣetraṁ saṁ asmān siñcatu prajāyā ca dhanena ca |
āyusmantam kṛṇotu mām (vs 1)

(5) saṁ virāḍ varcasā māgne saṁ deṣṭrī puṣṭyāsṛjat idā
saṁ asmān si-(6)-ñcatu prajayā ca dhanena ca | (vs 2)

saṁ dhātā varcasā māgne saṁ siktiḥ puṣṭyāsṛjat (7) saṁ
devo smān aryamā prajayā ca dhanena ca | (vs 3)

saṁ aṁḥo varcasā māgne saṁ vā-(8)-yuh puṣṭyāsṛjat
vātas saṁ asmān siñcatu prajayā ca dhanena ca | (vs 4)

(9) saṁ sabhā varcasā māgne saṁ sarā puṣṭyāsṛjat |
sūryā saṁ | (vs 5)

saṁ (10) savitā varcasā māgne saṁ sūryaṣ puṣṭyāsṛjat |
candra saṁ (vs 6)

saṁ paçavo varca-(11)-sāgne saṁ yajñaṣ puṣṭyāsṛjat |
dakṣiṇā saṁ | (vs 7)

sā mā siñcatu draviṇam (12) saṁ sā siñcatv indriyam |
tejas saṁ | (vs 8)

saṁ mā siñcatu varcāmsi saṁ mā si-(13)-ñcantu bhūtayah
sarasvatī saṁ asmān siñcatu prajayā ca dhanena ca | (14)
āyusmantam kṛṇotu mā (vs 9) z 2 z

All the vss ar to be red with 5 padas, supplying the nec-
essary parts of padas c, d, and e, where the text is ab-
breviated, from vss 1 or 9.

Vs 5: pada c, read probably sūryas.

Vs 6: pada c, candra.

Vs 8: pada a, saṁ for sā. pada b, mā for sā.

20.

Against nocturnal and hidden dangers.

Ç 19. 47.

(96 a 14) ā rātri pārthivam rajaṣ pitaraṣ prā-(15)-yu dhā-
mabhiḥ divas sudhānsi vṛhatīva tiṣṭhasa ā tveçam vartate
tamaḥ (vs 1)

na ya-(16)-syāṣ pāram dadṛçe na yoyavad yasya sasyām
niṁṣate rejati | ariṣṭāça-(17)-sya ca ud urvati sasya ca
rātri pāram açimahi | bhadre pāram açimahi (vs 2)

(18) ete rātre nṛcakṣaso drṣṭāro navatir navaḥ açītis samtv
āṣṭā uto te (19) sapta saptatiḥ (vs 3)

ṣaṣṭyuç ca ṣaḍ u ca revaty āncāçat yaṁca naçannihī
catvāraç ca-(96 b 1)-tvāriṇçac ca trayas triṇçac ca vādinī z
(vs 4)

dvā ca viṇçatiç ca te rātri ekāda-(2)-çāvamā tebhīr no
dya pāyubhir nṛ pāhi duhitañr divaḥ (vs 5)

rakṣā mākir ṇo a-(3)-ghaṇsa iṇata mā no duṇṇsa
iṇata | mā no dya gavām steno māvāinām vṛkāiṣataḥ | (vs 6)

(4) sācṇvānām bhadre taskaro mā nṛṇām yātudhānyaḥ |
paramebhiṣ pathibhi steno dā-(5)-vatu taskarah | (vs 7)

pareṇa datvatī rajjuṣ pareṇāyur akṣatu andho rātri tiṣṭadhū-
(6)-mam aṇṛṣāṇim ahiṁ kṛṇu | (vs 8)

hano vṛkasya jambhayā dvāinām nṛpate ja-(7)-hi | tāirātri
viṇamasi sapuṣṭyāmasi jāgrvi | (vs 9)

gobhyo naṇ ṇarma ya-(8)-cchād aṇvebhyas puruṣebhyah
(vs 10) z 3 z

Vs 1 (also found in RVKh 10. 127. 1, VS 34. 32, N 9. 29):
pada b, read with Q pitur aprāyi dh°. pada c, divas sadānsi
brhati vi(?) with Q. pada d, tveṣam.

Vs 2: pada a, yoyuvad. pada b: hopeless. Q's reading is
viṇvam asyām niviṇate yad ejati. It does not seem likely to
me that Ppp had this reading, but I cannot reconstruct a
substitute. pada c, as bad as pada b (q. v.). Q has ariṣṭāsas
ta urvi tamasvati.

Vs 3 also occurs RVKh 10. 127. 2, QQ 9. 28. 10. pada a,
perhaps read ye te for ete, with the other texts. pada b,
draṣṭāro, nava. pada c, santy(?) aṣṭā.

Vs 4: pada a, ṣaṣṭiḥ. pada b, pañcācat pañca, and for na-
ṇamnihi possibly sumnayi with Q? pada d, I suspect vādini,
but Q's vājini is not too alluring.

Vs 5: pada b, rātry (rātri), °āvamāḥ. pada d, ni for nṛ?

Vs 6: pada d, māvāinām vṛka iṇata (with Q)?

Vs 7: pada a, mācṇvānām. pada d, dhāvatu.

Vs 8: pada b, pareṇāghāyur arṣatu. pada c, either trṣṭa-
dhūmam with Q, or perhaps tikṣṇadh°. pada d, aṇṛṣāṇam.

Vs 9: pada a, hanū. pada b is very corrupt (Q reads stenam
drupade jahi, which is as likely to have been Ppp's reading as
anything that occurs to me). pada c, tvayi rātri. pada d, pro-
bably svapiṣyāmasi jāgrhi.

Vs 10: needs no change (Q reads yacchāṇvebhyah).

21.

To night, for protection from nocturnal dangers.

Q 19. 48.

(96b 8) atho yāni tamassahe yāni (9) cāntaṣ pareṇihi
tāni ye pari dadhmasi | (vs 1)

rātri mātār uṣase nā pa-(10)-ri dhehi juṣā no ahnā pari dadātv ahas tubhyaṁ vibhāvāri (vs 2)

yadi kiñ ce-(11)-daṁ pated yadi kiṁ dedaṁ sarīṣpaṁ yadi kiñ ca padvad āsunvan tasmā tvaṁ (12) rātri pāhi naḥ (vs 3)

sā paçcāt sāhi mādhras satarād adharād uta | go-(13) -pāya no vibhāvāri stotāras ta iha ssasi | (vs 4)

ye rātrim anutiṣṭhanti (14) ye ca bhūteṣu jāgrabhi | paçūn ye sarvān rakṣantu te nātvamasi jāgra-(15)-tu te naṣ paçubhir jāgratu (vs 5)

veda vāi rātri te nāma ghr̥tācī nāmi vā-(16)-si | tām tvā bharadvājo veda sā no vitte dhi jāgrvi (vs 6) z 4 z

Vs 1: pada a, Ç has çayāmahe for tamassahe, but I do not venture to change Ppp's reading, even tho its meaning is not evident. pada b, parīnāhi. pada c, te for ye? dadmasi.

Vs 2: pada a, naḥ pari dehi. pada b, uṣā, ahne.

Vs 3: pada b, cedaṁ. pada c, āçruvan? pada d, tasmāt.

Vs 4: pada a, sā paçcāt pāhi sā puras. pada b, satarād. pada d, smasi.

Vs 5 (except the fifth pada, found also in KS 37. 10): pada b, jāgrati. pada c, rakṣanti. pada d, te na ātmasu jā°. pada e, paçubhir may be construed as associativ: paçuṣu not required.

Vs 6: pada b, nāma vā asi. pada d, jāgrhi.

• 22.

With the offering of a "viṣṭārin" rice-mess; for blessings.

Vss 1-8 = Ç 4. 34.

(96 b 17) vrahmāsi çiro vṛhad asya pṛṣṭhaṁ vāmadevyam udaram odanasya | chandān-(18)-si pakṣāu mukham asya satyaṁ viṣṭā yajñas tapaso dhi jātā | (vs 1)

anastā-(19)-ç çuddhāṣ pavanena pūtaç çucayaç çucīn api yanti lokān | viṣṭāriṇa-(20)-m odanaṁ ye pacanti nāhiṣāṁ siṣṇaṁ pra dahāj jātavedāḥ nāhiṣāṁ (97 a 1) siṣṇaṁ pra dahati jātavedāḥ (vs 2)

svarge loka bahu strīṇim eṣāṁ nāinān yasaḥ pari (2) muṣṇāti retā z yāste yama upa yāti devān saṁ gandharvāir asaditi syāumyāiḥ (vs 3)

(3) viṣṭāriṇam odanaṁ ye pacanti nāinanivanti sajate kutāç cana | rathī ya bhūtvā (4) rathayān iyate pakṣī ya bhūt-vāpya divaṁ çamayati | (vs 4)

eṣa yajño vitato bahiṣṭho (5) viṣṭārapakvo divam ā samāda

catuṣkumbhyām caturdhā dadāti kṣīreṇa prajā (6) udakena dadhnā | (vs 5)

etās tvā kulyā upa yanti viçvahā svarge loke svadhayā pi-(7)-nvamānā | ghṛtahradā madhukulyā svarodakā kṣīreṇa pūrṇā udakena da-(8)-dhnā | (vs 6)

etās tvā nulyā upa yanti viçvatas svarge loka svadhayā mādayantī | (9) puṇḍarikāṁ kumidaṁ san tanoti viçam çā-lūkhaṁ çapakho mulālī | svarge lo-(10)-ke svadhaya pin-vamānā upa mā tiṣṭhanti puṣkariṇīs samakta | (vs 7)

yam odanaṁ paca-(11)-si miçraddhadhāno viṣṭāriṇaṁ lo-kajītiyaṁ svargyaṁ sa meṁ mā kṣeṣṭa sadam i-(12)-ṣya-māṇo viçvarupā kāmādughā dhenur astu me | (vs 8)

vṛṣabhaṁ santaṁ saha sāunṛta-(13)-yā svarge loke amṛtaṁ duhāne | yeme putrāṣ pitarāç ca sati te tvā viṣṭāri-(14)-d upa sarve sadeyuḥ (vs 9)

ya imāni yajñān abhi viṣṭhatāni yasyeme lokās sva (15) svadhayā samaktāḥ yeme pāutrā uta ye pitāmahās tebhyo viṣṭāraṇn amṛtā (16) ni dhukṣva z (vs 10)

yat prthivīyaṁ yady antarikṣaṁ yadi divaṁ devatāyā jagantha ye-(17)-me prapāutrāḥ | prapitāmahāç ca tebhyo viṣṭārinn anu prajñeṣu tatra (vs 11)

svarge loke (18) apsarasa enaṁ jāyā bhūtvopaçerate viṣ-ṭāriṇaṁ odanaṁ ye pacanty aṣmin lo-(19)-ke dakṣiṇāyāṣ pariṣkrtaṁ (vs 12)

ninnudāinām svāny apa tanād adhi bibhraṇ çam asye (97 b 1) kṛṇvo vigṛhībhraṇ (?) çatāmasu (vs 13)

apāṁcam pratimā kurcy adharāciyaṁ striyaṁ naya | atī-(2)-mām daça parvatān atīmā nāvya daça | (vs 14)

adharācīm apācīm ato kulaçalām bhi-(3)-saṁ bibhraṇ çam asyāi kṛṇvas tenāinaṁ pratimāmasi | (vs 15)

ājaniruja bilaṁ bilād a-(4)-rṇyāmākurv araṇyād araṇaṁ janaṁ | mṛgān anu prapātaya vātasyāinā çikhām (5) kuru | (vs 16)

vātāgre yassā hṛdayaṁ manor eṣv anu dadhmasi | bibhraṇ çam asyāi kṛṇvo (6) viddhaṁ samāmaktanḍase | (vs 17)

çarvam anu pariplava tām antar ā dyāvāprthivī u-(7)-bhe | yathā na vadhri dāntarād viça tūlam ivopari | (vs 18)

açam asyāi vāto vātv a-(8)-çaṁ tad ati sūryaḥ atho yad annam açnāti tatas sī viṣuvattaraṁ | (vs 19)

siṅhas te stu (9) cakṣuṣa ity ekā | (vs 20)

eṣa vām agnim antarā | sa viçvaricāu vy asyatu yathā
vām sā (10) manty uttarastyoç canāyusi | (vs 21)

utpātaya çimidāv ati | imāu vy asya dampatī-(11)-ṣ pakvaṁ
māmsam ivāçinām meham asmin patāu raṁstamosso çay-
ane sve | jaha-(12)-ti vasaṇoç cam ahir jīrṇām iva tvacaṁ
(vss 22-23)

yathā mṛtāç ca jīvāṁç cāsmiṇ lo-(13)-ke vyokasaḥ evesāu
dampatī stām asmin loke vyokasāu z (vs 24)

pitāṣ pi-(14)-tarāu tuṣṭārmātārmātāmahāṣ tena vrahaṇāṣ
tena cchandasāṣ svargo lokāṣ sva-(15)-rgasya lokar gamayate
ya ivam veda (vs 25)

z anu 4 z ziti çrāddhavra-(16)-hmaṇam z z om asmin
loke vyokasāu z z ity atharvaṇi (17) pāippalādaçākḥayām
saṣṭhaṣ kāṇḍaḥ z

Vs 1: pada a, brahmāsyā çiro brhad°. pada d, viṣṭārī or
viṣṭāri-yajñ°: jātaḥ.

Vs 2: pada a, pūtāç. padas d and e, nāiteṣām çinām. (Is
pada e an accidental repetition of pada d,—a case of ditto-
graphy?)

Vs 3: pada a, loke, strāiṇam. pada b, yamaḥ, retaḥ. pada c,
āste for yāste? pada d, madate for asaditi? sāumyāiḥ.

Vs 4: pada b, perhaps nāinān avartis? pada c, ha for ya?
perhaps rathayānā for yān? pada d, probably read pakṣi ha
bhūtāpi divam sameti.

Vs 5: pada a, vahiṣṭho (but the reading of the Ç mss, as
well as Ppp, is bah°!). pada b, sasāda. pada c, catuṣkumbhyaṁ
(acc. sg.)? pada d, I believe that prajā must represent a fourth
instr. form: possibly prkṣā?

Vs 6: pada b, pinvamānāḥ. pada c, madhukulyās svarodakāḥ.

Vs 7: pada a, kulyā for nulyā. pada b, loke, mādayantiḥ.
pada c, kumudaṁ. pada d, bisam çālūkām çaphako mulāli.
pada e, svadhayā. pada f, samaktāḥ.

Vs 8: pada a, probably miçraṁ dadhāno. pada b, perhaps
lokajitam? pada c, me for meṁ, madam for sadam. pada d,
viçvarūpā.

Vs 9: pada a, sahaṁ sūnṛtāya. pada b, perhaps duhānam.
pada c, ya ime. santi. pada d, viṣṭārinṇ.

Vs 10: pada a, ya imān yajñān abhi viṣṭhito 'si. pada b,
omit sva. pada c, ya ime. pada d, viṣṭārinṇ amṛtaṁ ni dh°.

Vs 11: pada a, probably read yadi prthivīm. pada b, probably devatāyām (possibly devatayā). pada c, ya ime. pada d, anu-pra-jñeṣva?

Vs 12 seems correct as it stands.

Vs 13: I cannot solv the first part. The last part is perhaps to be red bibhraṇ cam asyāi kṛmo vigrhītṛṇ catāmasi. The letter h of vigrh is doubtful: Barret thinks the sign bhra of the ms is fairly clear, but bhra and tra ar nearly interchangeable, and the vowel r is written ra countless times.

Vs 14: padas a-b, apācīm pratimām krdhy adharācīm çriyam naya. pada c, atimān.

Vs 15: pada b, I read biṣam for bhiṣam: both this and kulaçalām seem to be designations of plants. pada c, kṛmas. Verses 16-19 ar in bad shape and I can offer little.

Vs 16: padas a-b: aranyam ā-kurv? pada c, āinām.

Vs 17: pada a, yasya? pada b, manor might be sanor also. pada d, •ktaṇḍase might equally well be •kuṇḍase.

Vs 18: pada c, no adhri?

Vs 19: pada d, perhaps tad asti viṣavat?

Vs 20 is quoted (by pratika, cf. our introduction p. 376 f.) from 2. 58. 3, where it is given in full, tho in a corrupt form: see Barret, JAOS 30. 233. (The word astu is there omitted—evidently by error. Our cakṣuṣa stands for cakṣuṣo.)

Vs 21 (cf. 2. 58. 6 and 3): pada a, eṣa vām agnir antarah. pada b, viṣvañcāu. pada c, probably yathā vām naço asati (cf. Barret, l. c.). pada d is unintelligible to me: it may belong to the following verse.

Vss 22-23: I can do little more than the division of words implies. The second pada seems all right (reading dampatī).

The last two padas ar all right except for the words vasaṇoç cam, which I can do nothing with.

Vs 24: pada a, jivāç. pada c, evemāu. Otherwise the verse needs no change.

Vs 25: this appears to be a prose passage of brāhmaṇa-like character, and it may well be doubted whether it originally belonged to the hymn. I cannot construe the first part of it. Read brahmaṇā, chandasā, lokam (for lokar), and evam (for ivam). Compare the Vedic Concordance under tena brahmaṇā and tena chandasā.—The colofon should probably be red iti çrāddhabrahmaṇam, and should be taken as referring specifically to this last stanza (or, possibly, •brahma, referring

to the whole hymn?) Note that after it the last pada of vs 24 is repeated. This is in itself an indication that the hymn really ends with vs 24. In a number of other cases our ms. repeats at the end of a hymn the last pada of the last stanza¹, introducing it by the syllable om. .

¹ Such repetitions occur, according to a list which Barret sends me, at the end of 1. 92, 1. 112, 2. 8, 2. 28, 2. 73, 2. 91, 3. 10, 3. 30, 4. 7, 4. 27 and (?) after vs 6 of 4. 17.

Armageddon.—By PAUL HAUPT, Professor in the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.¹

Theodore Roosevelt concluded his speech before the Chicago Convention on August 5, 1912 with the words: *We stand at Armageddon, and we battle for the Lord*. Armageddon denotes the place of a final battle, just as *Waterloo* is used for an overwhelming defeat, or as F. A. Beyerlein called his sensational novel, in which he endeavored to point out some alleged defects in the German army, *Jena oder Sedan?* (Berlin, 1903) the meaning of this title being, Will the conditions prevailing in the German army lead to Jena or to Sedan, to a great disaster, as in 1806, or to a notable victory, as in 1870?

Similarly the author of the Maccabean homily in the Book of Joel, which was written toward the end of Simon's reign (about 136 B. C.) when Antiochus VII Sidetes sent his general Cendebæus against Judah, says, If the enemies of the Chosen People should attempt a new invasion, יהוה will bring them down into a *Valley of Jehoshaphat* where they will be annihilated, as the Moabites, Ammonites and Meunites² were exterminated in the Valley of Berachah when they marched against Jerusalem in the days of Jehoshaphat (about 850 B. C.).³

The name *Valley of Jehoshaphat* is now given to the Valley of Kidron which separates Mount Zion from Mount Olivet. This designation (which cannot be traced beyond the fourth century A. D.) may be based on the fact that in the account of the Maccabean victory, given in 1 Macc. 16, 9, Simon's son, John Hyrcanus, is said to have pursued Cendebæus as far as Kedron. This place, however, is not the Kidron Valley on the east side of Jerusalem, but the fortress of Kedron, *i. e.* the present *Katra*, SE of Jamnia, NE of Ashdod, about 3½ miles SW of Ekron. The Jews as well as the Christians

and Mohammedans of Palestine believe that the Last Judgment will be held in the Kidron Valley, and just as the Kidron Valley, on the east side of Jerusalem, is supposed to be the scene of Doomsday, so the Valley of Hinnom, south of Jerusalem, is regarded as the place of the future punishment of the wicked: the name *Gehenna* is the Hebrew *Gê-Hinnóm*, Valley of Hinnom.

Armageddon, the place of the final battle, is derived from Rev. 16, 16: *He gathered them together to a place called in the Hebrew tongue Armageddon* (καὶ συνήγαγεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν καλούμενον Ἑβραϊστὶ Ἀρμαγεδών). The Revised Version has *Har-Magedon* (Westcott-Hort reads Ἄρ Μαγεδών). Luther's Bible gives the name with an initial *h*. The Vulgate has *Armagedon*.⁴ Luther's *Harmageddon* is preferable to *Armageddon*, because the name undoubtedly represents the Hebrew *Har-Megiddôn*, the Mount (or Hill) of Megiddo. Hommel's conjecture (1890) that *Harmageddon* is a corruption of *Har-Mô'éd*,⁵ the Mountain of the Assembly in Is. 14, 13 (*i. e.* the Babylonian Olympus on whose summit the gods dwell) does not commend itself, although it was endorsed by Siegfried in his review of the twelfth edition of Gesenius' Hebrew lexicon (TLZ 20, 304).⁶ There is no mythological element in the name Armageddon.⁷

The so-called eschatological passages as well as the alleged Messianic prophecies in the Old Testament have, as a rule, a definite historical background, but when the prophetic bills drawn on the future were not honored, they were afterwards extended to Doomsday.⁸ It is true that the poetic imagery in Messianic and eschatological sections reflects certain ancient mythological ideas, but we find the same influence in modern poetry. We may speak of a *thunderbolt* or of a *jovial fellow* without being conscious of the original mythological ideas. If a newspaper writer refers to *Cupid*, or old *Sol*, or *Jupiter Pluvius*, we need not suppose that his religious ideas are influenced by classical mythology. The day before yesterday was the second anniversary of the *Titanic* disaster—perhaps the greatest ocean tragedy which the world has ever known. A year ago a Baltimore newspaper said that on April 14, 1912 Neptune, in his wrath against the monsters of the deep that were slowly conquering him, arose, and within the space of a few short hours swallowed the giant *Titanic*. This sounds very

mythological, but it is merely pseudo-poetic imagery. If we want to understand the eschatological passages of the Bible we must know Oriental imagery and allegory. Nor can we adopt Jensen's view (quoted by Zimmern in Gunkel's *Schöpfung und Chaos*, p. 389) that μαγεδων is identical with μιγαδων in Υεσεμιγαδων, the consort of Ερεσχιγαλ, i. e. the Babylonian goddess of Hades (KAT³ 637, n. 2).

When Roosevelt used the name *Armageddon* I dare say he had in mind, not the apocalyptic passage in the Book of Revelation, but the sixth stanza of Whittier's poem *Rantoul*.⁹ Robert Rantoul was a member of Congress from Massachusetts and one of the great opponents of slavery. He died at his post in Washington, six days before the forty-seventh anniversary of his birthday, on August 7, 1852. Whittier says of him:

We seemed to see our flag unfurled,
Our champion waiting in his place,
For the last battle of the world,
The Armageddon of the race.

J. W. Bull, of Baltimore, published, in 1859, two discourses by F. E. Pitts, of Nashville, Tenn. The first of these addresses, which was delivered in the great hall of the Capitol in February, 1857, is entitled: *Defense of Armageddon; or, Our Great Country Foretold in the Holy Scriptures*; and the title of the second discourse is: *The Battle of Armageddon; or the World's Last Conflict between Civil and Religious Liberty on the One Side, and Political and Ecclesiastical Despotism on the Other*.¹⁰ Charles Francis Adams lectured at the Johns Hopkins University, Feb. 17, 1914, on *The Armageddon of Lancashire*. An article, by Harold Kellock, in the *Century Magazine* for May, 1914, pp. 75-82, describing the war that is being waged in New England against the gipsy- and the brown-tailed moths, is entitled *The Winged Armageddon*. A clever (but untrustworthy) editorial in the *New York World* (reprinted in the *Baltimore Sun*, June 11, 1914, p. 6, col. 7) pretending that Hearst and Roosevelt are *twin souls* having almost everything in common concludes with the paragraph: *Armageddon is big enough for both of them, and Mr. Hearst is not averse to battle for the Lord provided the gate receipts are equitably divided.*

On August 9, 1912—I had just returned from Europe, after

having attended the Oriental Congress at Athens—the Editor of the Baltimore *Evening Sun* called me up over the telephone, asking me whether I had seen Roosevelt's reference to Armageddon at the end of his speech in Chicago on August 5; he was especially anxious to know whether Roosevelt likened himself to King Josiah of Judah or to Pharaoh Necho of Egypt. I said, I had not read Roosevelt's speech, but I should look it up, and let him know. After about an hour I gave the desired information, and the same evening the *Sun* published nearly a column stating, I had confessed that I had never heard of Armageddon, but that it might have been one of the great Babylonian battle-fields on the borders of Asia; the name probably meant The Mount of Magedom.—

Now *Armageddon* (or, more correctly, *Har-Magedon*) means, of course, *The Mount of Mageddon*, and *Mageddon* is the Septuagintal rendering of the Hebrew *Megiddo(n)* which is one of the oldest cities in Palestine. It is referred to in the Amarna Tablets about 1400 B. C. In some reports of Egyptian officials, about B. C. 1500, contained in the new Petersburg papyrus recently published by Golenischeff,¹¹ Megiddo appears at the head of the Canaanite cities (OLZ 17, 105. 202; cf. *Mic.* 25, n. *). Megiddo is the modern *Lejjûn* on the road from *Jenin* (at the southeastern end of the Plain of Jezreel) to *Haifâ* on the Mediterranean. The *Mount of Megiddo* is the ancient citadel of Megiddo, which is now known as *Tell el-Mutesellim*, i. e. *The Hill of the Prefect*. This site, which is about five minutes from *el-Lejjûn*, was excavated ten years ago (1903-5) under the auspices of the German Palestine exploration society.

Megiddo is connected with the Heb. *gēdūd*, troop, and means *place of troops, military station, garrison*. The modern Arabic name *el-Lejjûn*, which represents the Latin *legio*, legion, is a translation of the ancient designation, just as *Tell el-Kâdî* is a translation of *Dan*. Similarly *Nazareth* is a translation of the old name *Hethlon* (or rather *Hittalôn* = *Hinnathôn*; cf. ZDMG 63, 514, n. 10) and the ancient volcano which is called *Sinai* in the Old Testament is now known as *el-Bedr*.¹² Arab. *badr* means *full moon*, and *Sinai* is connected with the ancient Assyrian word for Moon, *Šin*, which means originally *change*.¹³

Har-Mageddon was a place of great strategic importance: it commanded not only the road along the southern edge of

the Plain of Jezreel, from the Jordan to the Mediterranean, but also the entrance to the Plain from the region south of Mount Carmel.¹⁴ The road from Egypt to Babylonia ran through this pass. The region around Megiddo held thrilling memories of battles of bygone days. Thutmosis III, perhaps the greatest Pharaoh in the history of Egypt, captured Megiddo about 1500, after he had defeated the kings of Canaan. King Ahaziah of Judah, the son of Jehoram and Ahab's daughter Athaliah, died at Megiddo after he had been hit by an arrow when he fled before Jehu about 840 B. C. King Josiah of Judah was defeated and slain at Megiddo when he ventured to oppose Pharaoh Necho II of Egypt in his expedition to the Valley of the Euphrates. Herodotus (2, 159) calls Megiddo Μάγδωλος, with *l* for *n*; Josephus (*Ant.* 10, 5, 1) has Μεγδη = מנדי = מגדו (EB 2611, n. 2). Also *Meroz* and *Merom* are corruptions of *Megiddo* (see below, p. 419).

The *Waters of Merom* must be identified with the *Waters of Megiddo*, i. e. the Kishon which drains the whole of the Plain of Jezreel and empties into the Mediterranean about half an hour east of Haifa. Next to the Jordan it is the largest stream in Palestine. One of the principal branches of the Kishon, which is sometimes called the head of the river, flowed through Megiddo. The modern Arabic name of the Kishon is *el-Mukāṭṭa'*. This does not mean *The Ford* (Arab. *mākṭa'* or *mūkṭa'*) but *cut*, i. e. *divided, branched*. *Kîshôn* is dissimilation for *Kûshôn*, just as the name of the first river of Paradise is *Pison*, *Pîshôn* for *Pûshôn* (AJSL 26, 212, i). In post-Biblical Hebrew we find even *nîmôs* for νόμος. *Kîshôn* = *Kûshôn* is connected with Arabic *ḥays* (Heb. *ḥêsh-eth*) bow and means *bowed, bent, curved, tortuous*.

Armageddon is mentioned in Rev. 16, 16 as the place of the last great battle against the kings of the world, not owing to its associations with the death of Ahaziah or the death of Josiah, but as the place of the great victory of the Israelites over the kings of Canaan, when *the stars of heaven fought against Sisera*. This battle began at Taanach by the Waters of Megiddo, about four miles SE of Megiddo. It is glorified in the great triumphal ode, preserved in the fifth chapter of the Book of Judges, which is generally held to be the oldest monument of Hebrew literature. It may have been composed about 1200 B. C. (IN 478).

The Israelites began to invade Palestine about 1400, whereas the ancestors of the Jews did not enter Palestine before 1100. The Israelites came from the northeast; the Jews from the south. The ancient Israelites, *i. e.* the forefathers of the Samaritans, were idolaters; Judah, on the other hand, is a collective name for the worshipers of JHVH. *King of Judah* is originally a title like the Mohammedan *Commander of the Faithful*. David forced the Israelites to adopt the worship of JHVH, but after the disruption of the empire (about 930) the Israelites relapsed again into idolatry.¹⁵

The chief deity of the pre-Davidic Israelites was not the volcanic god JHVH, but the pastoral deity Jacob who was worshiped at Beth-el in the form of a bull.¹⁶ He is referred to in the Song of Deborah as the *Abbîr Israël*, the Bull of Israel; his bellow represents the thunder which frightened the steeds of the Canaanite chariots so that they became unmanageable, and perished with their charioteers in the floods of the Kishon which had been swelled by a cloud-burst turning the surrounding country into an impassable morass. The elements were in league with the Israelites, or as the ancient poet expresses it, *the stars of heaven fought against Sisera*. A similar catastrophe befell the Turks in the battle against the French, which was fought near Mount Tabor on April 16, 1799: many of them who attempted to pass the morass in their flight perished. We must read in vv. 22. 21 of the ode:

22 Then clattered the hoofs of the steeds at the bellow of Israel's Bull;
21 Kishon's stream swept them away, extinguished the lives of his
strong ones.

22 אוֹיְהֶלְמוּ עֶקְבֵי סוּם מִדִּהְרוֹת אַבִּיר יִשְׂרָאֵל:

21 נָחַל קִישׁוֹן נִרְפָּם || דָּעַךְ נַפְשׁוֹתַי עֲזָוִיו:

Ley saw forty years ago that vv. 21 and 22 must be transposed,¹⁷ but his metrical analysis of the poem was erroneous. He believed that the ode consisted of nine irregular stanzas, and that the lines were octametric. Even Professor Moore in his learned commentary on *Judges* (p. 136) states that the prevailing rhythm of the poem has four beats to the line (or rather *hemistich*). But the ode consists of seven stanzas, and each stanza has five lines with 3 + 3 beats. Apart from the introductory stanza, the poem falls into two sections: A = stanzas ii-iv, and B = stanzas v-vii. The last two stanzas should be transposed so that the anxiety of Sisera's mother is depicted

before the death of Sisera. This must have been the sequence when the final gloss was added:

So perish thine enemies all, but be thy friends as the sunrise!

כִּי־אֵבְרוּ כָל אֵיבֶיךָ וְאֹהֲבֶיךָ כְּצֹאת הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ:

This epiphonema was originally addressed to Israel, not to JHVH; all the references to JHVH in the poem represent later additions, especially the description of JHVH's departure from Seir (vv. 4 and 5).¹⁸ The three lines of this Judaic illustrative quotation have displaced three lines of the first stanza, viz. the initial line of the poem, which is preserved in v. 10, and the last two lines of the first stanza, which may have been:
I'll sing

Of the march of Israel's myriads against Sisera, King of Megiddo;
Of the fight of the stars of heaven and fiery flashes of lightning.

In Hebrew:

בְּצֹאת רַבּוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל עַל־סִיסְרָא מֶלֶךְ מִגְדּוֹ:
בְּהִלָּחֶם כּוֹכְבֵי שָׁמַיִם עִם־אִשֶׁת לַפִּידוֹת בָּרָק:

The last hemistich is responsible for the tradition that the leader in the fight against Sisera was the wife of Lappidoth (*Torches*) and that she was aided by Barak (*Lightning*). The original poem contained no reference to Barak. Nor was there a prophetess Deborah. The fight against Sisera was led by Deborah, the modern *Debûrîye* at the northwestern foot of Mount Tabor, which was one of the oldest towns in Israel, *a mother in Israel* like Abel-Beth-Maacha (2 S 20, 19).¹⁹ The modern *Debûrîye* shows that the name of this place was not *Dabêrath*, but *Debôrath*. The statement in Jud. 4, 5 that Deborah was wont to sit under Deborah's palm between Ramah and Beth-el in the Highlands of Ephraim is due to a confusion with Deborah, the nurse of Rebekah (Gen. 35, 8).

Deborah was the ancient capital of Issachar. Issachar, north of the Plain of Jezreel, was aided by the Machirites in Ephraim, south of the Plain, and their Benjamite brethren in the south-eastern corner of Ephraim, near the mouth of the Jordan. Ephraim is not a tribal name; also Gilead in the gloss כִּי־גִלְעָד בְּעֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן שָׁכַן, *he dwelt in Gilead beyond the Jordan*, is a geographical name indicating the territory of Reuben. Reuben, east of Ephraim, across the Jordan, held aloof, as did also the two half-Israelitish tribes in the north, Dan and Asher.²⁰ Judah with the Simeonites and Levites²¹ is not mentioned at all; at the time of the battle by the Waters of Megiddo the

ancestors of the Jews had not entered Palestine. The references to Zebulun and Naphtali are later additions based on c. 4. According to the prose version, contained in that chapter, the Canaanites were defeated by 10,000 men from the tribes of Zebulun and Naphtali. C. 4 is later than c. 5 and, to some extent, based on misunderstandings of the ancient poem.

A third version is found in Josh. 11; here the leader of the Canaanites is called Jabin, as in Jud. 4, but the Israelitish victory is gained under the leadership of Joshua, and the battle is said to have been fought near the Waters of Merom. This is not Lake Hûle, about ten miles north of the Sea of Galilee, but *Merom* is merely a corruption of *Megiddo*. \mathfrak{G} has Μαρρων , with *n*, for *Merom*, and the original form of *Megiddo* was *Megiddon* with final *n*, as we find it in the final chapter of the Book of Zechariah and in the apocalyptic *Armageddon* (Rev. 16, 16). In v. 23 of the Song of Deborah *Megiddo* has been corrupted to *Meroz*; the ז corresponds to the ז , and the ר to the ר . In \mathfrak{GA} we have Μαζωρ instead of \mathfrak{GV} Μηρωζ , and in \mathfrak{GL} : Μαρωρ . *Meroz* was not a hamlet in the line of Sisera's flight, whose Israelitish inhabitants suffered him to escape; it is nothing but a corruption of *Megiddo*, and this must have been Sisera's capital. The Israelites did not curse it, but they destroyed it; אָרר is an archaic expression for הַחֲרִים , to *ban*, to devote to destruction (EB¹¹ 26, 685, below). \mathfrak{T} has לִוְטוּ וְתַבְרוּ . Instead of the imperative אָרְרִי we ought to read the perfect אָרַרְתִּי . The clause *said the Angel of Jahveh* is a misplaced gloss which belongs to the beginning of the third stanza: *Awake, awake, O Deborah!* The phrase *Angel of Jahveh* has often been substituted for the names of ancient Israelitish deities (ZDMG 63, 507, l. 8). Wellhausen says in the translation of the Psalms, in the Polychrome Bible (p. 176, l. 36): Judaism has turned the heathen gods into angels commissioned by יהוה to govern the foreign nations.

Sisera may have been the successor of Shamgar. Both names seem to be Hittite. In the days of Shamgar the Canaanites blockaded the trade routes traversing the Great Plain so that the Israelites in the mountains were cut off from the Mediterranean, but the Israelitish peasantry had ceased to march out for the fray; so we must supply after v. 7^a. V. 8^b, *No shield nor spear was seen among forty thousands of Israel*, must be inserted between 7^a and 7^b, *Till thou arosest, O Deborah*. The

first part of v. 8, יבחר אלהים חדשים does not mean, *They chose new gods*, but *God will select new ones*, i. e. new leaders, *when there is war at the gates*. Instead of the meaningless אִם לָחֶם שְׁעָרִים we must read עֵת לָחֶם בְּשַׁעְרֵי. The pious glossator wanted to emphasize his conviction that, if the gates of Jerusalem should be beset, God would elect new prophetic leaders like Deborah of old. The glossator may have had in mind Isaiah at the time of Sennacherib's siege of Jerusalem.²² This gloss may be post-Exilic, and the line in v. 11, *There they rehearsed Jahveh's deeds, His yeomanry's deeds in Israel*, must be assigned to the same period, not only on account of the Aramaic verb יִתְּנוּ, but also in view of the theological term צְדָקוֹת, *deeds, exploits, victories*, lit. *justifications, vindications*.²³

The preceding hemistich should be read: מִקּוֹל הַמַּחְצְצֵרִים בֵּין מִשְׁאָבִים, i. e. the Issacharites marched to the gates of Megiddo (read: יִרְדּוּ אֶל שַׁעַר מִגְדּוֹ) *at the trumpeters' call* (cf. 2 S 20, 1) *from the banquets*, lit. *in consequence of the sound of the trumpeters between the drinking-places*. In Joel's ancient poem on the locusts the catastrophe is announced to the wine-bibbers; the poet says:

Awake, ye tipplers, and weep! and howl, all bibbers of wine!²⁴

The ancient Israelites did not believe in abstinence; Amos (6, 4-6) speaks of the rich men in Samaria

Who lie on ivory sofas,	and sprawl on their dining-couches,
Snapping the lute o'er the sound-hole,	inditing words of song;
Who drink the purest wine,	and use the choicest perfume. ²⁵

4 השֹׁכְבִים עַל-מִטּוֹת הַשֵּׁן וְסוֹרְחִים עַל-עֲרֻשׁוֹתָם:

5 הַפְּרָטִים עַל-פִּי הַגָּבֶל חֲשֹׁבֵי-לֶחֶם מִלִּי שִׁיר:

6 הַשֹּׂתִים מִזֶּקֶי הַיַּיִן וְרֹאשֵׁי שְׂמֵנִים יִמְשְׁחוּ:

The Hebrew word for *banquet*, מִשְׁתֶּה, means *drinking-bout*, and מִשְׁאָבִים in v. 11 of the Song of Deborah may have the same meaning. Arabic *mis'ab* denotes a *skin-bottle*. In Hebrew, שָׁאב means, as a rule, not to *drink wine*, but to *draw water*; nevertheless מִשְׁאָבִים may mean *drinking-bouts* or large vessels from which the wine was dipped out and served to the guests. Milton (*Paradise Lost* 11, 718) says: *from cups to civil broils*.

As I stated above, the preceding verse (v. 10) contains the initial line of the ode. The poet begins: *Ye who ride on red-roan asses, and ye who walk on the road*, שִׁירוּ! This does not mean *Sing!* but *Attend!* i. e. *give attention, listen!* After having addressed the Israelites, both high and low, the poet apostro-

phizes the Cananite kings and princes. V. 3 must precede v. 2; the preposition ב at the beginning of v. 2 depends on the verb *אשרה*, *I will sing*, at the end of v. 3, just as we have in Psalm 138, 5: *וישירו בדרכי יהוה*, *they will sing of the ways of Jahveh*. Also in Arabic you say *غنى بشىء*. The clause *I will chant Jahveh, Israel's God* is a gloss. The poet wants to sing

בפרע פרעות בישראל בהתנדב עם

i. e. *of the locks that streamed in Israel, of the willingness of the people, viz. for war*. We must supply at the end: *לצבא*. Also at the end of the last stanza but one we must read instead of the meaningless *שלל לצנארי*, *two pieces of embroidery for the necks of the spoil*, *לכל צבאיו*, *for each of his warriors*. The plural *פרעות* does not mean *princes*, although it is so explained in the gloss which we find in v. 9: *My heart is for Israel's rulers, for the ardent among the people*; *פרעות* means *long hair*: at the beginning of a campaign the men let their hair grow long. Also *ראש פרעות אויב*, at the end of the Song of Moses in Deut. 32, 42, means *the long-haired head of the foe*. It has about the same meaning as *קדקד שער* in Psalm 68, 22.²⁶

Time will not permit me to discuss further philological details.²⁷ I will only remark that we must read at the beginning of v. 13 instead of the meaningless *או ירד שריר לאדירים*, *then he made a fugitive rule for the nobles*, *רבקו שדרות לאדירים*, *the ranks attached themselves to the nobles, the ranks followed the leaders*. In view of *מרחם קשחר לך*, *loyally attached to thee and eager to follow thee* in Ps. 110, 4 (JHUC, No. 114, p. 110) we might be tempted to read *שחרו שדרות לאדירים*; but *שחר* is an Assyrian loanword, which is found only in post-Exilic passages;²⁸ so we cannot have it in this ancient poem. There is a difference between *רבק ל* and *רבק ב*. The latter means *to be attached to*, the former *to attach oneself to*. The suggestion that *שריר* was a transposition of *שרר* was made by Winckler, but this emendation has been rejected by all expositors. It is hardly necessary to add that we must resort to several emendations, transpositions, excisions, and additions; the received text can be explained only by those who do not know Hebrew.

I will give in conclusion a metrical translation of the genuine lines²⁹ of the triumphal ode celebrating the Battle of Armageddon about 1250 B.C. The ancient Israelitish poet, who may have been a man of Deborah in Issachar, begins his pæan as follows:³⁰

The Battle by the Waters of Megiddo.

- i 10 ^aYe who ride on red-roan asses,^b
 ye who walk on the road, attend!
 3 Hear, O ye kings! Give ear
 O ye chieftains! ^cI will sing^d
 2 Of the locks that streamed in Israel,
 of the people's ardor^e *for war*;^f
 32 *Of the march of Israel's myriads*
 against Sisera, King of Megiddo;
 33 *Of the fight of the stars of heaven*
 and fiery flashes of lightning.^g
-
- A ii 6 In the days of Shamgar ben-Anath^h
 caravans {utterly} ceased,
 And those who had traveled on the roads
 had to take roundabout ways.
 7^a {} Israel's yeomanry ceased
 to march out for the fray:
 8^b [] No [shield] nor spear was seen
 among forty thousands of Israel,
 7^b Till thou arosest, O Deborah,
 arosest, a mother in Israel.^c
- iii 12^a Awake! Awake! O Deborah! (^d)
 awaken thy people's myriads!^e
 15^a Then {} Deborah's people, Issachar,^f
 sent down to The Plain its footfolk;
 14 From Ephraim, too, they descended,^g
 thy Benjamite brethren were with thee;
 From Machir came truncheon-bearers,
 from Issachar wielders of the ^hstaff;
 13 The ranks followed the nobles,ⁱ {}
 the people^j marched down as warriors.
- iv 15^b In Reuben's tribal branches
 the great held back in doubt:^k
 16 ^lThey dwelt at the fire-places^m
 to listen to pastoral flutes.
 17 Dan ⁿserved on foreign ships,
 and Zebulun^o dwelt near the shore.^p

- 18 But Issachar's $\lambda\{\mu\}$ people recked not
 of life $\{\}$ on the heights of the mounts:
 11 At the trumpeters' call from the banquets^ω
^{αα}they marched to the gates of *Megiddo*.

- B v 19^a The kings came and fought^{ββ}
 at Taanach by the Waters of Megiddo;
 20 In heaven fought the stars
 from their courses ^{γγ}against Sisera.
 22 Then clattered the hoofs of the steeds
 at the bellow^{δδ} of *Israel's* Bull,
 21 Kishon's stream swept them away,^{εε}
^{ζζ}extinguished the lives of *his* strong ones.
 23 They utterly banned Megiddo, ()
 they utterly banned her dwellers.^{ηη}

- vi 28 ^{θθ}Through the lattice-orient $\{\}$ peered
 and pried the mother of Sisera: $\{\}$
^{ιι}"His train is long in coming,
^{κκ}the steps of his chariots tarry."
 29 The wisest of her ladies answers,
^{λλ}replies to her anxious question:
 30 Behold, they will find^{μμ} spoil,
 a damsel or two for each head,^{νν}
 Spoil of dyed stuffs for Sisera,^{ξξ}
^{ππ}two broideries for each warrior."^{ρρ}

- vii 24 Blessed above women is Jael,^{σσ}
 blessed^{ττ} in the tents $\{\}$ of the nobles $\{\}$:
 25 Water he asked, she gave milk,
 curds in a bowl $\{\}$ did she bring him;
 26 Her hand she puts forth to the tent-pin,
 her right hand to the workmen's hammer;
 She hammered,^{υυ} shattered his head,
 battered and pierced his temples;
 27 At her feet he sank, he fell, $[\]$ ^{φφ}
 $\lambda\lambda\{\mu\mu\}$ [he lay] there $\{\}$ of life bereft.^{ωω}

(α) 1 at that time Deborah^a sang as follows (β) 10 who sit on colts
 (γ) 3 I to **ЈНѸН** (δ) I will chant **ЈНѸН**, Israel's God (ε) 2 praise **ЈНѸН**
 (ζ) 9 My heart is for Israel's rulers, for the ardent among the people.^b

- (7) 4 O JHVH, when from Seir Thou departedst,
 when from Edom's land Thou strodest,
 Then earth {and heavens} quaked, {}^e
 the welkin showered water;
- 5 Before Him^d mountains[^e] melted, []
 before fthe God of Israel. (9) 6 in the days of Jael
- (i) 8^a New ones will God select at the time they beset the gates.
 (z) 23 said the Angel of JHVH
 (λ) 12^b Arise, O Barak {}^g muster thy muster! {}
 (μ) 15^a thus Barak called *Zebulun and Naphtali to Kedesh* (v) 14 thither^h
 (5) 14 marshal's (o) 15^a the princes of Issachar (π) 13 of JHVH
 (p) 16^b as to Reuben's tribal branches, the great held back in doubt
 (σ) 16^a why did (τ) 17 in Gilead, beyond the Jordan, dwelt they
 (υ) why did he (φ) of the great sea (γ) 18 Zebulun (ψ) and Naphtali
 (ω) 11 They rehearsed there JHVH's deeds, His yeomanry's^k deeds in Israel
 (xz) then (ββ) 19 then fought the kings of Canaan
 (γγ) 20 they fought (δδ) 22 bellow (εε) 21 the stream drowned them
 (ζζ) Kishon's stream (ηη) 23 for they came not to the help of JHVH^l
 (θθ) 28 through the window (ιι) why is (κκ) why do
 (λλ) 29 also she herself (μμ) 30 divide (νν) man
 (ξξ) 30 spoil of dyed stuffs (οο) one^m or (ππ) as spoil
 (ρρ) 19^b gain of silver they took not (σσ) 24 the wife of the Kenite Heber
 (ττ) above women (υυ) 26 Sisera (φφ) 27 at her feet he sank, he fell
 (γγ) when he sank (ψψ) he fell
 (ωω) 31 So perish thine enemies all,ⁿ but be thy friends as the sunrise!^{o p}

- (a) 1 and Barak ben-Abinoam (b) praise JHVH (c) 4 showered
 (d) 5 JHVH (e) that is Sinai (f) JHVH (g) 12 ben-Abinoam
 (h) 14 to the Plain (i) 17 and dwelt at its creeks (k) 11 JHVH's people
 (l) 23 to the help of JHVH as fighters (m) 30 dyed stuffs (n) 31 O JHVH
 (o) 31 in its power (p) then the land was secure for forty years

Sisera and the allied kings of Canaan succumbed to Israel in the great battle by the Waters of Megiddo. The same fate will befall the kings of the earth *gathered to the battle of that great day of God Almighty*

For the last battle of the world,
 The Armageddon of the race.

Notes.

(1) Presidential Address at the Annual Meeting of the American Oriental Society, Boston, April 16, 1914.

(2) That is, the inhabitants of Maon (1 S 25, 2) which is represented by the modern *Khirbet Ma'in* (south of Hebron). See my paper *Bean and Amathitis* in *Actes du Seizième Congrès international des Orientalistes* (Athens, 1912) p. 64.

(3) See my paper *Joel's Poem on the Locusts* in $\Xi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\iota\alpha$, *Hommage international à l'université Nationale de Grèce* (Athens, 1912) p. 384.

(4) The older (Philoxenian) Syriac version (508 A. D.) has מַגְדוֹן; the later (Harclean) version (616 A. D.) אַרְמַגְדוֹן (cf. EB¹¹ 23, 212^b).

(5) See Nestle's article in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* (DB) vol. ii, p. 305^a, 5).

(6) TLZ = *Theologische Literaturzeitung*. For the other abbreviations (EB, EB¹¹, IN, JHUC, KAT, OLZ, WZKM, &c.) see this JOURNAL, vol. xxxii, p. 10, n. 11; cf. vol. xxviii, p. 112 and OLZ 16, 488.

(7) Contrast Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos* (Göttingen, 1895) pp. 263-266.

(8) See Haupt, *The Book of Micah* (Chicago, 1910) p. 50; cf. JAOS 32, 120.

(9) Cf. the letter of William G. Menchine in the *Baltimore Evening Sun* of August 13, 1912.

(10) Cf. the letter of Dr. Elbridge C. Price in the *Baltimore Evening Sun*, Aug. 15, 1912.

(11) Cf. Alan H. Gardiner's translation in the new *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. i, part 1 (London, January, 1914). I am indebted for this reference to Dr. A. Ember.

(12) Cf. E. Oberhummer in *Mitt. k. k. Geogr. Gesellschaft* in Wien, 1911, Heft 12, p. 637. This sacred mountain, which was visited by A. Musil (*Mic.* 57, 4) on July 2, 1910, is situated at about 27° N, 37° E, about a day's journey SW of the station *Dâr-al-Hamrâ* of the Hejâz Railway, about four days journey SE of Tebûk. A preliminary report of Professor Musil, who was accompanied by Dr. Leopold Koser, of the Geological Institute of the University of Vienna, was published in the *Anzeiger* of the philological-historical class of the Vienna Academy, May 17, 1911. Musil's explorations were briefly described in a cablegram from Vienna, printed in the *Baltimore American*, Dec. 11, 1910, also in the Berlin weekly *Das Echo*, July 6, 1911. According to *Musil*, the Hebrews followed a great trade route from Elath (ZDMG 63, 506, l. 12; 511, 41; 512, 8; 513, 2) in a southeastern direction. The stations of this route may be easily traced. They lead to a large and well-watered plateau, bounded on the east by the *Harrat al-Rhâ*. From this plateau there rises a long table-mountain of sandstone

with a high, pitch-black volcano on its flattened summit. Below this extinct volcano there are two narrow lava-streams less than 4,000 years old. This table-mountain is entirely isolated. At the foot of the northern side of the mountain there are twelve large blocks of sandstone, known as *al-madâbih*, Heb. *mizbehôth*, sacrificial altars. Similar blocks are found at the western end. On the southern side are The Caves of the Servants of Moses, Arab. *magâ'ir 'abid Mûsâ*. From this region the Edomite ancestors of the Jews proceeded northward, afterwards invading Palestine from the south. Cf. my paper *The Burning Bush and The Origin of Judaism* in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. xlviii, No. 193 (Philadelphia, 1909), pp. 360. 361. 364-366. Oberhummer (*loc. cit.* 633) has called attention to the fact that the statement in Baedeker's *Palästina*¹ (1910) p. 197 with regard to the *Jabal Barghîr* or *Jabal an-Nûr* in the neighborhood of Elath is incorrect. Contrast Kittel's *Gesch. Isr.*² (Gotha, 1912) p. 510, n. 3.

(13) Cf. ZDMG 63, 517, l. 37; AJSL 22, 256; 26, 9.

(14) Cf. Geo. A. Smith, *The Historical Geography of Palestine*, pp. 386. 389.

(15) Cf. Haupt, *The Book of Micah* (Chicago, 1910) p. 19, n. 18; p. 36, n. 38; cf. JBL 32, 32. 33.

(16) Cf. Haupt, *Micah*, p. 19, n. 17. The horns of the altar are a survival of the pre-Davidic Israelitish bull-worship (DB 1, 77^a; 342^b; EB 124, 5; 631). Ps. 118, 27^b, which should be inserted after v. 20, means: *With palm-branches join the procession, aye, up to the horns of the altar!* Cf. אִיסוּר, reunion, social gathering, Succ. 45^b. See my paper in ZAT 35, part 2.

(17) See Julius Ley, *Grundzüge des Rhythmus, des Vers- und Strophenbaues in der hebräischen Poesie* (Halle, 1875) p. 218, n. 1; Zapletal, *Das Deborahlied* (Freiburg, 1905) p. 39; cf. E. Sievers, *Metr. Stud.* (Leipzig, 1901) pp. 418-420; E. König, *Die Poesie des AT* (Leipzig, 1907) pp. 29. 31. 57.

(18) See my paper on *Leah and Rachel* in ZAT 29, 286; cf. also JAOS 32, 17; ZA 28, 241, l. 5; contrast JBL 32, 33; Zapletal, *op. cit.* p. 10. For illustrative quotations cf. BL 26; Mic. 28, 28; 34, 28; 40, 40.

(19) See Carl Niebuhr, *Versuch einer Reconstellation des Deborahliedes* (Leipzig, 1894) pp. 11. 44; H. Winckler, *Gesch. Israels*, ii (1900) pp. 126. 131; Cheyne, *Crit. Bibl.* (1904) p. 450.

(20) The text, it may be supposed, read originally *Zebulun* instead of *Asher*; cf. Gunkel's *Genesis*³ 483. The suggestion that the original text may have been זָבֻלֵן וְזָבֻלֵן is gratuitous. See also Gressmann, Gunkel, &c, *Die Schriften des AT in Auswahl übersetzt*, Part 24 (Göttingen, 1913) p. 178.

(21) For the meaning of the term *Levites* see ZAT 29, 284, A. 6, und 286. There is no etymological connection between *Levi* and *Leah* (JBL 32, 47).

(22) See my paper *Micah's Capucinade* (JBL 29) p. 86, below, and *The Book of Micah* (AJSL 27) p. 23; cf. *ibid.* p. 14, nn. 4. 5; p. 29, n. 33.

(23) Cf. *Mic.* 36, 36, also ZAT 22, 168, cited by Zapletal, *op. cit.* p. 30. Syr. זְכוּתָא means both *justification* (acquittal, innocence) and *victory*.

(24) See my translation in the paper cited above, n. 3. The Hebrew text (in Hebrew characters, not in transliteration) is given in the *Boston Jewish Voice*, Nov. 28, 1913.

(25) See my paper on the Trumpets of Jericho in the *Vienna Oriental Journal* (WZKM) 23, 364, below. The noun מוֹרֵק means *decantation* or *racking* (EB¹¹ 28, 718^b). Cf. also *Mic.* 94, n. *. Heb. רֵאשִׁית שְׁמָנִים = Assyr. *šaman rēšti* (HW 671^a, below; 607^b).

(26) See my translation of this Maccabean pæan in AJSL 23, 223, x.

(27) See my remarks on the Hebrew text of Jud. 5 in the Wellhausen *Festschrift* (Giessen, 1914) pp. 216-223; cf. the article *Zum Deborahliede* in ZAT 34, pp. 229-231.

(28) Cf. my explanation of Ps. 110 in ZAT 35, part 2.

(29) At the January meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society Sir Charles J. Lyall discussed the relations between ancient Arabic poetry and ancient Hebrew songs in the OT (TLZ 39, 254). I stated in my paper *The Religion of the Hebrew Prophets*, in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions*, vol. i (Oxford, 1908) p. 272, that, if the glosses of an illustrative or theological character were eliminated, the genuine prophecies of Amos read like ancient Arabic poems; see also my *Bibl. Liebeslieder* (Leipzig, 1907) p. liii.

(30) The metrical reconstruction of the Hebrew text is given on pp. 225 and 224 of the Wellhausen *Festschrift*.

Stage-emendations in the Uttara-Rāma-charita.—By SHRI-PAD KRISHNA BELVALKAR, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

For the last two years or so I have been engaged in preparing for the Harvard Oriental Series an edition of Bhavabhūti's Uttara-Rāma-charita. The work is to be in three volumes. The first volume, which contains a general introduction and an English translation, will be out in three or four months. The second contains—besides the text in Sanskrit and Prākṛit, an index to first lines, and a glossary of Prākṛit words with their Sanskrit equivalents—some five appendices giving among other things the results of the application of certain verse tests to the three extant plays of Bhavabhūti with a view to determine their chronological sequence. The last volume is devoted to notes, variant readings, and critical apparatus, and a few more appendices discussing topics such as 'text-tradition of the play', 'stage-conditions in ancient India', and so forth. The last two volumes are being printed in the Nirṇaya Sagar Press of Bombay, and although more than half the text is already in type, still owing to the distance at which the work has to be carried on, it will be some time next year before these volumes are actually published. The subject matter of the following paper is taken from two appendices in the third volume.

Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum lists some eighty five manuscripts of the Uttara-Rāma-charita (text and commentaries), and in the lists of manuscripts published since 1903 I have noted some thirty new manuscripts; so that, even after allowing for repetitions in the lists and for loss of manuscripts, the number of manuscripts that are available for constituting the text of the play is well over a hundred. Of course not all these manuscripts would be ultimately valuable, but it is at least necessary to examine them, if it be merely to discard

them later; and I intended to do so before actually publishing my edition. However this is a task that may easily take years, and since, strangely enough, in spite of the fact that there are some twelve Indian editions of the play, no Occidental edition of it has so far appeared, I was advised to put forth at first a tentative edition of the play, going back to it and preparing a second definitive edition as early as I could. The present edition accordingly is based on only eight manuscripts.

The selection of these particular eight manuscripts was made for various reasons. In the first place, I tried to get together manuscripts from parts of India widely different from each other, such as Madras and Nepal, Poona and Calcutta, Guzerat and Vizagapatam. Secondly, the manuscripts are written in four different characters: Nevārī, Devanāgarī, Grantha, and Telugu, only the first two of which slightly resemble each other in the form of their letters. Lastly, the manuscripts belong to different ages, ranging from the twelfth to the nineteenth century, and at least four of these eight manuscripts have independent value. Hence the results yielded by a careful collation of these manuscripts, although admittedly tentative, may at least be regarded as sufficiently plausible. I shall give a few significant illustrations.

The 27th stanza of the fifth act of the Uttara-Rāma-charita runs as follows:

*Ajitam puṇyam ūrjasvi kakutsthasyeva te mahāḥ
Śreyase śāśvato Devo Varāhaḥ parikalpatām.*

Instead, the commentator Virarāghava and three of the eight manuscripts used for my edition give a prose passage identical with the above stanza in the beginning and end¹. One of these manuscripts is the oldest extant manuscript of the play, being dated Samvat 309 of the Nepal era, which corresponds to the year 1196 of the Christian era. This fact therefore gives us a line of manuscripts genetically descended from an original exemplar of the twelfth century or earlier. Owing to a fracture or a peeling off of the leaf at this particular place, the original exemplar apparently had a lacuna which in a conscientious copy would be indicated by a blank. This later came to be filled in by the insertion of a few words which along with

¹ The identical portions are un-italicized.

the beginning and the end could give some sort of a meaning to the whole passage such as we find it in the printed editions of the play with Virarāghava's commentary. Manuscripts which give the original stanza intact I call A manuscripts; those which give the substitute prose passage I call B manuscripts.

In addition to the case above described there are a number of other cases—over seventy-five—where manuscripts of class A give consistently readings different from those of class B; and while some of these variations can conceivably be explained away as scribal errors, there are others where a deliberate change of some sort seems to be in evidence. I shall cite only one instance, which comes from the prologue at the beginning of the play. All A manuscripts read the first half of the second stanza thus:

Yam Brahmāṇam iyaṁ Devī Vāg vaśyevānuvartate,
while the B manuscripts read:

Yam Brahmāṇam iyaṁ Devī Vāg vaśyevānvavartata;
where there is a deliberate change of tense—from 'anuvartate', present, to 'anvavartata', imperfect. The original reading described Bhavabhūti as one 'on whom the Goddess of Speech attends as a submissive handmaid'; while the other reading—presumably introduced after the poet's death—describes him as one 'on whom the Goddess of Speech attended as a submissive handmaid'.

Other cases of variation were in the same fashion submitted to a careful scrutiny, and as a result I am able to group the changes under the following headings.

1. **Omissions.** I shall mention three of the most significant places where A manuscripts give the passage and B manuscripts omit it. The passages are¹: act vii, stanza 38; act i, stanza 31 and the three speeches immediately preceding; and act iii, the whole passage from stanza 21 to the end of Rāma's speech following stanza 24. This last omission covers four stanzas, and fourteen lines of prose. Now it is of course possible to explain omissions as due to errors of vision or the accidental loss of an intervening leaf. But this explanation does not readily commend itself in a place where the passages omitted happen to be just the passages that we would like

¹ My references are to the Nirṇaya Sagar edition of the play with Virarāghava's commentary.

to see omitted, or, at any rate, such as a company of actors wishing to stage the play would inevitably omit as being not necessary to the action of the play. The three cases selected are of this nature.

2. **Alterations** both in the order and the wording of a passage. These occur quite frequently and, in many cases, the two or more available variants are equally good. Some of the changes are of such a radical nature and are often such distinct improvements that one is led to ask whether it is Bhavabhūti himself revising and perfecting the earlier form of the work. Such a procedure would be just in the manner of the poet.

3. **Insertions** and modifications in the stage-directions and other minor changes calculated to assist the actor in interpreting his part correctly, or to produce dramatic vividness. Of the former kind, I have been able to put together some twenty or twenty-five instances where the B manuscripts usually give a stage-direction or a form of address more precise or more exactly corresponding to the character and the occasion. Of the latter kind I will mention just one instance. Act iii, stanza 26, reads as follows (I give the English translation):

‘Thou art my life, my second heart; thou art the moonlight to my eyes, and to my body the immortal ambrosia’: with these and a hundred other words of endearment her simple and loving soul thou didst beguile; and her now—alas! why utter the rest?

At the conclusion of the stanza the speaker, Vāsantī, goes into a swoon. Now if Vāsantī was going to swoon at all, the best opportunity for it was of course the word ‘alas’. Instead she waits to complete the stanza, saying ‘I shall not talk any more’ (but go quietly into a swoon)! In a case like this the acting version would certainly omit the last words of the stanza, ‘why utter the rest?’—and this is just what some manuscripts of class B do.

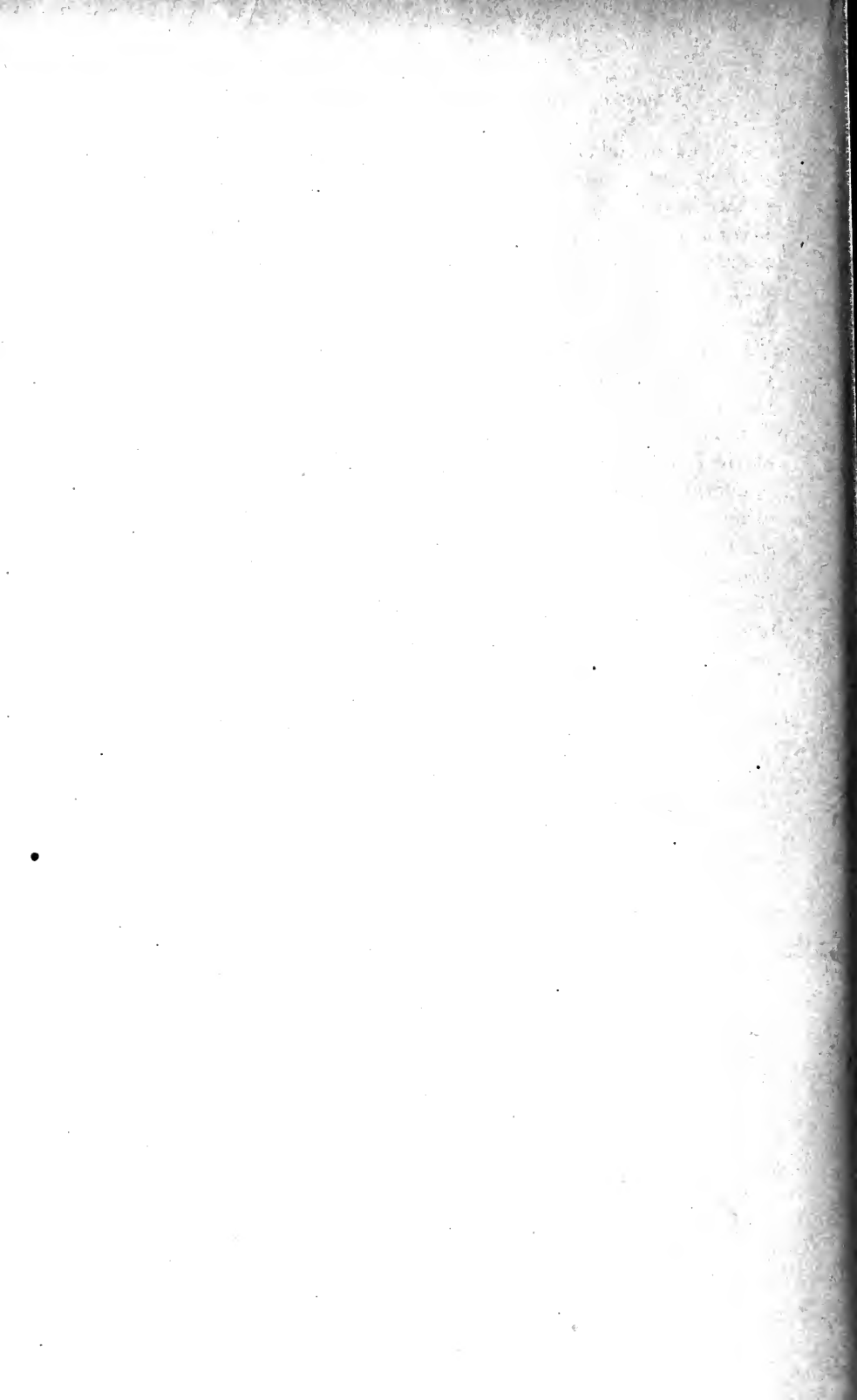
I shall not inflict any further details upon you, but merely state my conclusion. The Uttara-Rāma-charita has come down to us in two sufficiently distinct text-traditions, and one of these gives us a number of characteristic divergences which are best explained as successive stage-emendations, most of them introduced after Bhavabhūti’s death and in the course

of the later stage-history of the play, although a few of them may well have come from the poet himself. That the Uttara-Rāma-charita had a stage-history I infer from a passage in the Prithvirāja-vijaya, a poem of the twelfth century which has survived to us in only one incomplete manuscript written on birch-bark, and which I am at present editing for the Bibliotheca Indica series of Calcutta.

Assuming the truth of this result I draw from it two further corollaries. The first I should rather state as a problem. We know that Kālidāsa's Śākuntala has come down to us in two or three or four recensions, and scholars are still disputing as to which of them is genuine. Now would it not be possible, I wonder, after a scientific study of *all* the available manuscript material, to come down to two ultimate recensions of the play, the differences between them being not necessarily greater than those between the first and the second quarto of Hamlet? In that case both would be genuine, one being the acting version of the other, possibly prepared by Kālidāsa himself. I have already found out some evidence in support of such a theory, but the whole problem is so intricate as well as interesting that I hope sometime to study it in a thorough manner and with the help of all the available material.

My second corollary is this: If in this manner we find reason to believe in the existence in ancient India of some sort of regular companies of actors who gave in a particular locality plays written for them by a more or less limited group of dramatists, then, in the very nature of the case, it is to be expected that the form, history, and development of drama would be different for different localities. A court-poet like Kālidāsa, for instance, would write dramas exclusively dealing with the life at court and especially in the harem. Open-air performances given at fairs—such as those of Bhavabhūti—would differ from them not only in the theme selected, but also in the stage-conditions, by which I mean not merely the stage-properties but also the nature of the audience, which would have a deciding influence on the form of the drama. Viewed in this light the ten *rūpakas* of Hindu dramatists, some of which under a more or less disguised form exist in India even to the present day, would acquire quite a new significance. In any case these considerations will at least

teach us caution in making any sweeping generalizations regarding the Indian drama. In India no less than in Greece or Mediaeval Europe the drama as an institution came into existence in answer to a felt demand on the part of the people, and the different forms which it probably assumed in different Provinces were due to differences of environment. Hindu drama was not, as is sometimes thought, a form of literary exercise in a dead language. Sanskrit for that matter is not even now in any real sense of the term a *dead* language. Often it happens to be the only available means of communication between scholars in different parts of India. Even now at times there are revivals of old Sanskrit plays such as the Śākuntala or the Mudrā-Rākshasa: I have myself seen the former given by a regular professional company. To understand a play rightly we must therefore study the stage-conditions, partly with the help of direct statements as given in Bharata's Nāṭya-śāstra and partly in the light of such indirect testimony as the extant dramas afford us. I may announce here in passing that I have at present on hand a critical edition of Bharata's Nāṭya-śāstra to be published under the auspices of the Harvard Oriental Series.



PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

AT ITS
MEETING IN BOSTON AND CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

1914

The annual meeting of the Society, being the hundred twenty-sixth occasion of its assembling, was held in Boston and Cambridge, Mass., on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday of Easter Week, April 16th, 17th, and 18th, 1914.

The following members were present at one or more of the sessions:

Abbott	Cunningham	Kellner	Quackenbos
Anesaki	Dennis, J. T.	Kent, R. G.	Ropes
Arnold	Edgerton	Lanman	Schoff
Asakawa	Fisher	Lyon	Sprengling
Atkinson	Haas	Missirian	Steele
Barret	Haupt	Moore, G. F.	Thompson
Barton	Hopkins	Moore, Mrs.	Warren, W. F.
Bates, Mrs.	Hussey, Miss	Nies, J. B.	Werren
Belvalkar	Jackson	Ogden, C. J.	Winslow
Channing, Miss	Jackson, Mrs.	Olipphant	Woods
Chester	Jastrow	Price	Worrell
Clay			TOTAL: 45.

The first session was held in the House of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 28 Newbury Street, Boston, beginning at 11 a. m., the President, Professor Paul Haupt, being in the chair.

The reading of the minutes of the meeting in Philadelphia, March 25th, 26th, and 27th, 1913, was dispensed with, because they had already been printed in the *Journal* (vol. 33, part 4, pages i-xi).

The Committee of Arrangements presented its report, thru Professor Lanman, in the form of a printed program. The succeeding sessions were appointed for Thursday afternoon at three o'clock, Friday morning at half past nine, Friday afternoon at three, and Saturday morning at half past nine. It was announced that there would be an informal meeting of the members on Thursday evening; that the members of the Society were invited to be the guests of the resident members at luncheon at half past twelve on Friday, the men at the Harvard Club and the women at the College Club; that the session on Friday afternoon would be devoted to papers dealing with the historical study of religion and to those of a more general character; and that the annual subscription dinner would take place on Friday at half past six at the Colonial Club, Cambridge.

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

The Corresponding Secretary, Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, presented the following report:

During the past year the correspondence of the Society has been fully as large as in previous years, if not actually larger. The majority of the communications received naturally came from different parts of America and Europe, but some came from the Orient itself, Japan, India, Persia, and other parts of Asia being represented.

A memorandum that may interest the Society came from Capt. Cornelius C. Smith, of the U. S. Army, who was for a number of years in the Philippines, but is now stationed at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. He writes (Feb. 8, 1914) that he is engaged on a book to be entitled 'Mindanao and its People', which will be appropriately illustrated and will deal not only with the Moros and the pagan wild tribes, but also with the fauna and flora of the island.

Two notes worth mentioning came from Mr. Benjamin Burges Moore, now traveling in Central Asia and Persia, who has been proposed for election to membership at this meeting. At Samarkand he took pains to examine and carefully measure the Kōk Tash, or coronation-stone, which Tamerlane and his successors mounted when they were crowned. This historic stone has been described by several travelers, notably by Schuyler, and was inspected also by me in 1910. Mr. Moore notes that there are no arabesque inscriptions on it, as is sometimes stated, but only an ornamental design; the stone itself, a gray composite, is 0.65 m. in height and rests upon a base of two blocks, each 0.13 m. in height. Mr. Moore's journey across Northern Persia from Mashhad to Teheran was a severe

one thru heavy snows and took 17 days. He notes that at Damghan 'they are finding prehistoric bodies and remains'. He 'was taken into the mosques at Semnan and took photographs'.

The Corresponding Secretary attended the annual meeting of the American Year Book Corporation in January as representative of the Society. The American Year Book, besides being valuable as a general record, gives appropriate space to Oriental matters and to Oriental scholarship in America, and it is to be hoped that the members of the Society will lend their support to this undertaking by subscribing for the volume each year.

Two members have been taken from us by death during the past year.

The Rev. Samuel Rolles Driver, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford, and canon of Christ Church since 1883, died Feb. 26, 1914, at the age of 68 years. As teacher, author of numerous treatises on Biblical and Hebraic subjects, and member of the Old Testament Revision Company from 1876 to 1884, he rendered signal service to Oriental scholarship. He was elected an honorary member of the Society in 1909.

The Rev. John L. Scully, Rector of St. Mary's Church, Lawrence Street, New York City, died March 11, 1914. He had been a member of the Society since 1908.

In concluding this report the Secretary wishes to express once again his appreciation of the continued co-operation of all those who are associated with him in the work of the Society.

Professor Jastrow spoke of the scholarly work of Professor Driver; Professor Barton, after adding to this tribute, referred to the achievements of Professor Wellhausen and moved that a committee of three be appointed to send him a congratulatory letter on the occasion of his 70th birthday. This motion was unanimously carried, and the chair appointed Professors Barton, Moore, and Jastrow.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

The annual report of the Treasurer, Professor F. W. Williams, was presented by Professor Jackson, as follows:

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS BY THE TREASURER OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR ENDING DEC. 31, 1913.

Receipts

Balance from old account, Dec. 31, 1912		\$ 1277.49
Annual dues	\$ 1002.75	
Sales of the Journal	175.16	
Coupons	150.00	
Life membership	75.00	
Dues on hand, undeposited	40.00	1517.91
		<hr/>
		\$ 2795.40

Expenditures

Printing of the Journal, Volume 33	\$ 1325.25	
Sundry printing and addressing	61.10	
Account book	2.25	
Cataloguing	92.76	
Editors' honoraria	200.00	
Subvention to Oriental Bibliography	285.61	
Subvention to Dictionary of Islam	50.25	
Interest written off (Savings Banks)	266.19	2283.41
Balance to new account		511.99
		<u>\$ 2795.40</u>

STATEMENT

	1912	1913
Bradley Type Fund	\$ 3178.21	\$ 3337.95
Cotheal Fund (with accumulated interest)	1380.38	1436.12
National Savings Bank deposit	225.51	234.61
2 Ch., R. I. & Pacific Ry. bonds (approx.)	1787.50	1780.00
1 Virginian Railway bond (approx.)	990.00	1000.00
	<u>\$ 7561.60</u>	<u>\$ 7788.68</u>

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE.

The report of the Auditing Committee, Professors Torrey and Oertel, was presented by Professor Jackson, as follows:

We hereby certify that we have examined the account book of the Treasurer of this Society and have found the same correct, and that the foregoing account is in conformity therewith. We have also seen the Society's bonds in his possession and compared the entries in the cash book with the vouchers and bank and pass books, and have found all correct.

NEW HAVEN, Conn., April 8, 1914.

CHARLES C. TORREY }
HANN S OERTEL } *Auditors.*

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

The Librarian, Professor Albert T. Clay, presented the following report:

In addition to the acknowledging of serial publications and accessioning of new books, the work of classifying and cataloguing the library has gone forward. The scheme of classification, which is brief, but adapted to the needs of the Library, is based on that of the Oriental Bibliography. We have classified and catalogued the books in Oriental science, Oriental history, geography, etc., linguistics, general and comparative, the Ural-Altaic group, the Indo-Chinese group, except Chinese (the cataloguing of which is now being done) and Japanese. The Semitic group is being arranged preparatory to final work, and the other groups will be classed in their turn.

The catalog of serial publications is being rapidly revised and the entries brought up to date, about two-thirds of the titles now being in the new catalog. It is our purpose to publish during the coming year a catalog of serial publications, as well as an index to the MSS. In this way the Library will be made accessible to the members of the Society. As soon as this has been accomplished it is our purpose to publish as a second part a catalog of the balance of the Library.

In this connection it gives me pleasure to mention the fact that I received on April 12th a check for \$200. from Professor J. R. Jewett for the work of the Library, this being his subscription for last year and this year. It has been turned over to the Treasurer for the Library fund.

Among the new books received within the year are the following:

- Bergsträsser, G. *Hunain ibn Ishāk und seine Schule*. 1913.
 Bharucha, S. D. *Pahlavi-Pāzend-English glossary*. 1912.
 Budge, E. A. W., *ed.* *Syrian anatomy, pathology and therapeutics, or "The book of medicines"*. 1913. 2v.
 Chatterji, J. C. *The Hindu realism*. 1912.
 Collected Sanskrit writings of the Parsis. pt. 3. Mainyoi Khard. 1912.
 Conant, C. E. *The Pepet law in Phillipine languages*. 1913.
 Dinshaw, V. *The date and country of Zarathushtra*. 1912.
 Friedlaender, I. *Die Chadhirlegende und der Alexanderroman*. 1913.
 Gerini, G. E. *Siam and its productions, arts, and manufactures*. 1912.
 The Kashmir series of texts and studies. v. 1. *The Shiva sūtra Vi-marshinī*. 1911. v. 3. *Kṣhemarāja. The Pratyabhijñā Hridaya*. 1911.
 Kerestedjian, B. *Quelques matériaux pour un dictionnaire étymologique de la langue turque*. 1912.
 König, E. *Das antisemitische Hauptdogma*. 1914.
 Kuka, M. N. *The antiquity of the Iranian calendar and of the era of Zoroaster*. 1913.
 Modi, J. J. *Anthropological papers*. 1912.
 Moulton, J. H. *Early Zoroastrianism*. 1913.
Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums. 6. Bd., 5.—6. Heft.
 Paffrath, T. *Zur Götterlehre in den altbabylonischen Königsinschriften*. 1913.
 Pahlavi text series. no. 1. *Mānushchihar. Epistles*. 1912. no. 2. *Pahlavi rivāyat*. 1913.
Porta linguarum orientalium. pars 16. Brünnow, R. E. *Arabische Chrestomathie*. 2. Aufl. 1913.
Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten. 11. Band, 4. Heft.
 Negelein, J. von. *Der Traumschlüssel des Jagaddeva*. 1912.
The sacred laws of the Aryas. v. 3. *The Prayaschitta Adhyaya*. 1913.
Studies in Jewish literature in honor of Kaufmann Kohler. 1913.
Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients. 1. Heft.
 Strothmann, R. *Das Staatsrecht der Zaiditen*. 1912.
 Swift, H. *A study of the Iloco language*. 1909.
 Tagore law lectures. 1910. Remfry, C. O. *Commercial law in British India*. 1912.
 Tate, G. P. *Seistan*. 1910—12. 2v.
 Tehmuras Dinshaw Anklesaria. *The social code of the Parsees in Sasanian times*. 1912.

Thierry, G. J. De religieuze beteekenis van het aegyptische koningschap.

1. De titulatuur. 1913.

Thompson, R. C. A new decipherment of the Hittite hieroglyphics. 1913.

Tiele, C. P. The religion of the Iranian peoples. pt. 1. 1912.

Vararāj Vamsāvatara. The history of Siam from A. D. 1350—1809. 1913, 3 v.

Zimmermann, R. Die Quellen der Mahānārāyaṇa-Upaniṣad. 1913.

REPORT OF THE EDITORS.

The report of the Editors of the Journal, Professors Oertel and Torrey, was presented by Professor Lanman, as follows:

A few slight typographical changes will be made in the next volume. The volume-number and date will hereafter be printed in Arabic numerals. The abbreviated title, together with the number of volume and part, will be printed on the back of each instalment. The separate paging of the Proceedings will be discontinued. Signatures will be added to each sheet, as a guide for the binder. It will be necessary to print the first and second parts of the new volume as one double number, to appear in July. This arrangement will make it possible to print two lengthy papers without a break.

All of the foregoing reports were severally accepted as presented.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS.

The following persons, recommended by the Directors, were elected members of the Society (for convenience the names of those elected at a subsequent session are included in this list):

HONORARY MEMBER

Professor C. Snouck-Hurgronje

CORPORATE MEMBERS

Mr. Arsène Aftandil	Prof. Robert Ernest Hume
Prof. Masaharu Anesaki	Rev. Frederic C. Meredith
Mr. Shripad K. Belvalkar	Rev. John Miller
Mr. Pierre A. Bernard	Mr. Garabed M. Missirian
Mr. Henry J. Cadbury	Mr. Benjamin Burges Moore
Mr. Clarence S. Fisher	Mr. Edward Theodore Newell
Mr. Kingdon Gould	Mr. Paul Bowman Popenoe
Mr. Philip S. Henry	Dr. Israel Schapiro
Prof. Jacob Hoschander	Rev. Henry Swift

ELECTION OF OFFICERS FOR 1914-1915

The committee appointed to nominate officers for the year 1914—1915, consisting of Professors Hopkins, R. G. Kent, and Ropes, reported thru Professor Ropes, as follows:

President—Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., of Philadelphia.

Vice-Presidents—Professor Hanns Oertel, of New Haven; Professor George A. Barton, of Bryn Mawr; Professor Richard J. H. Gottheil, of New York.

Corresponding Secretary—Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, of New York.

Recording Secretary—Dr. George C. O. Haas, of New York.

Treasurer—Professor Frederick Wells Williams, of New Haven.

Librarian—Professor Albert T. Clay, of New Haven.

Directors—The officers above named, and Professor Charles R. Lanman, of Cambridge; Professor Maurice Bloomfield, of Baltimore; Professor Robert F. Harper, of Chicago; Dr. William Hayes Ward, of New York; Professor Charles C. Torrey, of New Haven; Professor James H. Woods, of Cambridge; Professor Leroy Carr Barret, of Hartford.

The Committee desires to express its conviction that in introducing into the Board of Directors several new members they are meeting adequately a situation which has gradually grown up without intention, but which it would be advisable to change. They desire also to express the opinion that in their judgment it would be desirable in future to retire each succeeding President without election to the Board of Directors for a term of three years at least.

The officers thus nominated were thereupon duly elected.

After a recess of five minutes, the President delivered the annual address, the subject being 'Armageddon.' At 12:20 p. m. the Society took a recess until three o'clock.

SECOND SESSION.

The afternoon session was opened at 3:02 p. m., President Haupt being in the chair. The Society proceeded to the hearing of communications, in the following order:

Professor G. A. BARTON, of Bryn Mawr College: A cylinder inscription from Nippur of the time of the dynasty of Agade. — Remarks by Professor Jastrow.

Rev. Dr. J. B. NIES, of Brooklyn: On the origin of the Sumerian signs *dub*, *dubbin*, *amar*, and *lâl*.

Professor K. ASAKAWA, of Yale University: Some problems of the origin of the feudal land-tenure in Japan.

Dr. W. H. WORRELL, of Hartford Theological Seminary: An investigation of Arabic *h* and *h* with the Röntgen apparatus. (Illustrated with lantern slides.)

Mr. S. K. BELVALKAR, of Poona, India: Studies in Bhavabhūti's *Uttararāmacarita*. — Remarks by Professor Lanman, Dr. Abbott, and Professor Jackson. In reply to a question by Dr. Ogden, the author added some remarks on the Prakrit text of the drama.

Mr. F. A. CUNNINGHAM, of Merchantville, N. J.: The Sothic cycle used by the Egyptians. — Remarks and a question by Rev. Dr. Winslow and reply by the author. Further remarks by Professor Haupt.

Professor F. EDGERTON, of the University of Pennsylvania: Progress of the *Corpus of Vedic Variants*.

Professor F. EDGERTON: Vedic notes — 1. AV. 4. 27. 4; 2. AV. 4. 6. 3, *apaskambha*; 3. AV. 4. 5. 7. — Remarks by Professor Lanman and Dr. Ogden.

At six o'clock the Society adjourned for the day.

THIRD SESSION.

The members reassembled on Friday morning at 9:52 a.m. for the third session. The President, Professor Haupt, was in the chair. The reading of papers was resumed, as follows:

Professor E. W. HOPKINS, of Yale University: The priest and the frogs. — Remarks by Professor Edgerton.

Professor E. W. HOPKINS: The decapitation of Viṣṇu.

Dr. M. SPRENGLING, of Harvard University: Lexicographical notes on the Aramaic papyri from Elephantine.

Professor A. V. W. JACKSON, of Columbia University: Indo-Iranian notes. — Remarks by Professor Hopkins and Dr. Ogden.

Professor R. G. KENT, of the University of Pennsylvania: Note on Atharva-Veda 20. 127. 10. — Remarks by Professor Edgerton, Dr. Ogden, and Professor Lanman.

Dr. C. J. OGDEN, of Columbia University: Notes on the chronology of the Behistān inscription of King Darius. — Remarks by Professor Jackson.

Professor S. G. OLIPHANT, of Grove City College: The Vedic dual — Part 2: The dual in similes. — Remarks by Professor Barret.

Professor G. A. BARTON, of Bryn Mawr College: Religious conceptions underlying Sumerian proper names. — Remarks by Professor Jastrow and (later) by Professor Clay.

Rev. Dr. J. E. ABBOTT, of Summit, N. J.: On an ancient sword from Tibet. — Remarks by Dr. Nies and Professor Haupt.

Professor M. ANESAKI, of the University of Tokio: On two stones with Buddhist carvings and inscriptions. — Remarks by Professor Edgerton and Professor Hopkins.

Professor L. C. BARRET, of Trinity College: The Kashmirian Atharva-Veda, Book 4.

Professor F. EDGERTON, of the University of Pennsylvania: The Kashmirian Atharva-Veda, Book 6. — Remarks by Professor Lanman.

The President reported for the Directors that the next annual meeting would be held at New York on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday of Easter Week, April 8th, 9th, and 10th, 1915. He reported further that the Directors had reappointed Professors Oertel and Torrey as Editors of the Journal for the ensuing year.

After the election of Professor Snouck-Hurgronje as an honorary member and of two additional corporate members (included in the list above), the President announced the following appointments:

Committee of Arrangements for 1915: Professors Gottheil and Prince, and the Corresponding Secretary.

Committee on Nominations: Professor Barton, Dr. Nies, and Professor Edgerton.

Auditors: Professors Torrey and Hopkins.

Professor Barton (at the request of the Directors) presented a communication from the Asiatic Institute regarding the destruction of antiquities in China. After some discussion it was voted that a committee consisting of Professors Williams, Hirth, and Clay consider the matter and report next year to the Directors.

On motion the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

The American Oriental Society desires to express its thanks to the Board of Directors of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences for their hospitable welcome, to the President and Fellows of Harvard University for courtesies extended at the session held at the University, to the Harvard Club and the College Club for the privileges so generously offered, and to the Committee of Arrangements for the thoughtful provision made for the entertainment of the members.

At 12:35 p. m. the Society took a recess until three o'clock.

FOURTH SESSION.

The Society met for the fourth session at three o'clock in Brooks House, Harvard University, Cambridge. The President, Professor Haupt, was in the chair. The reading of papers was resumed, in the following order:

Mrs. D. M. BATES, of Cambridge: On some satin scraps inscribed with the vows of Buddhist nuns. — Remarks by Professor Lanman.

Mr. W. H. SCHOFF, of Philadelphia: Some features of the overland Oriental trade at the Christian era. — Remarks by Professor Edgerton and Dr. Nies.

Professor C. R. LANMAN, of Harvard University: Yoga-bhāṣya quotations. — Remarks by Professor Woods and Dr. Ogden.

Rev. Dr. A. YOHANNAN and Professor A. V. W. JACKSON, of Columbia University: Some wandering quatrains of Omar Khayyam. (Presented briefly by Professor Jackson.)

Professor P. HAUPT, of Johns Hopkins University: The Sumerian names of Egypt and Nubia.

Professor M. JASTROW, Jr., of the University of Pennsylvania: Medicine and magic in Babylonian and Assyrian incantations and ritual texts.

The Society adjourned at 4:25 p. m., to meet in New York on April 8, 1915 (the projected fifth session being omitted).

The following communications were presented by title:

Dr. F. R. BLAKE, of Johns Hopkins University: Apparent interchange between He and Aleph in Semitic.

Dr. E. W. BURLINGAME, of the University of Pennsylvania: Critical study of the *Dhammapada* Commentary.

Professor C. E. CONANT, of the University of Chattanooga: (a) Notes on the phonology of the Palau language (Caroline Islands); (b) R : L assimilation in certain Philippine languages.

Dr. A. EMBER, of Johns Hopkins University: (a) Are the 'Apuriu of the Egyptian inscriptions identical with the Hebrews? (b) The phonetic values of the signs for 'hand' and 'bolt' in the Egyptian alphabet; (c) Hermapion's translation of an Egyptian obelisk in Ammianus Marcellinus.

Professor E. W. FAY, of the University of Texas: Indo-Iranian word-studies, 2.

Professor R. GORTHEIL, of Columbia University: (a) Syriac folk-medicine; (b) A Hebrew inscription from Egypt.

Professor P. HAUPT, of Johns Hopkins University: Some Assyrian etymologies.

Professor E. W. HOPKINS, of Yale University: The dynasties of the Kali age.

Mr. W. S. KUPFER, of Columbia University: Some questions relative to the *Kautiliya Arthaśāstra*.

Professor M. L. MARGOLIS, of Dropsie College: The problem of quantity in the Hebrew vowel-system.

Professor J. D. PRINCE, of Columbia University: Striking phenomena in Sumerian.

Mr. G. P. QUACKENBOS, of the College of the City of New York: The Sanskrit poet Mayūra as viewed by other Indian writers.

Professor C. C. TORREY, of Yale University: Some less-known traditions from the prophet Mohammed.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

The number placed after the address indicates the year of election.

I. HONORARY MEMBERS.

- M. AUGUSTE BARTH, Membre de l'Institut, Paris, France. (Rue Garancière, 10.) 1898.
- Dr. RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR, C. I. E., Dekkan Coll. Poona, India 1887.
- JAMES BURGESS, C. I. E., LL. D., 22 Seton Place, Edinburgh, Scotland. 1899.
- Prof. CHARLES CLERMONT-GANNEAU, 1 Avenue de l'Alma, Paris. 1909.
- Prof. T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, Harboro' Grange, Ashton-on-Mersey, England. 1907.
- Prof. BERTHOLD DELBRÜCK, University of Jena, Germany. 1878.
- Prof. FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH, University of Berlin, Germany. 1893.
- Prof. ADOLPH ERMAN, Berlin-Steglitz-Dahlem, Germany, Peter Lennéstr. 72. 1903.
- Prof. RICHARD GARBE, University of Tübingen, Germany. (Biesinger Str. 14.) 1902.
- Prof. KARL F. GELDNER, University of Marburg, Germany. 1905.
- Prof. IGNAZ GOLDZIEHER, vii Holló-Utca 4, Budapest, Hungary. 1906.
- GEORGE A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., D.Litt., 1.C.S. (retired), Rathfarnham, Camberley, Surrey, England. Corporate Member, 1899; Hon., 1905.
- Prof. IGNAZIO GUIDI, University of Rome, Italy. (Via Botteghe Oscure 24.) 1893.
- Prof. HERMANN JACOBI, University of Bonn, 59 Niebuhrstrasse, Bonn, Germany. 1909.
- Prof. HENDRIK KERN, 45 Willem Barentz-Straat, Utrecht, Netherlands. 1893.
- Prof. GASTON MASPERO, Collège de France, Paris, France. (Avenue de l'Observatoire, 24.) 1898.
- Prof. EDUARD MEYER, University of Berlin, Germany. (Gross-Lichterfelde-West, Mommsenstr. 7.) 1908.
- Prof. THEODOR NÖLDEKE, University of Strassburg, Germany. (Kalbsgasse 16.) 1878.
- Prof. HERMANN OLDENBERG, University of Göttingen, Germany. 1910. (27/29 Nikolausberger Weg.)
- Prof. EDUARD SACHAU, University of Berlin, Germany. (Wormserstr. 12, W.) 1887.

- EMILE SENART, Membre de l'Institut de France, 18 Rue François I^{er}, Paris, France. 1908.
 Prof. ARCHIBALD H. SAYCE, University of Oxford, England. 1893.
 Prof. C. SNOUCK HURGRONJE, University of Leiden, Netherlands. (Witte Singel 84 a.) 1914.
 Prof. JULIUS WELLHAUSEN, University of Göttingen, Germany. (Weberstrasse 18a.) 1902.
 Prof. ERNST WINDISCH, University of Leipzig, Germany. (Universitätsstrasse 15.) 1890. [Total: 25]

II. CORPORATE MEMBERS.

Names marked with * are those of life members.

- Rev. Dr. JUSTIN EDWARDS ABBOTT, 120 Hobart Ave., Summit, N. J. 1900.
 Mrs. JUSTIN E. ABBOTT, 120 Hobart Ave., Summit, N. J. 1912.
 Dr. CYRUS ADLER, 2041 North Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1884.
 RONALD C. ALLEN, 148 South Divinity Hall, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1912.
 Miss MAY ALICE ALLEN, Northampton, Mass. 1906.
 Prof. MASAHARU ANESAKI, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1914.
 Prof. WILLIAM R. ARNOLD, (Harvard Univ.), 25 Kirkland St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.
 Prof. KANICHI ASAKAWA, Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn. 1904.
 Hon. SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL.D., 44 Wall St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.
 Prof. LEROY CARR BARRET, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1903.
 Prof. GEORGE A. BARTON, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1888.
 Mrs. DANIEL BATES, 35 Brewster Street, Cambridge, Mass. 1912.
 Prof. L. W. BATTEN, 418 West 20th St., New York. 1894.
 Prof. HARLAN P. BEACH (Yale Univ.), 346 Willow St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.
 SHRIPAD K. BELVALKAR, care of Prof. Lanman, 9 Farrar St., Cambridge, Mass. 1914.
 Prof. HAROLD H. BENDER, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J., 1906.
 Rev. JOSEPH F. BERG, New Brunswick, 5 Seminary Place, N. J. 1893.
 PIERRE A. BERNARD, 662 West End Avenue, New York, N. Y. 1914.
 Prof. GEORGE R. BERRY, Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y. 1907.
 Prof. JULIUS A. BEWER, Union Theological Seminary, Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1907.
 Dr. WILLIAM STURGIS BIGELOW, 60 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1894.
 Dr. GEORGE F. BLACK, Public Library, Fifth Ave. and 42d St., New York, N. Y., 1907.
 Dr. FRANK RINGGOLD BLAKE, Windsor Hills, Baltimore, Md.
 Rev. PHILIP BLANC, St. Johns Seminary, Brighton, Mass. 1907.
 Dr. FREDERICK J. BLISS, Syrian Protestant College, Beirut, Syria. 1898.
 FRANCIS B. BLODGETT, General Theological Seminary, Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1906.
 Prof. CARL AUGUST BLOMGREN, Augustana College and Theol. Seminary, Rock Island, Ill. 1900. (825, 35th St.)
 Prof. MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1881.

- Dr. ALFRED BOISSIER, Le Rivage près Chambéry, Switzerland. 1897.
Dr. GEORGE M. BOLLING (Catholic Univ. of America), 1784 Corcoran St., Washington, D. C. 1896.
Rev. Dr. DAN FREEMAN BRADLEY, 2905 West 14th St., Cleveland, Ohio. 1911.
Prof. JAMES HENRY BREASTED, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1891.
Pres. FRANCIS BROWN (Union Theological Sem.), Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1881.
Rev. GEORGE WILLIAM BROWN, Jubbulpore, C. P., India. 1909.
Prof. RUDOLPH E. BRÜNNOW (Princeton Univ.) 49 Library Place, Princeton, N. J. 1911.
Prof. CARL DARLING BUCK, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1892.
HAMMOND H. BUCK, Division Sup't. of Schools, Alfonso, Cavite Provinces, Philippine Islands. 1908.
ALEXANDER H. BULLOCK, State Mutual Building, Worcester, Mass. 1910.
Dr. EUGENE WATSON BURLINGAME, 20 Graduate House, West Philadelphia, Pa. 1910.
CHARLES DANA BURRAGE, 85 Ames Building, Boston, Mass. 1909.
GRANVILLE BURRUS, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1912.
Prof. HOWARD CROSBY BUTLER, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1908.
HENRY J. CADBURY, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. 1914.
Rev. JOHN CAMPBELL, Kingsbridge, New York, N. Y. 1896.
Pres. FRANKLIN CARTER, LL. D., Williamstown, Mass.
Dr. PAUL CARUS, La Salle, Illinois. 1897.
Dr. I. M. CASANOVICZ, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. 1893.
Rev. JOHN S. CHANDLER, Madura, Southern India. 1899.
Miss EVA CHANNING, Hemenway Chambers, Boston, Mass. 1883.
Dr. F. D. CHESTER, The Bristol, Boston, Mass. 1891.
WALTER E. CLARK, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1906.
Prof. ALBERT T. CLAY (Yale Univ.) 401 Humphrey St., New Haven, Conn. 1907.
*ALEXANDER SMITH COCHRAN, Ritzcarlton, 5th ave. New York, N. Y. 1908.
*GEORGE WETMORE COLLES, 62 Fort Greene Place, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1882.
Prof. HERMANN COLLITZ, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1887.
Prof. C. EVERETT CONANT, Chattanooga, Tenn. 1905.
*ECKLEY B. COXE, Jr., 1604 Locust st., Philadelphia, Pa. 1913.
Rev. WILLIAM MERRIAM CRANE, Richmond, Mass. 1902.
FRANCIS A. CUNNINGHAM, 508 W. Maple St., Merchantville, N. J. 1912.
Rev. CHARLES W. CURRIER, 25 V. St., Washington, D. C. 1904.
Dr. HAROLD S. DAVIDSON, 1700 North Paysan St., Baltimore, Md. 1908.
Prof. JOHN D. DAVIS, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. 1888.
Prof. ALFRED L. P. DENNIS, Madison, Wis. 1900.
JAMES T. DENNIS, Woodbrook, Md. 1900.
Mrs. FRANCIS W. DICKINS, 2015 Columbia Road, Washington, D. C. 1911.
Rev. D. STUART DODGE, 99 John St., New York, N. Y. 1867.
Rev. WM. HASKELL DU BOSE, University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn. 1912.
Dr. HARRY WESTBROOK DUNNING, 5 Kilsyth Road, Brookline, Mass. 1894.
Dr. FRANKLIN EDGERTON, Univ. of Penna., Philada. Pa. 1910.
Prof. FREDERICK G. C. EISELEN, Garrett Biblical Inst., Evanston, Ill. 1901.

- WILLIAM T. ELLIS, Swarthmore, Pa. 1912.
 Prof. LEVI H. ELWELL, (Amherst College), 5 Lincoln Ave., Amherst, Mass. 1883.
 Dr. AARON EMBER, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1902.
 Rev. Prof. C. P. FAGNANI, 606 W. 122d St., New York, N. Y. 1901.
 Prof. EDWIN WHITFIELD FAY (Univ. of Texas), 200 West 24th St., Austin, Texas. 1888.
 Prof. HENRY FERGUSON, St. Paul's School, Concord, N. H. 1876.
 Dr. JOHN C. FERGUSON, Peking, China. 1900.
 Dr. HENRY C. FINKEL, District National Bank Building, Washington, D. C. 1912.
 Prof. CLARENCE S. FISHER, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1914.
 Rev. Dr. FONCK, Instituto Biblico Pontifico, Via del Archelto, Roma, Italia. 1913.
 Rev. THEODORE FOOTE, Rowland Park, Maryland. 1900.
 Dr. LEO J. FRACHTENBERG, Hartley Hall, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1907.
 Prof. JAS. EVERETT FRAME (Union Theological Sem.), Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1892.
 Dr. HERBERT FRIEDENWALD, 356 2nd Ave., New York, N. Y. 1909.
 Prof. ISRAEL FRIEDLAENDER (Jewish Theological Sem.), 61 Hamilton Place, New York, N. Y. 1904.
 Dr. WM. HENRY FURNESS, 3d, 1906 Sansom St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1913.
 ROBERT GARRET, Continental Building, Baltimore, Md. 1903.
 Miss MARIE GELBACH, Prospect Terrace, Park Hill, Yonkers, N. Y. 1909.
 EUGENE A. GELLOT 290 Broadway, N. Y., 1911.
 Prof. BASIL LANNEAU GILDERSLEEVE, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1858.
 Prof. ALEXANDER R. GORDON, Presbyterian College, Montreal, Canada. 1912.
 Prof. RICHARD J. H. GOTTHEIL, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1886.
 KINGDON GOULD, 165 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1914.
 Prof. ELIHU GRANT, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1907.
 Dr. LOUIS H. GRAY, 76 Devonshire Road Aberdeen, Scotland. 1897.
 Mrs. LOUIS H. GRAY, 76 Devonshire Road Aberdeen, Scotland. 1907.
 Miss LUCIA C. GRAEME GRIEVE, Martindale Depot, N. Y. 1894.
 Prof. LOUIS GROSSMANN (Hebrew Union College), 2212 Park Ave., Cincinnati, O., 1890.
 Rev. Dr. W. M. GROTON, Dean of the Protestant Episcopal Divinity School, 5000 Woodlawn Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1907.
 *Dr. GEORGE C. O. HAAS, 518 W. 140th St., New York, N. Y. 1903.
 Miss LUISE HAESSLER, 100 Morningside Drive, New York, N. Y. 1909.
 Mrs. IDA M. HANCHETT, care of Omaha Public Library, Omaha, Nebraska. 1912.
 NEWTON H. HARDING, 110 N. Pine Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1912.
 Prof. SAMUEL HART, D. D., Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn. 1879.
 Prof. PAUL HAUPT (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 215 Longwood Road, Roland Park, Baltimore, Md. 1883.
 PHILIP S. HENRY, 1402 Massachusetts Ave., Washington, D. C. 1914.

- Prof. HERMANN V. HILPRECHT, München, Leopoldstr. 8. 1887.
 Rev. Dr. WILLIAM J. HINKE, 28 Court St., Auburn, N. Y. 1907.
 Prof. FRIEDRICH HIRTH (Columbia Univ.), 401 West 118th St., New York, N. Y. 1903.
 *Dr. A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, 8 Northmoor Road, Oxford, England. 1893.
 Rev. Dr. HUGO W. HOFFMANN, 306 Rodney St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1899.
 *Prof. E. WASHBURN HOPKINS (Yale Univ.), 299 Lawrence St., New Haven, Conn. 1881.
 Prof. JACOB HOSCHANDER, Dropsie College, Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1914.
 WILSON S. HOWELL, Box 437, Pleasantville Station, N. Y. 1911.
 HENRY R. HOWLAND, Natural Science Building, Buffalo, N. Y. 1907.
 Dr. EDWARD H. HUME, Changsha, Hunan, China. 1909.
 Prof. ROBERT ERNEST HUME, 606 West 122d St., New York, N. Y. 1914,
 *Dr. ARCHER M. HUNTINGTON, 15 West 81st St., New York, N. Y. 1912.
 S. T. HURWITZ, 217 East 69th St., New York, N. Y. 1912.
 Miss MARY INDA HUSSEY, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1913.
 *JAMES HAZEN HYDE, 18 rue Adolphe Yvon, Paris, France. 1909.
 Prof. HENRY HYVERNAT (Catholic Univ. of America), 3405 Twelfth St., N. E. (Brookland), Washington, D. C. 1889.
 Prof. A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1885.
 Mrs. A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, care of Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1912.
 Prof. MORRIS JASTROW (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 248 South 23d St. Philadelphia, Pa. 1886.
 Rev. HENRY F. JENKS, Canton Corner, Mass. 1874.
 Prof. JAMES RICHARD JEWETT, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1887.
 Rev. Dr. C. E. KEISER, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1913.
 ARTHUR BERRIEDALE KEITH, Colonial Office, London, S. W., England. 1908.
 Prof. MAXIMILIAN L. KELLNER, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass. 1886.
 Prof. CHARLES FOSTER KENT (Yale Univ.), 406 Humphrey St., New Haven, Conn. 1890.
 Prof. ROLAND G. KENT, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1910.
 Dr. G. D. KHEIRALLA, Rapid City, S. Dak. 1913.
 Prof. GEORGE L. KITTRIDGE (Harvard Univ.), 9 Hilliard St., Cambridge Mass. 1899.
 RICHARD LEE KORTKAMP, Hillsboro, Ill. 1911.
 WALTER S. KUPFER, 20 Green St., New York, N. Y. 1913.
 Rev. Dr. M. G. KYLE, 1132 Arrow St., Frankford, Philadelphia, Pa. 1909.
 *Prof. CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN (Harvard Univ.), 9 Farrar St., Cambridge, Mass. 1876.
 Dr. BERTHOLD LAUFER, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Ill. 1900.
 H. LINFIELD, 52 Middle Divinity Hall, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1912.
 Prof. ENNO LITTMANN, Hainholzweg 44, Göttingen. 1912.
 PERCIVAL LOWELL, 53 State St., Boston, Mass. 1893.
 Dr. DANIEL D. LUCKENBILL, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1912.

- DR. ALBERT HOWE LYBYER, Urbana, Ill. 1909.
- *BENJAMIN SMITH LYMAN, 708 Locust St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1871.
- Prof. DAVID GORDON LYON, Harvard Univ. Semitic Museum, Cambridge, Mass. 1882.
- ALBERT MORTON LYTGOE, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1899.
- Prof. DUNCAN B. MACDONALD, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1893.
- C. V. MCLEAN, Port Perry, Ontario. 1912.
- Prof. HERBERT W. MAGOUN, 70 Kirkland St., Cambridge, Mass. 1887.
- Prof. HENRY MALTER, Dropsie College, Broad & York St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1913.
- Prof. MAX L. MARGOLIS, 1519 Diamond St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1890.
- Prof. ALLAN MARQUAND, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1888.
- Prof. WINFRED ROBERT MARTIN, Hispanic Society of America, West 156th St., New York, N. Y. 1889.
- C. O. SYLVESTER MAWSON, Box 886, Springfield, Mass. 1910.
- Rev. JOHN MEIGHAN, Dropsie College, Philadelphia, Pa. 1913.
- Prof. SAMUEL A. B. MERCER (Western Theol. Sem.), 2735 Park Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1912.
- Rev. FREDERIC C. MEREDITH, 32 Kita-kuruwa Cho, Maebashi, Jochu, Japan, 1914.
- J. RENWICK METHENY, "Druid Hill," Beaver Falls, Pa. 1907.
- MARTIN A. MEYER, 2109 Baker St., San Francisco, Cal. 1906.
- Dr. TRUMAN MICHELSON, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D. C. 1899.
- Rev. JOHN MILLER, Coudersport, Pa. 1914.
- Mrs. HELEN LOVELL MILLION, Hardin College, Mexico, Mo. 1892.
- Prof. LAWRENCE H. MILLS, 218 Iffley Road, Oxford, Engld. 1881.
- GARABED M. MISSIRIAN, Andover Hall, Cambridge, Mass. 1914.
- Prof. J. A. MONTGOMERY (P. E. Divinity School), 6806 Greene St., Germantown, Pa. 1903.
- BENJAMIN BURGESS MOORE, 109 East 38th St., New York, N. Y. 1914.
- Prof. GEORGE F. MOORE (Harvard Univ.), 3 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1887.
- *Mrs. MARY H. MOORE, 3 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1902.
- Prof. EDWARD S. MORSE, Salem, Mass. 1894.
- Rev. HANS K. MOUSSA, Jefferson, Wis. 1906.
- Prof. W. MAX MUELLER, 4325 Sansom St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1905.
- Mrs. ALBERT H. MUNSELL, 65 Middlesex Road, Chestnut Hill, Mass. 1908.
- Dr. WILLIAM MUSS-ARNOLT, Public Library, Boston, Mass. 1887.
- EDWARD THEODORE NEWELL, 321 Madison Square P. O., New York, N. Y. 1914.
- Rev. JAS. B. NIES, Hotel St. George, Clark St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1906.
- Rev. WILLIAM E. NIES, Port Washington, Long Island, N. Y. 1908.
- Rt. Rev. Mgr. DENNIS J. O'CONNELL, 800 Cathedral Place, Richmond, Va. 1903.
- Dr. FELIX, Freiherr von OEFELE, 326 E. 58th St. New York, N. Y. 1913.
- Prof. HANNS OERTEL (Yale Univ.), 2 Phelps Hall, New Haven, Conn. 1890.
- Dr. CHARLES J. OGDEN, 628 West 114th St., New York, N. Y. 1906.

- Miss ELLEN S. OGDEN, Hopkins Hall, Burlington, Vt. 1898.
Prof. SAMUEL G. OLIPHANT, Grove City College, Grove City, Penn. 1906.
Prof. ALBERT TENEYCK OLMSTEAD, 911 Lowry St., Columbia, Mo. 1909.
Prof. PAUL OLTRANARE (Univ. of Geneva), Ave. de Bosquets, Servette, Genève, Switzerland. 1904.
*ROBERT M. OLYPHANT, 160 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1861.
Prof. LEWIS B. PATON, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1894.
Dr. CHARLES PEABODY, 197 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1892.
Prof. GEORGE A. PECKHAM, Hiram College, Hiram, Ohio. 1912.
Prof. ISMAR J. PERITZ, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. 1894.
Prof. EDWARD DELAVAN PERRY (Columbia Univ.), 542 West 114th St., New York, N. Y. 1879.
Rev. Dr. JOHN P. PETERS, 225 West 99th St., New York, N. Y. 1882.
WALTER PETERSEN, Bethany College, Lindsborg, Kansas. 1909.
Prof. DAVID PHILIPSON (Hebrew Union College), 3947 Beechwood Ave., Rose Hill, Cincinnati, O. 1889.
Dr. ARNO POEBEL, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1912.
PAUL BOWMAN POPENOE, 511 Eleventh St., Washington, D. C. 1914.
Dr. WILLIAM POPPER, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1897.
Prof. IRA M. PRICE, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1887.
Prof. JOHN DYNELEY PRINCE (Columbia Univ.), Sterlington, Rockland Co., N. Y. 1888.
GEORGE PAYN QUACKENBOS, 331 West 28th St., New York, N. Y. 1904.
RAMAKRISHNA. PILLAI, Thottakkadu House, Madras, India. 1913.
Dr. CAROLINE L. RANSOM, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 5th Ave. and 82d St., New York, N. Y. 1912.
G. A. REICHLING, 466 Nostrand Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1912.
Dr. JOSEPH REIDER, Dropsie College, Philadelphia, Pa. 1913.
Prof. GEORGE ANDREW REISNER, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1891.
Prof. PHILIP M. RHINELANDER (Episcopal Theological Sem.), 26 Garden St., Cambridge, Mass. 1908.
ERNEST C. RICHARDSON, Library of Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1900.
J. NELSON ROBERTSON, 294 Avenue Road, Toronto, Canada. 1913.
EDWARD ROBINSON, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1894.
Rev. Dr. GEORGE LIVINGSTON ROBINSON (McCormick Theol. Sem.), 4 Chalmers Place, Chicago, Ill. 1892.
Prof. JAMES HARDY ROPES (Harvard Univ.), 13 Follen St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.
Dr. WILLIAM ROSENAU, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1897.
J. J. ROSENGARTEN, 1704 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1914.
Miss ADELAIDE RUDOLPH, 417 West 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1894.
Mrs. JANET E. RUTZ-REES, Rosemary Cottage, Greenwich, Conn. 1897.
Mrs. EDWARD E. SALISBURY, 237 Church St., New Haven, Conn. 1906.
Pres. FRANK K. SANDERS, Washburn College, Topeka, Kans. 1897.
Dr. ISRAEL SCHAPIRO, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. 1914.
JOHANN F. SCHELTEMA, care of Messrs. Kerkhoven & Co., 115 Heerengracht, Amsterdam, Holland. 1906.

- GEORGE V. SCHICK, 1045 Schick St., Fort Wayne, Ind. 1909.
 Prof. NATHANIEL SCHMIDT, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1894.
 WILFRED H. SCHOFF, Commercial Museum, Philadelphia, Pa. 1912.
 MONTGOMERY SCHUYLER Jr., Department of State, Washington D. C. 1913.
 Dr. GILBERT CAMPBELL SCOGGIN, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. 1906.
 Dr CHARLES P. G. SCOTT, 49 Arthur St., Yonkers, N. Y. 1895.
 *Mrs. SAMUEL BRYAN SCOTT (*née* Morris), 124 Highland Ave., Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.
 Rev. JOHN L. SCULLY, Church of the Holy Trinity, 312-332 East 88th St., New York, N. Y. 1908.
 Rev. Dr. WILLIAM G. SEIPLE, 1227 Madison Ave., Baltimore Md. 1902.
 Prof. CHARLES N. SHEPARD (General Theological Sem.), 9 Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1907.
 CHARLES C. SHERMAN, 614 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y. 1904.
 *JOHN R. SLATTERY, 14 bis rue Montaigne, Paris, France. 1903.
 Major C. C. SMITH, Fourth Cavalry, Ft. Leavenworth, Kan. 1907.
 Prof. HENRY PRESERVED SMITH, (Union Theological Seminary), Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1877.
 Prof. JOHN M. P. SMITH, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1906.
 ELY BANNISTER SOANE, care of Messrs. H. S. King & Co., 9 Pall Mall, London, S.W., England. 1911.
 Prof. EDWARD H. SPIEKER, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1884.
 MARTIN SPRENGLING, 18 Divinity Hall, Cambridge. 1912.
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CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS
OF THE
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

With Amendments of April, 1897.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I. This Society shall be called the AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

ARTICLE II. The objects contemplated by this Society shall be: —

1. The cultivation of learning in the Asiatic, African, and Polynesian languages, as well as the encouragement of researches of any sort by which the knowledge of the East may be promoted.

2. The cultivation of a taste for oriental studies in this country.

3. The publication of memoirs, translations, vocabularies, and other communications, presented to the Society, which may be valuable with reference to the before-mentioned objects.

4. The collection of a library and cabinet.

ARTICLE III. The members of this Society shall be distinguished as corporate and honorary.

ARTICLE IV. All candidates for membership must be proposed by the Directors, at some stated meeting of the Society, and no person shall be elected a member of either class without receiving the votes of as many as three-fourths of all the members present at the meeting.

ARTICLE V. The government of the Society shall consist of a President, three Vice Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Secretary of the Section for the Historical Study of Religions, a Treasurer, a Librarian, and seven Directors, who shall be annually elected by ballot, at the annual meeting.

ARTICLE VI. The President and Vice Presidents shall perform the customary duties of such officers, and shall be *ex-officio* members of the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE VII. The Secretaries, Treasurer, and Librarian shall be *ex-officio* members of the Board of Directors, and shall perform their respective duties under the superintendence of said Board.

ARTICLE VIII. It shall be the duty of the Board of Directors to regulate the financial concerns of the Society, to superintend its publications, to carry into effect the resolutions and orders of the Society, and to exercise a general supervision over its affairs. Five Directors at any regular meeting shall be a quorum for doing business.

ARTICLE IX. An Annual meeting of the Society shall be held during Easter week, the days and place of the meeting to be determined by the Directors, said meeting to be held in Massachusetts at least once in three years. One or more other meetings, at the discretion of the Directors,

may also be held each year at such place and time as the Directors shall determine.

ARTICLE X. There shall be a special Section of the Society, devoted to the historical study of religions, to which section others than members of the American Oriental Society may be elected in the same manner as is prescribed in Article IV.

ARTICLE XI. This Constitution may be amended, on a recommendation of the Directors, by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at an annual meeting.

BY-LAWS.

I. The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the Society, and it shall be his duty to keep, in a book provided for the purpose, a copy of his letters; and he shall notify the meetings in such manner as the President or the Board of Directors shall direct.

II. The Recording Secretary shall keep a record of the proceedings of the Society in a book provided for the purpose.

III. *a.* The Treasurer shall have charge of the funds of the Society; and his investments, deposits, and payments shall be made under the superintendence of the Board of Directors. At each annual meeting he shall report the state of the finances, with a brief summary of the receipts and payments of the previous year.

III. *b.* After December 31, 1896, the fiscal year of the Society shall correspond with the calendar year.

III. *c.* At each annual business meeting in Easter week, the President shall appoint an auditing committee of two men—preferably men residing in or near the town where the Treasurer lives—to examine the Treasurer's accounts and vouchers, and to inspect the evidences of the Society's property, and to see that the funds called for by his balances are in his hands. The Committee shall perform this duty as soon as possible after the New Year's day succeeding their appointment, and shall report their findings to the Society at the next annual business meeting thereafter. If these findings are satisfactory, the Treasurer shall receive his acquittance by a certificate to that effect, which shall be recorded in the Treasurer's book, and published in the Proceedings.

IV. The Librarian shall keep a catalogue of all books belonging to the Society, with the names of the donors, if they are presented, and shall at each annual meeting make a report of the accessions to the library during the previous year, and shall be farther guided in the discharge of his duties by such rules as the Directors shall prescribe.

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IX. Members of the Section for the Historical Study of Religions shall pay into the treasury of the Society an annual assessment of two dollars; and they shall be entitled to a copy of all printed papers which fall within the scope of the Section.

X. Six members shall form a quorum for doing business, and three to adjourn.

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EDITED BY

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1

Notes on the Phonology of the Palau Language. — By
CARLOS EVERETT CONANT, Professor in the University
of Chattanooga, Tenn.

1. *Geography.*—The group of twenty-six small islands known as Palau (Palao, Pelew, or Bälau)¹ lies to the West of the Carolines in the western Pacific at longitude 135 degrees East, and latitude five degrees North. About five hundred miles due West of the Palau group lies Mindanao, of the Philippine archipelago, and about 350 miles to the South the “head” of New Guinea. In 1899 Germany purchased the islands from Spain and since that time they have been considered a part of the Carolines. The population of the Palaus is, according to Fritz², about four thousand.

2. *Bibliography.*—Keate, George. *An Account of the Pelew Islands...* Composed from the Journal and communications of Captain Henry Wilson and some of his officers who, in August 1783, were there shipwrecked in the “*Antelope*”. London 1788. (The work concludes with a brief “Vocabulary of the Pelew Language” in which the native words are spelled according to English rules of orthography, e. g., too [Walleser *tu*] ‘banana’, *aeem* [Wall. *oim*] ‘five’. It was published in an anonymous French translation, *Relation des Iles Pelew*, in two volumes, 8vo, by Maradan, Paris, 1793, and in Spanish translation, *Relación de las islas Pelew*, by the bookseller Gómez Fuentenebro, Madrid, 1805).

¹ Of these different spellings, Palau is the new (German) form, Palao the Spanish orthography, Pelew the form used by Keate, following Captain Henry Wilson, and still printed on English and American maps, while Bälau is the native pronunciation of the name according to Walleser (*Wörterb.*, part II, p. 82).

² Georg Fritz, *Die Zentralkarolinische Sprache* (being No. 29 of the *Lehrbücher des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin*), Berlin 1911, p. 6.

¹ JAOS 35.

Walleser, Bishop Salvator, Apost. Vicar of the Caroline and Marianne Islands. *Grammatik der Palausprache*, in *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin*, Jahrg. XIV, Abt. 1, 1911, pp. 121-231.

Walleser, Bishop Salvator. *Palau Wörterbuch* in two parts: 1. *Palau-Deutsch*, 165 pp., and 2. *Deutsch-Palau*, 79 pp., with an appendix (pp. 81-98) of German-Palau conversational exercises. Hongkong, Typis Societatis Missionum ad Exteros, 1913.

Gabelentz, Georg von der, and Meyer, Adolf Bernhard. *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Melanesischen, Mikronesischen und Papuanischen Sprachen*, Leipzig 1882.

The Palau words in this study are taken, except as otherwise indicated, from Walleser.

3. *Palau sounds*.—According to Walleser (*Gram.*, p. 122) the sounds of Palau may be represented by the following characters:

Vowels: a, ä, e, i, o, ö, u, ü.

Consonants: b, ch, d, g, k, l, m, n, p, r, s, t.

These signs have their German sounds, except* as indicated in a subjoined list of *Abweichungen* which I here summarize:

(a) *eu* is not a diphthong, the two vowels being distinctly pronounced, *e. g.*, *pegéu* 'courageous'.

(b) *óa* is nearly equivalent to *a* in Eng. *all*, *e. g.*, *togóal* 'tobacco'. In *oá* the vowels are pronounced separately, *soák*, 'my will'.

(c) Vocalic doubling indicates lengthening only, as in Ger. *Saal*, *e. g.*, *diil* 'abdomen'.

(d) *ch* as in Ger. *suchen*, *e. g.*, *chútem* 'land' (*k* or *c* in Keate).

(e) *d* final and preceding or following a consonant is a spirant similar to Eng. *th*, *e. g.*, *mad* 'to die', *dmaik* 'together', and has a tendency to become this spirant in all positions. Keate wrote *th* everywhere, *e. g.*, *catheil* (Wall. *chadil*) 'mother', *thingaringer* (Wall. *dengerénger*) 'malicious, mischievous', *math* 'to die'. But it does not appear from either of these sources whether the spirant is surd, as in Eng. *thing* (Goth. þ), or sonant, as in Eng. *this* (Mod. Greek δ). Walleser says the Palau children often mispronounce it as *d* in positions where it should sound *th*. This would seem to point to the sonant spirant *ð*, as in *this*. On the other hand the *th* of Palau words

in Keate's vocabulary, collected 130 years ago, was probably understood by Captain Wilson and his officers as a voiceless spirant, at least when final, witness the spelling *cokeeth* (cf. *teeth*), and not *cokeethe* (cf. *teethe*); *outh* (cf. Eng. *uncouth*, *th* = *p*), and not *outhe* (cf. Eng. *soothe*, where *th* is sonant). Keate would have had no scruples in using final silent *e* to show the sonancy of *th* on the analogy of Eng. *teethe*, *soothe*, since he uses it elsewhere to assist in showing the pronunciation of a preceding consonant, e. g., in *yarse* 'sail' (Walleser *äars*) to show that the *s* is the surd sibilant, as in *sparse*, and not *z* as in Eng. *cars*, so *kouse* (Walleser *cháus*) 'lime'. The sound doubtless has changed somewhat since Wilson's discovery of the islands, and probably, as is true of the labial and palatal stops in Palau, is pronounced now as a surd, now as a sonant.

(f) *ng* = *ñ* (*ng* in Eng. *singer*, never as in Eng. *finger*)¹.

(g) *s* as in German; but W. does not say whether it is the surd sibilant as in *es ist*, or the sonant *z* sound of *diese sind*, or whether it is sometimes the one and sometimes the other according to position, as in German. It is, however, presumably the surd. That is certainly the pronunciation of Wilson's Palau islanders, since Keate nowhere writes a *z* in his vocabulary, but frequently writes *ss* to show that the *s* has not the sonant sound, as in *oyless* 'knife'. When preceding or following *u* or following *ll*, *s* approaches the sound of *sh*, e. g., *ousesuán* 'to whistle', *gedólls* 'corpulent', cf. Eng. *sure*, *sugar*.

(h) Doubling of a consonant indicates a long single consonant, as in Italian, e. g., *mellómes* 'bright' (cf. Ital. *bello*).

(i) Unaccented vowels are as a rule so indistinctly pronounced as to lose their distinctive character.

(j) It is often difficult to distinguish the sonants *b* and *g* from their corresponding surds *p* and *k*. This is at once seen by comparing the vocabularies of Walleser and Keate. For 'sleeping mat or cover' the former has *bar*, the latter *parr*, and conversely, Walleser gives the word for 'star' as a *pduch*, while Keate spells it *abbthduk*.

So great have been the changes in the phonological develop-

¹ In all non-Palau examples I write *ñ*, while leaving Walleser's *ng* unchanged. Had I changed his orthography in this case it would have been necessary to make other changes for the sake of consistency, e. g., *ī* for *ii*, *χ* for *ch*, and this, for various reasons, I have not considered advisable.

ment of the Palau language from the primitive Indonesian speech that the appearance of most Palau words gives no clue to their original forms. In the case of some half dozen words like Pal. *mad* (IN *matai*) 'die', and Pal. *kid* (IN *kita*) 'we' (inclusive), the relation is sufficiently apparent, but no one would at first sight suspect the IN origin of Pal. *gall* 'food', though it is identical with Tag. *kanin*, Bis. *kan'on*. So with Pal. *děi* (IN *tělu*) 'three', *chad* (IN *atai*) 'liver', *diil* (IN *tian*) 'abdomen', *ngau* (IN *āpui, api*) 'fire'.

4. *Erosion of unaccented vowels*.—In contrast with the erosion of consonants and preservation of vowels which is characteristic of the Polynesian languages, Palau, like many other Micronesian—and Melanesian—languages, suffers a weakening and loss of unaccented vowels, while it preserves *all* the consonants of the IN prototypes, though these have, of course, been changed in character as detailed below. In this latter respect the other Micronesian and the Melanesian languages differ from Palau in that they generally lose at least one of two or more consonants in a word. The whole matter may well be illustrated by IN *ikan* 'fish', as it develops in various Oceanic territories. In Hawaiian and Tahitian *ia* both consonants are lost. In Samoan *i'a* a trace of the *k* is left in the *hamza* or glottal stop. Fiji *ika* loses only the final *n*, while the latter half of the word is lost in Marshall *iek*, and Central Carolinian *ik*. Palau, on the other hand, preserves all the consonantal elements of *ikan* in the form *ngigel*, where IN *n* regularly becomes *l*. The *e* is a weak, colorless vowel serving as a glide between *g* and *l*. Another example is IN *manuk* 'bird, fowl', Palau *malk*, but Cent. Car. *mān*, Polyn. *manu*.

Indonesian final vowels and diphthongs, if unaccented in Palau, are regularly lost, *e. g.*, IN *batu*: Pal. *bad* 'stone'; IN *mata* 'eye' and *matai* 'die' both become Pal. *mad*; IN *atai*: Pal. *chad* 'liver'; Bisaya *babau*: Pal. *bab* 'over, above'.

Unaccented vowels in final syllables ending in a consonant are either lost entirely or retained as a weak, colorless vowel like the Javanese *pepet*, *e. g.*, IN *anak*: Pal. *ngalk* 'son, daughter'; IN *manuk*: Pal. *malk* 'bird, fowl'; Philip. *danum*: Pal. *ralm* 'water'; Tag., Bis. *dagum*: Pal. *rasm* 'needle'; Tag. *takut*: Pal. *dakt* 'fear'; IN *timur, timug*: Pal. *dims* 'east, south'; IN *ikan*: Pal. *ngigel* 'fish'; IN *bulan*: Pal. *búiel* 'moon'; IN *langit*: Pal. *eánged* 'sky'. But an original *pepet* is regularly retained, *e. g.*,

Philip. *inumèn*: Pal. *ilúmel* 'drink' (subst.); IN *nipèn*: Pal. *uíngel* 'tooth'; IN *tarèm, talèm, tadèm*: Pal. (*le*)*dórem* 'sharp'; IN *děngěr, děngěg, děngěh*: Pal. (*o*)*rénges* 'hear'; IN *děkět*: Pal. *réged* 'stick, cleave'. Likewise paroxytones ending in *a* + *hamza* retain the unaccented *a* of the ultima, e. g., Mal. *darah*: Pal. *rásach* 'blood'; Mal. *nanah*: Pal. *lálach* 'pus'. For *hamza* in Pal. see 17.

5. *Accented vowels*.—Indonesian vowels that bear the accent in Palau regularly remain unchanged, e. g., IN *mata*: Pal. *mad*; IN *buña*: Pal. *bung* 'flower'; Tagalog *sínag*: Pal. *sils* 'rays of sun'; IN *děkět*: Pal. *réged* 'stick, cleave'; IN *ikan*: Pal. *ngígel*; IN *bulan*: Pal. *búiel*; IN *nana*: Pal. *lálach* 'pus'.

6. *Extent of consonantal change in Palau*.—Only two primitive consonantal sounds have remained entirely unaffected in Palau. These are *m* and the velar nasal *ŋ*, e. g., IN *mata, timur* (-*g, -h*), *danum*: Pal. *mad, dims, ralm*; IN *nipen, lañit, buña*: Pal. *uíngel* (with metath.), *eánged, bung*.

Few, if any, languages of the entire Austronesian speech territory present such sweeping consonantal changes as we find here. This phenomenon, together with the further fact that all the original consonants are retained in some form, gives the Palau language a unique appearance as compared with its Oceanic neighbors. A most striking effect of this retention of consonants together with the loss of unaccented vowels is the multiplication of consonant combinations that look decidedly out of place in an Austronesian language, e. g., *bdíbd, bldukl, bltkill, gsóus, klmúdel, klsakl, kdgmál, lmatk, pduch, tknged, tngmutk*.

7. *Indonesian k*.—Original *k* is sounded in Palau now as *k*, e. g., IN *kita*: Pal. *kid* 'we'; IN *těkěn*: Pal. *dékel* 'pole'; IN *manuk*: Pal. *malik* 'fowl'; and now as *g*, e. g., IN *kutu*: Pal. *gud* 'louse'; IN *děkět*: Pal. *réged* 'stick, cleave'; IN *ikan*: Pal. *ngígel* 'fish'; IN *kayu*: Pal. *gar* 'tree, wood'. But the distinction between the surd and the sonant (*k* and *g*), as in the case of *p* and *b*, is vague and uncertain.

8. *Indonesian t*.—Original *t* becomes the sound written *d* by Walleser. It often is a spirant, probably the *th* in *then* (see above 3 e).

	<i>Indonesian</i>	<i>Palau</i>	<i>Meaning in Palau</i>
Mal.	timur 'East'	dims	'South'
Bisaya	túlug 'to sleep'	durs	'sleep' (subst.)
Bisaya	tá'i	dach	'excrement'
Phil.	tian	diil	'abdomen'
Bis.	talúm, tarúm	(ke)dórem	'sharp'
	těkhēn	dékel	'pole'
	taliña	ding	'ear'
	tělu	(o)déi	'three'
	takut	dakt	'fear'
	atěp	chádou	'roof, thatched covering'
	batu	bad	'stone'
	pitu	uid	'seven'
	kutu	gud	'louse'
	kita	kid	'we' (inclusive)
	mata	mad	'eye'
	matai	mad	'die'
	atai	chad	'liver'
	lahit	eánged	'sky'
	děkět	réged	'stick, cleave'
	urat, ugat, uhat	ngurd	'vein, sinew'
Mal.	pahit, Tag. pa'it	(me)chuáched	'bitter'

Note: The original final *t* in Pal. *dakt* (IN *takut*) is preserved by surd assimilation to the preceding *k* (see below 19a).

9. *Indonesian p*.—Original *p* becomes *u*, which is blended with a following accented *u*.

	<i>Indonesian</i>	<i>Palau</i>	<i>Meaning in Palau</i>
	pa'a, Mal. paha	uách	'leg'
	pitu	uid	'seven'
	pa'it, Mal. pahit	(me)chuáched	'bitter'
Bis.	puhun	uchúl	'trunk, beginning, origin'
	puki	ukí(k)	'vulva'
	pukět	úked	'long sea-net'
	pusěr (-d)	údes	'navel'
	ěpat	oáng	'four'
	'apur (-g, -h)	cháus	'lime'
	apui	ngau	'fire'
	'atěp	chádou	'roof'
	nipěn	uíngel	'tooth'

The *ch* in the words of the table represents an older *hamza* (see below 17).

Cháus and *ngau* do not exemplify a blending of *u* (<*p*) with the original *u* of *apur* and *apui*, but a loss of the (in Palau) unaccented vowel (see above 4) and the regular development of *p* to *u*. The same is true of the unaccented initial *u* of *uchúl* (<*pu'un*, Bis. *puhun*) and *ukí(k)* (<*puki*).

In *oáng* (<*ěpat*) and *chádou* (<*atěp*) the obscure pepet has been partially assimilated to the following *u* (<*p*), which itself is reduced to a semivowel or mere glide in *oáng* and hence does not appear in the orthography.

In *uíngel* (<*nipěn*) we have manifestly a case of metathesis for **ngiuel*, but not in *údes* (<*pusěr*, *pusěd*), where IN *s* regularly becomes *t* in Pal. (see below 13) and then tends to become the sonant *d*, while the final *s* goes back to a special type of the RLD consonant (see below 16b).

10. *Indonesian b*.—Original *b* wavers in Palau between *b* and *p*. Walleser gives *b* in many words where Keate and (particularly) Gabelentz and Meyer, quoting Semper¹, write *p*, e.g., IN *batu*: Pal. (Wall.) *bad* (Semper) *pad* 'stone'; IN *bulan*: Pal. (Wall.) *búiel* (Keate) *pooyeer* 'moon'. Less commonly the reverse is the case, e.g., IN *bitu(ěn)*: Pal. (Wall.) *pduch* (Keate) *a-bbthduk* 'star'.

	<i>Indonesian</i>	<i>Palau</i>	<i>Meaning in Palau</i>
	<i>babui</i>	<i>bábi</i>	'swine'
Bis.	<i>ibabau</i>	<i>bab</i>	'over, above'
	<i>běnua</i> 'country'	<i>belú</i>	'village'
	<i>batu</i>	<i>bad</i>	'stone'
	<i>balai</i>	<i>blai</i>	'house'
	<i>bau, bahu</i>	<i>bau</i>	'odor'
	<i>bara, бага, baha</i>	<i>has</i>	'charcoal'
	<i>bulan</i>	<i>búiel</i>	'moon'
Bis.	<i>bukid, Mal. bukit</i>	<i>búkel</i>	'hill, mountain'
	<i>buña</i>	<i>bung</i>	'flower'
	<i>běras, bėgas, bėhas</i>	<i>bras (borr.?)</i>	'rice'
	<i>rěba', gěba', hěba'</i>	<i>síbech</i>	'tear down'
	<i>'uban</i>	<i>chebál</i>	'gray hair'
Phil.	<i>ibėg</i>	<i>nguibes</i>	'desire'
	<i>abarat, -g-, -h-</i>	<i>ngobárd</i>	'West'
	<i>těbu</i>	<i>teb (dep Semper)</i>	'sugarcane'

¹ C. Semper, "Über die Palausprache" in *Korrespondenzblatt der deutschen Gesellschaft f. Anthr., Ethnol. u. Urgesch.* 1871, pp. 63-66.

<i>Indonesian</i>	<i>Palau</i>	<i>Meaning in Palau</i>
buku	puk	'knuckle'
bitu(ĕn)	pduch	'star'
bulu	púi	'hair (pubic)'

11. *Indonesian n.*—Original *n* becomes *l* regularly in Palau.

	<i>Indonesian</i>	<i>Palau</i>	<i>Meaning in Palau</i>
	nana'	lálach	'pus'
	nara, naga, naha	las	'nara' (a redwood tree)
	niur, niug, niuh	lius	'coconut'
	minum	melim	'to drink'
	inumĕn, Bis. imnun	ilúmel	'drink' (subst.)
	minatai	mlad	'dead'
	anak	ngalk	'son, daughter'
	manuk	malk	'fowl'
	danum, r-, l-,	ralm	'water'
Tag.	sinag	sils	'sun'
	tanĕm	dálem	'to plant'
	tinai	delách	'intestines'
	bĕnua	beíu	'village'
	anai	ngal	'white ant'
	kanĕn	gall	'food'
	ina, Fiji tina	chadil	'mother'
	ĕnĕm	malóng	'six'
	bulan	búiel	'moon'
	tian	diil (pr. dīl)	'abdomen'
	ikan	ngigel	'fish'
	dalan, ralan, lalan	ráel	'way'
Mal.	hujan, Bis. ulan	chull (<churl)	'rain'
	tĕkĕn	dékel	'pole, pike'
	pu'un, Bis. puhun	uchúl	'trunk (tree), origin'
Mal.	dahan	ráchel	'branch'
Mal.	huban	chebál	'gray hair'
	-na	-(e)l	'his, her, its'

12. *Indonesian l.*—Original *l* (not to be confused with the *l* of the RLD series) becomes *i* (*e*), with a tendency to weaken to the semivowel *y* before vowels. It is absorbed by a following original *i*, if this is accented in Palau.

	Indonesian	Palau	Meaning in Palau
	lanit	eáinged (yangeth S.)	'sky'
	layar, -g, -h	eárs (yarse K.)	'sail'
Maloh	lalas	eáes	'house fly'
	lima	im <*iim	'five'
	dalan, ralan	ráel	'way'
	bulan	búiel	'moon'
Phil.	ulëg	ngúüs <*ngúis	'snake'
	taliña	ding <*diing	'ear'
	bulu	púi	'hair (pubic)'
	tělu	déi	'three'
	walu	iái	'eight'
Tag.	labi	bei	'more'

In the last example *lábi* > *báli* > *bal* > *bai* > *bei*.

13. *Indonesian s*.—Original *s* regularly appears in Palau as *t*.

	Indonesian	Palau	Meaning in Palau
	ěsa, sa	tang	'one'
	sakai	tak	'to load on vehicle'
	p-in-ěsa	ulét	'prest out'
Phil.	asu	chat	'smoke'
	susu	tut	'uber'
	siu	tiu	'nine'
Tag. Bis.	silá (l < RLD)	tir	'they'

In IN *pinesa* the unaccented vowels *i* and *a* are lost, *p* becoming *u* and *n* becoming *l*, giving *ulét* by regular process.

14. *Indonesian y*.—Original *y* becomes *r*.

	Indonesian	Palau	Meaning in Palau
	'ayam	cháram	'animal'
	layar, layag	eárs	'sail'
	kayu	gerregár	'wood, tree'

Gerregár is from the reduplicated *kayukáyu* and is written *garagar* by Keate and *kirkar* by Semper. Keate gives the simple *gar* as meaning 'fire', cf. Bis. *kalayu* 'fire'.

15. *Indonesian RGH Consonant*.—The RGH consonant is regularly represented in Palau by *s*.

<i>Indonesian</i>	<i>Palau</i>	<i>Meaning in Palau</i>
Phil. gakět	sakt	'to tie'
Phil. gěba	sibech	'tear down'
Tag. gōnot 'black oakum'	suld	'oakum'
Bis. bāga 'ember'	bas	'coal'
Mal. darah	rásach	'blood'
Bis. dāgum	rasm	'needle'
Bis. nága	las	'nara (tree)'
Bik. dúgi	rus	'spine, thorn'
Phil. apug	cháus	'quicklime'
Phil. niug	lius	'coconut'
layar, layag, layah	eárs	'sail'
Bis. tulug, turug	durs	'sleep'
Mal. timur, Bis. timug 'East'	dims	'South'
Mal. deñar, Tag. diñig	rénges	'hear'
Tag. sinag	sils	'sun'
Phil. ulěg	ngútüs	'snake'
Phil. iběg	nguibes	'desire'

16. *Indonesian RLD Consonant*.—The RLD consonant regularly appears as *r*, except in the type represented by Jav. *pari*: Tag. *pálai*: Mal. *padi*: Toba Bat. *page*, Pangasinan *pagéi* 'unhulled rice', which we may for convenience call the *g*-type, where Palau, like certain other languages of Austronesia, *e. g.*, Manggara and Samoan, has *s*.

(a) *RLD, except g-type.*

<i>Indonesian</i>	<i>Palau</i>	<i>Meaning in Palau</i>
Phil. danum, ranum	ralm	'water'
Phil. dalán, ralan	ráel	'way'
Bis. dagum	rasm	'needle'
Mal. darah	rásach	'blood'
Mal. dahan	ráchel	'branch'
dua, rua, lua	o-rúng	'two'
Mal. duri, Bkl. dúgi	rus	'spine, thorn'
Phil. děkět	réged	'stick, cleave'
Phil. děněg	rénges	'hear'
Bis. túlug, túrug, Mal. tidor	durs	'sleep'
Phil. sira, sila, sida	tir	'they'
tarēm, talēm, tadēm	dórem	'sharp'

(b) *RLD, g-type.*

Indonesian	Palau	Meaning in Palau
Jav. iruñ, Tag. iluñ, Čam iduñ, Karo, } Toba, Ibanak, iguñ, Iloko agoñ	isng-ék	'nose'
Bulu apěru, Mal. hampědu, Toba pogu	choás	'gall'
Jav. pusěr, Formosan pusol, Tag. pusod, } Pangas., Iloko puseg	údes	'navel'

In Palau *isngék*, the final syllable is the possessive 'my'. Without suffix, the velar nasal *ñ* (*ng*) is lost, giving *is*. With *isngék* compare the *s* of Manggara and Samoan *isu* 'nose'.

17. *The Glottal Stop or Hamza.*—The glottal stop appears as *χ* (*ch* in Walleser) in all positions, initial, medial, and final.

Indonesian	Palau	Meaning in Palau
Mal. hayam 'fowl'	cháram	'animal'
Mal. hapur	chaus	'lime'
Mal. hati, Magindanao hatai	chad	'liver'
Mal. huban, uban	chebál	'gray hair'
Mal. hujan, Tag. ulan	chull	'rain'
Mal. dahan	ráchel	'branch'
Mal. paha, Bis. pa'a	uách	'thigh'
Mal. tahi, Bis. ta'i	dach	'excrement'
Phil. mapa'it	mechuáched	'bitter'
Bis. puhun	uchúl	'trunk, origin'
Mal. darah	rásach	'blood'
Mhl. nanah	lálach	'pus'
Mal. rebah	sibech	'tear down'
Phil. bitu'(ěn)	pduch	'star'

18. *Excrescent initial ñ (ng).*—As a rule words which in Indonesian begin with a vowel, not preceded by initial *hamza*, prefix an inorganic *ñ* (*ng*) in Palau. Where initial vowels appear in Palau these are, in most cases, from original *l* (>*i* or *e*) or *p* (>*u* or *o*), e. g., IN *lanit*: Pal. *eáinged*; IN *pu'un*: Pal. *uchúl*.

Indonesian	Palau	Meaning in Palau
anai	ngal	'white ant'
apui	ngau	'fire'
anak	ngalk	'son, daughter'
Phil. abagat 'South, Southwest'	ngobárd	'West'

Indonesian	Palau	Meaning in Palau
ikan	ngigel	'fish'
Phil. ibĕg	nguibes	'desire'
urat, ugat, uhat	ngurd	'vein, sinew'
Phil. ulĕg	ngüüs	'snake'
aku	ngak	'I'
ia	ngi	'he, she, it'

This inorganic *n* appears, but with less regularity, in several other Oceanic languages. It is often prefixed to the first personal pronoun, as in Ponape *nai* 'I', where IN *aku* is reduced to *ai* by loss of *u* and weakening of *k*.

19. *Special treatment in sandhi.*—(a) *Retention of original t.* IN *t*, which regularly becomes *d* (*th*) in Palau (see 8), remains unchanged when immediately preceded by *k* after Palau loss of the unaccented vowel that originally intervened, *e. g.*, the final *t* of IN *takut*: Palau *dakt* 'fear'; Phil. *gakĕt*: Palau *sakt* 'tie, bind, string for binding'.

(b) *Retention of original l.* IN *l*, which regularly becomes *i* (*e*), in Palau (see 12), is retained when brought into contact with a preceding *b* by loss of an unaccented intervening vowel, *e. g.*, Palau *blai* (IN *balai*) 'house'.

(c) *RGH consonant appears as r.* The RGH consonant regularly appears as *s* (see 15). But when immediately following initial *b*, (*p*), or immediately preceding final (Palau) *d* or *t*, it appears as *r*, *e. g.*, Phil. *bĕgat*: Pal. *praud* (Semper), *berräod* (Wall.); IN *urat, ugat, uhat*: Pal. *ngurd* 'vein, sinew'; Bis. *habagat* 'Southwest': Pal. *ngobárd* 'West'; IN *ratus, gatus*: Pal. *dart* 'hundred' from the metathesized **tarus, *tagus*, where the initial *t* > *d* and the final *s* > *t* by regular process. Metathesis in this word is not infrequent in other languages, *e. g.*, Iloko and Kankanai *gasut*, Bontok *lasot*, Ginaan, Tingyan *kasut*.

(d) *Assimilation of liquids.* Palau *rl* and *lr* always suffer assimilation, becoming either *ll*, as in Pal. *chull* < **churl* (IN *uran, ulan, udan*) 'rain, or *rr*, as in Pal. *merráder* < **melrader*, pret. of the verb *meráder* 'accompany' formed by the infix *l* (IN *in*), cf. Pal. *mlad* (IN *m-in-atai*) 'dead'. This assimilation of *l* to an adjacent *r* in the verb is pointed out by Walleser¹.

¹ *Grammatik*, p. 138.

20. *Recapitulation*.—(a) Final vowels and diphthongs, if unaccented in Palau, are lost: IN *mata* 'eye' and *matai* 'die': Pal. *mad* (4).

(b) The vowel of a final syllable ending in a consonant, if unaccented in Palau, is either lost: IN *manuk*: Pal. *malk*, or weakened to a colorless vowel (pepet): IN *bulan*: Pal. *búiel* (4).

(c) Original vowels which bear the accent in Palau remain unchanged: IN *bulan*: Pal. *búiel* (5).

(d) Original *k* remains or becomes *g*: IN *kita*: Pal. *kid*, IN *kutu*: Pal. *gud* (7).

(e) Original *t* becomes *d* (sometimes spirant): IN *mata*: Pal. *mad* (8), or remains unchanged: IN *takut*: Pal. *dakt* (19a).

(f) Original *p* becomes *u*: IN *pitu*: Pal. *úid* (9).

(g) Original *b* remains unchanged: IN *batu*: Pal. *bad*, or becomes *p*: IN *bulu*: Pal. *púi* (10).

(h) Original *n* becomes *l*: Mal. *nanah*: Pal. *lálach* (11).

(i) Original *l* becomes *i* (e): IN *bulu*: Pal. *púi* (12), or remains unchanged (after *b*, 19b), or becomes *r* by assimilation (19d).

(j) Original *s* becomes *t*: IN *susu*: Pal. *tut* (13).

(k) Original *y* becomes *r*: IN *layar*, *layag*: Pal. *ears* (14).

(l) The RGH consonant becomes *s*: Phil. *gakët*: Pal. *sakt* (15), or *r* before final (Palau) *d* or *t*: IN *urat*, *ugat*, *uhat*: Pal. *ngurd* (19c).

(m) The RLD consonant becomes *r*: Phil. *danum*: Pal. *ralm* (16a), or *s*: Jav. *iruñ*, Čam *iduñ*: Pal. *isng-ék* (16b), or *l* by assimilation (19d).

(n) The *hamza* becomes *ch* (i. e., χ): Mal. *hati*: Pal. *chad* (17).

(o) Words beginning with a vowel prefix the velar nasal *ñ*: IN *anak*: Pal. *ngalk* (18).

21. *Origin of individual Palau sounds.*

Palau	Indonesian	Examples
a (accented)	a	mad < IN <i>mata</i> (4)
a (unaccented)	a	lálach: Mal. <i>nanah</i> (4)
e (accented)	ě	réged: Phil. <i>děkët</i> (5)
e (unaccented)	any vowel or i	búiel: <i>bulan</i> ; eánged: IN <i>lañit</i> (4 and 12)

<i>Palau</i>	<i>Indonesian</i>	<i>Examples</i>
i (accented)	i	kid: IN kita (5)
i (unaccented)	l	púi: IN bulu (12)
u (accented)	u	púi: IN bulu (5)
u (unaccented)	p	uid: IN pitu (9)
o	any vowel	(see below)
k	k	kid: IN kita (7)
g	k	gud: IN kutu (7)
t	s (t after k)	tut: IN susu (13); dakt: IN takut (19a)
d	t	mad: IN matai (8)
p	b	púi: IN bulu (10)
b	b	búiel: IN bulan (10)
ñ (ng)	ñ	bung: IN buña (6)
ñ (ng) excrescent		ngigel: IN ikan (18)
m	m	mad: IN matai (6)
r	RLD	ralm: danum, ranum (16)
	RGH (sandhi)	ngurd: IN urat, ugat, uhat (19c)
	n > l in Pal.	merráder < *melráder (19d)
l	n	lálach: IN nana' (11)
	RLD (Pal. r)	chull < *churl: Phil. ulan, uran (19d)
	l (after b)	blai: IN balai (19b)
s	RGH	sakt: Phil. gakět (15)
	RLD (g-type)	isngék: Jav. iruñ, Ibanak iguñ (16b)
	s (sporad.)	sils: Tag. sinag; bras: Mal. bëras
ch (i. e., x)	hamza	chad: Mal. hati (17)

Pal. *o* is a secondary sound of varied origin. In unaccented syllables it may represent any IN vowel, like *e* (see 4), and assumes its quality under the influence of surrounding sounds, e. g., Pal. *ngobárd*: IN *abarat*, *abagat*, *abahat*; Pal. *chádou*: IN *atěp*, where *ěp* > *eu* > *ou*, cf. for Indo-European the Lat. *ou* < *eu* in OLat. *douco* < **deuco*, Goth. *tiuhan*; Pal. vbl. prefix *o*: IN *pa*, e. g., Pal. *orénges*: Phil. *paděňěg* 'hear, cause to hear', the stages of change being *pa* > *ue* > *uo* > *wo* > *o*. Here again the Latin has a parallel development in *soror* < **svesör*, Skt. *svásar*-. Pal. *koád* < **kapátai* (fr. IN *patai*) has its *o* from *ap* > *eu* > *ou* > *ow* > *o* with loss of the semivowel glide *w* (*u*) before the vowel *a*. This *koád* is stereotyped and treated as a

root in Pal. in the sense of 'kill', and takes all the prefixes, infixes, and suffixes that a simple root assumes, *e. g.*, *omekoád*, where the prefixed element is IN *pama* or *pěmě*. Were we permitted to reconstruct the word in its entirety it would give, then, the form **pamakapátai*. This analysis is instructive as showing the continued use of formative elements attached to petrified complexes whose original composition has been lost sight of by vocalic erosion and consonantal change.

Pal. *kođáll* 'death' is from the same *koád*, which loses its *a* when the accent is shifted to the following syllable. The whole word represents a hypothetical IN **kapatáyan* > **keuedárl* > **kowodárl* > **kodall*, where *y* regularly becomes Pal. *r* (14) and is then assimilated to the adjacent *l* (19d).

Pal. accented *o* may result, either from a rounding of original *a*¹, as in *dórem* < IN *tarēm*, *talēm*, *tadēm* 'sharp', or from *pá* or *áp*, as in *reóngel* (= *reó-ng-el* with the poss. suffix *el* < IN *na* 'his, her, its' and the excrescent *ng* as connective), where *reó* is from IN *rěpa*, *lěpa*, *děpa* 'fathom', the development being *repá* > *reuá* > *reuó* > *reuwó* > *reó*.

¹ For the independent rounding of original *a* in Indonesian languages, compare the final vowel of Jav. *limā* and Tirurai *limo*: IN *lima*, where the sound is close to that of Ger. *o* in *hoffen* or Fr. *o* in *école*. Cf. Conant, *Notes on the phonology of the Tirurai language*, JAOS, Vol. xxxiii (1913), p. 150.

The Vedic Dual: Part II, The Dual in Similes.—By
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In the first part¹ of this study of the Vedic dual, the writer showed that when in either the Rig or the Atharva Veda a plurality of bodily parts that are naturally dual is ascribed to an individual, the grammatical number is due to the requirements of the mythic symbolism or of the metaphor or other poetic figure. This second part of the study will corroborate the conclusions there reached by presenting lists of all the Vedic duals occurring in similes and a study of the phenomena associated with them. Naturally the same principles are found operative in the simile as in the metaphor. These seem so fundamental and obvious that it would seem supererogatory to state them; but they have been sometimes so disregarded in the translation and interpretation of Vedic passages that there may be warrant for noting their value in exegesis.

The general principle is that when the stress of comparison falls upon the substantive terms of a simile, these terms are in numerical concord. Thus in the RV. we find the following duals after dual antecedents:—

After *açvínā*—*āñçā*, X, 106, 9^d; **akṣī*, II, 39, 5^b; *ajā*, II, 39, 2^a;
**adhvagāu*, VIII, 35, 8^b; *apāsā*, X, 106, 1^b; *āraṅgarā*, X,
106, 10^a; *īryā*, X, 106, 4^c; **udanyajā*, X, 106, 6^c; ***upadhī*,
II, 39, 4^b; **uṣṭārā*, X, 106, 2^a; †*rbhū*, X, 106, 7^c; **ósthāu*, II,
39, 6^a; *kārṇā*, X, 106, 9^c; *kārṇāu*, II, 39, 6^d; *kirāṇā*, X,
106, 4^c; **kīṇārā*, X, 106, 10^c; +*kṣāmā*, II, 39, 7^b; X, 106, 10^d;

¹ See this *Journal*, XXX, p. 174 ff.

Starred words are ᾗπαξ εἰρημένα in RV. Words marked with the obelisk are discussed later; those with the double obelisk have the comparative particle *nū*, all others have *iva* or *'va*.

khīgalā, II, 39, 4^b; *gīdhrā*, II, 39, 1^b; *gāūrā*, VII, 69, 6^a; *gāūrāū*, V, 78, 2^b; VIII, 87, 1^d, 4^d; *grāvānā*, II, 39, 1^a; *gharmā*, X, 106, 8^a; *cakravākā*, II, 39, 3^c; ¹*jaranā*, X, 40, 3^a; *jāratos*, VIII, 73, 11^b; ^{*}*jarbhārī*, X, 106, 6^a; ^{*}*dāmpatī*, II, 39, 2^d; *duṭā*, II, 39, 1^d; X, 106, 2^c; *nadyā*, II, 39, 5^a; ⁺*nābhye*, II, 39, 4^b; ^{**}*nāse*, II, 39, 6^c; ^{*}*nāitoṣā*, X, 106, 6^b; *nāvā*, II, 39, 4^a; ⁺*nrpātī*, X, 106, 4^b; *pakṣā*, X, 106, 3^a; *pajrā*, X, 106, 7^a; *patarā*, X, 106, 8^c; *pādā*, II, 39, 5^b; X, 106, 9^b; *pārijmānā*, X, 106, 3^d; *paçvā*, X, 106, 3^b; *pitārā*, III, 58, 2^b; ⁺VII, 67, 1^d; X, 39, 6^b; 106, 4^a; *pitārāu*, X, 131, 5^a; *putrā*, X, 106, 4^a; ⁺*pradhī*, II, 39, 4^b; ^{*}*pravāsā*, VIII, 29, 8^b; *prāyogā*, X, 106, 2^b; *bṛhāntā*, X, 106, 9^a; *brahmānā*, II, 39, 1^c; ^{*}*mananyā*, X, 106, 8^d; *mahiṣā*, VIII, 35, 7^b-9^b; X, 106, 2^d; *mitrā*, X, 106, 5^b; *mrgā*, X, 40, 4^a; *mēne*, II, 39, 2^c; *mēṣā*, X, 106, 5^d; ⁺*yugé*, II, 39, 4^a; *yuvaçā*, VIII, 35, 5^a; *rathyā*, II, 39, 3^d; ^{*}*rājaputrā*, X, 40, 3^d; *vānsagā*, X, 106, 5^a; *vājā*, X, 106, 5^c; *vātā*, II, 39, 5^a; *vīrā*, II, 39, 2^a; *çaphāū*, II, 39, 3^b; ⁺*çrñge*, II, 39, 3^a; *çyenā*, V, 74, 9^d; VIII, 73, 4^b; *çyenāū*, VIII, 35, 9^a; *çruṣṭivānā*, X, 106, 4^d; *çvānā*, II, 39, 4^c; *sāraghā*, X, 106, 10^b; *sudīnā*, X, 106, 1^d; *stānāu*, II, 39, 6^b; *haṁsāū*, V, 78, 1^c-3^c; VIII, 35, 8^a; *harīṇāū*, V, 78, 2^a; *hāstā*, II, 39, 7^a; *hāstāu*, II, 39, 5^c; *hāridravā*, VIII, 35, 7^a. (92)

After *ródasī*,— *adhvarā*, III, 6, 10^c; ⁺*nārī*, X, 93, 1^b; *mātārā*, IX, 18, 5^b.

After *hārī* (*indrasya*),— *pakṣā*, VIII, 34, 9^b; ⁺*rājī*, X, 105, 2^c.

After *babhrū* (*indrasya*),— ⁺*kanīnaké*, IV, 32, 23^a.

After *dhiṣāṇe*,— ⁺*cārmanī*, VI, 8, 3^c.

After *adhiṣavanyā*,— *jaghānā*, I, 28, 2^a.

After *bāhū* (*agnīmanthanāu*),— *tāskarā*, X, 4, 6^a.

After (*havirdhāne*),— *yamé*, X, 13, 2^a.

After *ādrī*,— *rathyā*, VII, 39, 1^c.

After *çipre* (*indrasya*),— ^{*}*srūvā*, X, 96, 9^a. (12)

So with elliptic duals:

After ²*kṣonī*,— ⁺*mātārā*, VIII, 99, 6^b.

After *pitārā* (*rbhūnām*),— *yūpā*, IV, 33, 3^b.

After ³*āyaji* (*āulūkhalaū*),— *hārī*, I, 28, 7^c. (3)

¹ So Sāyaṇa, Grassmann *RV.* and *WB.*, but Ludwig *RV.* takes it as inst. sg.

² See *JAOS* XXXII, 42.

³ See *JAOS* XXXII, 43.

Also with dual dvandvas:

After *uṣāsānāktā*,— *+dhenū*, VII, 2, 6^b; *+pātñā*, I, 122, 2^a; *padé*, III, 55, 15^a; *+vayyē*, II, 3, 6^b.

After *mītrāvaruṇā*,— *†ācīvā*, VI, 67, 4^a; *pitārā*, IV, 41, 7^a; *†rathyā*, VI II, 25, 2^a; *vrajā*, V, 64, 1^c.

After *indrāgnī*,— *āñcā*, V, 86, 5^d; *ācīvā*, VI, 59, 3^b.

After *indrāsōmā*,— *ācīvā*, VII, 104, 6^b; *+nṛpātī*, VII, 104, 6^d.

After *indrābrahmaṇaspatī*,— (*ācīvā*) *yūjā*, II, 24, 12^d.

After *indrāvāyū*,— *†dutā*, VII, 91, 2^a.

After *dyāvāprthivī*,— *†mene*, I, 95, 6^a.

After *indrāvaruṇā*,— *vṛṣabhā*, IV, 41, 5^b. (16)

Two singulars may be substituted for the antecedent dual:

After *vīpāt chutudrī*,— *ācīve*, III, 33, 1^b; *gāvā (mātārā)* III, 33, 1^c; *mātārā (gāvā)*, III, 33, 3^c; *rathyā*, III, 33, 2^b.

After *yamā yamī ca*,— *+cakrā*, X, 10, 7^d.

After *yamī anyācā*,— *+cakrā*, X, 10, 8^d.

After *vāyuh pūṣā ca*,— *+viçpātī*, VII, 39, 2^b. (7)

The forms given in the foregoing lists differ in some instances from those of the *Padapāṭha*. Thus in II, 39, we have *çñgeva* in 3^a, *yugēva* in 4^a, *nābhyeva* in 4^b and *nāseva* in 6^c. The *Padapāṭha* resolves these into *çñga-ivā*, *yugā-iva*, etc. This hymn is mainly an aggregation of thirty similes in which the Aṇvins are described. In twenty-five of these, the dual is unmistakable. Bollensen (*Orient und Occident*, II, 472) suggests that we should read *yugē-va*, *nābhye-va* and *nāse-va* in the places cited, but failed to note *çñgeva*, which should just as obviously be resolved into *çñge-va*. In 7^b the *Padapāṭha* resolves *kṣāmeva* into *kṣāma-iva*. I have already given in this *Journal* (XXXII, 41f.) reasons for resolving it into *kṣāmā-iva* and taking *kṣāmā* to be an elliptic dual¹. Thus we have duals throughout.

In IV, 32, 23^a, the adjective *vidradhé* shows that the noun in *kanīnakēva* is feminine, hence we must, against the *kanīnakā-iva* of the *Padapāṭha*, accept Bollensen's resolution into *kanīnakē-va*.

In II, 3, 6,—

sūlhu āpānsi sanātū na ukṣitē
uṣāsānāktā vayyēva ranvitē |
tāntuṁ tatām sanivāyanti samīcī
yajñāsya péçali sudūghe pāyasvatī ||

¹ So also in X, 106, 10^d.

The *Padapāṭha* has in *b vayyā-iva*, but *rapvité* and the other six duals show that we should, with Grassmann (*WB*, s. v. *iva*), read *vayyē-va*¹.

The *Padapāṭha* takes the combinations *upadhīva* (II, 39, 4^b), *cārmaṇīva* (VI, 8, 3^c), *dāmpatīva* (II, 39, 2^d), *nrpātīva* (VII, 104, 6^d, X, 106, 4^b), *pātnīva* (I, 122, 2^a) *pradhīva* (II, 39, 4^b) and *viçpātīva*, (VII, 39, 2^b), as instances in which the dual desinence *ī* is not *pragr̥hya*. As the form *va* is now so uncontestably established for Vedic, it would seem preferable to take them under the rule as *pragr̥hya* forms plus *va*. In favor of this disposition of them we have *akṣī iva* (II, 39, 5^b), *indragnī īṣa* (III, 12, 5^c; SV. II, 925^c; 1053^c; MS. IV, 11, 1^c; 159, 8), *dyāvāpr̥thivī ihā* (IV, 56, 1^a; CQ. 8, 19, 1), *bṛhatī iva* (I, 59, 4^a), *hārī indra* (VIII, 3, 17^b; 13, 27^c; 70, 7^d; X, 114, 9^d; SV. I, 301^b), *hārī iva* (I, 28, 7^c), *hārī ihā* (I, 16, 2^b; 121, 8^a; 177, 4^d; TB. II, 4, 3, 10^b), *ārtnī iva* (AV. I, 1, 3^b), *agnī indra* (TB. II, 4, 5, 7^d), *indrāgnī idam*, TB. III, 5, 10, 3; MS. IV, 13, 9; 212, 5), *indrāgnī iva* (SMB. 2, 4, 14)². Against it we have, so far as I have found, the unique *rōdasimé* (*rōdasi-imé*) found in VII, 90, 3^a and repeated in SV. II, 925^c; 1053^c; MS. IV, 11, 1^c; 159, 8—all the same *pāda*.

In VII, 2, 6, the traditional text reads—

utā yōṣane divyē mahī na
uṣāsānāktā sudūgheva dhenūḥ /
barhiṣādā puruhūtē maghōnī
ā yajñīye suvitāya çrayetām //

¹ Many of our handbooks fail to give sufficient recognition to this form *va*. The *Petersburg Wörterbuch* does not cite it for the Vedas. The Monier-Williams *Dictionary* cites it only for the *MBh.* and the *Kāvya* literature "in some more or less doubtful cases". Macdonell's *Dictionary* says *va* for *iva* is "very rare". Speijer and Thumb are silent about it. Bollensen in 1864 (*l. c.*) showed its existence in a number of instances in the *RV.* and Grassmann (*l. c.*) extended Bollensen's list to a total of thirty-seven. Lanman (*NI*, pp. 343 and 361) accepts *yugé-va* and *nabhyé-va* in II, 39, 4, *vayyēva* in II, 3, 6, and *kanīnaké-va* in IV, 32, 23 as correct, and *nāse-va* in II, 39, 6 as probable, stating as the other possibility that *nāsā* might be taken as a nom. du. fem. from *nās* "strong". Arnold (*Vedic Metre*, p. 78, § 129) accepts the instances cited from Lanman. Whitney in his *Grammar* has a line and a half (1102f.) about it but in his *Index Verborum to the Atharva Veda* gives ninety-eight instances of "monosyllabic *iva*" in that Veda.

² This list is not complete, as the phenomenon did not come under observation until lists were nearly collected.

The *Padapāṭha* gives in *b* *sudúghā-iva*, but Bollensen (*l. c.*) showed the lack of reason in comparing *uṣásānāktū* to a single good milch cow, —*sudúghā dhenūḥ*— and proposed the emendation *sudúghe-va dhenī*. The accumulated duals in *a*, *c* and *d*, and the normal usage in similes seem to make the emendation imperative.

Padā b in its traditional form is, however, quite at home in I, 186, 4—

úpa va éṣe námasā jigīṣā
uṣásānāktū sudúgheva dhenūḥ |
samāné áhan vimímāno arkáṁ
vīsurupe páyasi sásminn ūdhan //

[You (= *vīṣve Devās*) I entreat, with reverence, with wish to win, (And) *Uṣásānāktū*, like a good milch cow, Arranging (my) song of praise on a common morning With milk of differing hue in this udder].

We believe Ludwig is right in his exegesis,—the singer is the cow lowing with full udder at the milking time, the song he offers is the milk implied in *sudúghā*, the *vīsurupe páyasi* is milk mingled with the yellow Soma juice and the *ūdhan* is the place of sacrifice whence milky libations flow. Indra is compared to a cow in II, 16, 8^b; VIII, 1, 10^c; 14, 3^a, as is Agni in I, 66, 2^b and the *kṣetrapati* in IV, 57, 2^b. So here conversely the Rṣi with his strengthening offering of song. For the transition in *b* from the pl. in *a*, compare that from the sg. of 1^{ab} to the anonymous pl. 1^c, first named in 2^a.

In X, 10, 7^d, the amorous Yamī proposes to Yama—

vī cid vrheva ráthyeva cakrá,

and in 8, he replies,—

anyéna mād āhano yāhi tūyam
tēna vī vrha ráthyeva cakrá.

As *cakrá* may be masc. du. or neut. pl., the question arises which have we here. Grassmann (*WB. s. v.*) considers it plural. Sāyaṇa glosses by *cakre*, hence he took it as dual. The latter is undoubtedly right. The form *cakrá* is demonstrably dual in I, 166, 9^d and in VIII, 5, 29^c. The ordinary Vedic chariot was two-wheeled, as will be shown in part III of these studies. The general principle of numerical concord requires the dual. The metaphor in the verb as well as the simile is that of two wheels with a common axle. Hence we conclude that the form is dual in both places.

In the hundred and thirty similes thus far considered, the principle of numerical concord holds. It is not, however, without exceptions, real or apparent. We now pass to a consideration of those similes in which only one term is in the dual. The most frequent case is that in which a dual *upameya* has a singular *upamāna*. Thus in I, 34, 7^{cd},—

tisrō nāsatyā rathyā parāvāta
ātmēva vātaḥ svāsarāṇi gachatam.

[Come, car-borne Nāsatyas o'er the three distances,
As the breath, the wind, to the early morning sacrifices¹].

The singular is required for two reasons:—

1. In the RV., *ātmān* is *singulare tantum*,
2. The simile is *κατά σύνεσιν*; a duality or plurality of *vātas* would be incongruous in sense, implying discord.

In I, 180, 9^{ab} we find, in an Aṇvin simile,

prā yād vāhethe mahinā rāthasya
prā syandrā yātho mānuṣo nā hōtā

[When you fare forth by the might of your car,
You go with haste like (a) man's hotar].

The concord is again *κατά σύνεσιν*. Except on special occasions, the Vedic *yājāmānas* has a single *hotar* (see I, 139, 10^a; III, 41, 2^a; V, 41, 5^c; 43, 3^c; 49, 4^c; VII, 1, 16^c; 7, 5^d; 56, 18^a; etc.).

One reason for his haste is suggested by I, 25, 17^c—

hōteva kṣādase priyām

[Like a hotar you eat what you are fond of].

A duality of *hotars* is known only in the case of the *dāivyā hōtārā*, variously identified as Agni and Āditya, Agni and Varuṇa, or Āditya and Varuṇa.

The phrase *mānuṣo hōtā* may be taken also as a metonym of Agni (cf. II, 18, 2^b; III, 3, 2^b; VII, 8, 2^b; 73, 2^a). In this case also, only the singular could be expected.

In X, 106, we have 37 similes with the Aṇvins as *upameya*. The *upamāna* is dual in 35 of them. In 3^c, however, we find,—

agnīr iva devayōr dādivānsā

It would be easy to emend to *agnī iva*, but what would it mean? The Veda knows no two fires of a worshipper. His fire is regularly in the singular. The epithet *triṣadhasthā*, applied to Agni, would warrant the idea of three fires, though *triṣa-*

¹ See JAOS, XXXII, 409 f. or more fully, Geldner, *Ved. Stud.* III, 113 ff.

dhastú agní is found only in the singular. Sāyaṇa explains our passage,— *agnir yathā havirbhiḥ stutibhiḥ ca dīpyate, devān icchato yajamānasya yajñe stutibhir dīptāu bhavathaḥ*. This seems substantially correct, so we would render—

Beaming (du.) like the fire of a worshipper.

An alternative interpretation may be had by taking *agnir* as a proper noun and *devayór* as an ablative of cause;—

Beaming like Agni (beams) because of his worshipper.

Then in 7^{ab}, we have

*pajréva cárcaram járam marāyu
kṣádmevārtheṣu tartarītha ugrā /*

As Griffith says of the passage and its context, “nearly every word is a difficult riddle”. There seems to be in *pāda b* a comparison of the Aṇvins with *kṣadman*, a word found elsewhere in the RV. only in I, 130, 4^a, in a comparison with Indra’s thunderbolt. The usual rendering is “Vorlegemesser”. Grassmann (*WB*) says of our passage: “wäre der Dual zu erwarten” and in his *RV.* renders, “wie zwei Vorlegemesser”. The dual, however, is not needed. The following interpretations seem possible. They are arranged in order of preference.

1. The Rev. Dr. J. B. Nies of Brooklyn, NY., assures me that the Vedic sacrificial knife, like the Sumerian, was a broad, cleaver-like, two-edged blade. With an ancient specimen found in India, now in his possession, a strong man could sever at a blow the head of a bull. Such a knife with its two edges would answer well the purposes of the simile.

Like two sturdy men, the moving, aging, mortal (world?
frame?)

You press through to your goals, mighty ones, like a sacrificial knife.

2. The context may be understood as referring to some such exercise of the healing power of the Aṇvins as was manifested in the case of Cyavāna, restored to youth from helpless old age. We should then have a *comparatio compendiarum*,— Your healing, rejuvenating power... like the (penetrating power of a) sacrificial knife.

3. On the analogy of *drāghmā* for *drāghmanā* (X, 10, 4^b) and *raḥmā* for *raḥmanā* (VI, 67, 1^c), *kṣádman* may be an inst. sg.,— “as it were with a sacrificial knife”.

4. *Nāigh.* 2, 11 gives “water” as a meaning of *kṣadman*, as does Sāyaṇa here. Hence the comparison would be between

the *cārcaram jāram marāyu* and *kṣadmā*,— You press through the moving, etc. as through water.

The singular is justified in any of these.

I. 183, 1^a— *tridhātunā patatho vīr nā parṇāli*

On your triple car you fly like a bird on its pinions. The Aṅvins are mounted on their triple car,— *trivandhuró*, *trīcakrāli* (1^b), *trāyali pavāyo* (I, 34, 2^a), *trāyo skambhāsa* (I, 34, 2^c). The Ṛṣi likens the whole complex, car and riders, to a bird in flight. So we, in the case of an aeroplane carrying two or more persons, would say—"They fly like a bird".

The Veda knows no duality of *parṇām*, even for a single bird. The meaning seems to be "pinions, wing-feathers", rather than "wings". Hence, by metaphor, "the leaves of a tree". Otherwise we might explain the plural here as influenced by the bizarre number of the parts of the chariot.

I, 37, 6— *kó vo vārṣiṣṭha ā naro*
divāc ca gmāc ca dhūtayaḥ |
yāt sīm āntam ná dhūnuthá ||

[Who is your very mightiest, O heroes,
 Ye shakers of heaven and earth,

When ye shake them as the hem (of a garment)?]

The simile is *κατὰ σύνεσιν*. The Maruts shake heaven and earth as one. Also *āntam* is practically *singulare tantum* in this sense.

VI, 67, 3^{cd}; MS. 4, 14, 10^{cd}; 231, 6

saṁ yāv apnasthó apāseva jānāi
chrudhīyatāc cid yatatho mahitvā

The *Padapāṭha* has *apāsā-iva*, which may be a nom. dual as in X, 106, 1^b, or an inst. sg. *Apnastho* may be nom. sg. or acc. pl. Accordingly we may render—

Who by your majesty unite the obedient as by work the lord of an estate (does) his people; or,

As two active (men, overseers) unite (or impel) their laborers.

In the former the stress of comparison lies upon the instrumentals *apāsā* and *mahitvā*. *Mitrāvaruṇā* acting as one would be in comparison *κατὰ σύνεσιν* with *apnasthó*. In the latter, the comparison is formally correct between MV. and *apāsā* and *apnasthó* must be taken as an adjective, "being at work"¹, with *jānān*, "people".

¹ This would seem a possible meaning for the word, which is *ἄπασιν* *εἰρημένον* in RV.

VIII, 87, 1^{ab}—

Dyumnî vām stōmo aṣvinā
krīvir nā sēka ā gatam /

Grassmann, Ludwig and Griffith see here a comparison between *aṣvinā* and *krīvir*. To me the simile is between *stōmo* and *krīvir*.

Clear is your song of praise, Aṣvins,

As a water-skin in its outpouring. Come ye.

Or at least a *comparatio compendiaria* in *pāda b*,

Come ye to its outpouring like (to that of) a water-skin.

VIII, 73, 17^{ab}—

aṣvinā sū vicākaṣād
vrkṣām paraṣumāñ iva /
 18^{ab} *pūram nā dhṛṣṇāv ā ruja*
kṛṣṇāyā bādhitō viṣā /

These are separated only by an irrelevant refrain common to every *ṛc* of the hymn. It seems better to take them together. The translations of Grassmann, Ludwig and Griffith take the comparison in 17 to be between *aṣvinā* and *vrkṣām*, but Ludwig in his commentary would place the punctuation at the close of *pāda a*. This seems much better. The passage is not clear, but if we accept with Sāyaṇa a reference to the story of Saptavadhri, who, in V, 78, 5, 6, seems to have had hand or foot caught in a split tree and to have been extricated when he invoked the Aṣvins' aid, we may render somehow thus—

When you see clearly the Aṣvins,

Like a man with an axe, strong one, break down the tree,

Like the fort (that you once broke down)

When (you were) harassed by the black folk.

Saptavadhri is named in 9^a preceding. The incident in 18 may have given him the name (prosonym), "the one having seven eunuchs", as black aborigines may have been taken captives here and made his eunuchs. Grassmann (*WB*) refers 18 to Indra, though there is no allusion to him elsewhere in the hymn.

IV, 41, 8^{ab}—

tā vām dhīyó vase vājayāntir
ājīm nā jagmur yuvayñh sudānū /

I do not see the comparison of some of the translators between *vām* and *ājīm*. At the most it would be a *comparatio compendiaria* as *vām* could be compared only to the goal not

to the race track. The meaning seems to be—These hymns, O bounteous givers, longing for both of you, racing for (the prize of) your favor, have gone to the track as it were, (i. e., in competition with those of other Ṛṣis).

Conversely the singular may have a dual *upamāna*.

Thus in III, 18, 1^{ab}, we have

*Bhāvā no agne sumānā ūpetāu
sākheva sākhye pitāreva sādhuḥ /*

[Be thou gracious, Agni, on our approach,

Good as friend to friend, as one's father and mother].

The meaning of *pitāra* as an elliptic dual excludes the singular. There is no need of Bollensen's labored attempt (*op. cit.* p. 472) to explain *pitāreva* as *pitāre-va*, and this *pitāre* as an archaic dative and the elliptic rendering "as (a son) to his father".

X, 89, 2^{ab}—

*sū sūryaḥ pāry urā vārāṇsy
ēndro vavṛtyād rāthyeva cakrā /*

[He (Indra) is Sūrya. Through the wide expanses,

Indra turns hitherward like the wheels of a chariot].

A commentary may be based on

I, 30, 14^c— *ṛnór ākṣam nā cakryōḥ* and

I, 166, 9^d— *ākṣo vaç cakrā samāyā vi vāvṛte*.

Both in our passage, X, 89, 2^b, and in I, 166, 9^d, Grassmann takes *cakrā* as neut. pl., apparently not considering what manner of chariot it would be with a plurality of wheels upon a single axle. Ludwig in his commentary remarks that *cakrā* may be inst. sg. It would be a bizarre picture, indeed, to represent the mighty Indra rolling through the vast expanses by a single chariot wheel. *Cakrā* is masc. dual in both passages, as this alone is the normal number. The two wheels on one axle turn together.

X, 59, 1^{abc}—

*Prā tāry āyulḥ pratarāṁ nāvīya
sthātāreva krātumatā rāthasya /
ādha cyāvāna ut tavīty ārtham*

Grassmann, Ludwig and Griffith, all see a comparison between *āyulḥ* (sg.) and *sthātārā* (du.). If this were the case, the dual could be easily defended by the analogy of II, 12, 8^c—

samānāṁ cid rātham ātasthivānsā

The twain mounted on a common car, i. e. the king, or

warrior, and the driver, hence the two usual occupants of the car, the familiar later *rathināu*.

A study of the hymn, however, suggests another interpretation as more in keeping with its general tenor. Four times, in *rcas* 4, 5, 6 and 7, the *Rṣi* asks for longer life. Four times he asks for sight,—

4^b— *pācyema nū sūryam uccārantam.*

5^c— *rārandhī naḥ sūryasya saṁdīcī.*

6^a— *pūnar asmāsu cākṣuḥ (dhehi).*

6^c— *jyók paçyema sūryam uccārantam.*

Thus the burden of his song is life and light. We may find both desires in the opening lines, and render—

May (Subandhu's) life be carried forward anew,

May the guides as it were of his car be possessed of power,

Then active, he will effect his purpose.

Grassmann both in his *WB.* and his *RV.* takes *krátumatā* as a nom. du. built on the weak stem instead of on the strong. Lanman (*NI.* 516) considers this "not improbable". *Sthātārā* is thus in comparison with an implied *akṣyāu* (eyes) and the dual is normal both for this reason and for that already suggested. This interpretation does not greatly differ from Lanman's (*l. c.*): "Discerning are the two guides as it were of the body". As he does not state how he arrives at this, one cannot tell how much we differ in method of approach.

The dual might have a plural *upamāna*, but this does not seem to occur in the *RV.* Two passages have, however, been so taken.

I, 141, 11^{cd}—

raçmīnr iva yó yāmati jānmanī ubhé

devānāṁ çānsam ṛtā ā ca sukrátuḥ

[Which with kindly power guides as they were reins

both races and the praise of the gods at sacrifice].

Here the formal *upameya* is *jānmanī ubhé devānāṁ çānsam* *ca*, a dual plus a singular, so the plural *raçmīnr* is formally normal. There is, however, a sort of *comparatio compendiaria* here. The races are guided but the reins are only the instrument by which the horse, or horses, are guided. So "reins" is equivalent to "steeds directed by the reins". The steeds of the figure would be the individual members of the two races. Again the *RV.* knows no duality of *raçmī*, but uses the pl. even in the case of a single horse, as in I, 144, 3^d— *vólhur*

ná raçmîn, or a collective sg., even for plural horses, as in V, 44, 3^d, *hârînām*. So the pl. is amply justified, even if *jânmanî* alone be taken as *upameya* of the simile.

I, 95, 6— *ubhé bhadré joṣayete ná mēne*
gávo ná vāçrā úpa tasthur évāiḥ /
sá dākṣānām dākṣapatir babhūva
añjānti yām dakṣinató havírbhiḥ //

[Both auspicious ones, like dames, fondle (Agni).

Like lowing kine they stand about in their wise.

He of the wise became lord of wisdom,

Whom, on the right, they balm with their oblations].

The translators give no intimation of taking the simile in *pādas a* and *b* otherwise than between *ubhé bhadré* (= *uṣāśā-nāktā* or *dyāvāprthivī*) and the pl. *gávo*. But clearly *b*, like *d*, refers to the worshippers, who in *b*, in wonted wise, stand about the newly born Agni and in *d* pour their oblations of oil upon him. The hymn is marked by some of those swift and sudden transitions in which the R̥sis frequently delight. Thus in 1 we have day and night, in 2 Tvaṣtar's ten daughters, in 3 the *yajamānās*, in 4 and 5^{ab} Agni, in 5^{cd}, 6^a *uṣāśānāktā* or *dyāvāprthivī*, 6^b the *yajamānās* 6^c Agni, 6^d the *yajamānās*, 7-11 Agni. There is thus no comparison between *ubhé bhadré* and *gávo* and the plural of *b* is normal.

Conversely a plural may have a dual *upamāna*.

I, 59, 4^a— *brhatī iva sūnāve ródasī gíro*
 [Like the great twain worlds are the praises (offered)
 to their son, i. e., Agni is everywhere praised,
 his songs fill the vast heaven and earth].

Ródasī is here a *duale tantum*, it could not be pluralized. Nor could *gíro* be made dual, for imagine the bathos of two songs filling the vast reaches of the two worlds. The plural indicates the vast volume of multitudinous songs.

VII, 2, 5— *svādhyò ví dúro devayántah*
ácīçrayū rathayúr devátātā /
pūrvī çīçum ná mātārā rihāṇé
sām agrúvo ná sámanesv añjanī //

[The pious worshippers opened wide the doors

fain for chariots in the god's service;

Like rich parents caress their child,

Like maidens (adorn themselves) for the assembly,
 they adorn him].

The numerical concord of pādas *a*, *b* and *d* is broken by the dual of *c*. Sāyaṇa explains the metaphor of *mātārā* by the sacrificial ladles, *juhā* and *upabhṛt*; Ludwig suggests also *dyāvūprthivī*. In either case the elliptic dual must remain as a *duale tantum* in its meaning.

Here may belong also:—

I, 180, 4^d—

rāthyeva cakrā prāti yānti mādhvah

[Like chariot wheels run the sweet (juices)].

IV, 30, 2^{ab}— *satrā te ānu kṛṣṭāyo*

vīṣvā cakrēva vāvṛtuḥ

[All people have run together

as chariot wheels after you (Indra)].

X, 117, 5^{cd}—

ó hí vārtante rāthyeva cakrā

anyām-anyam ūpa tiṣṭhanta rāyaḥ

[Verily riches roll on like chariot wheels

Now one, now another, they approach].

There is doubt whether *cakrā* is here dual, the conventional number for a chariot, or plural for a plurality of chariots.

In the examination of these twenty passages we see that a real lack of numerical concord may be due (1) to words that are found only in one grammatical number in the meaning required; (2) to constructions in which there is concord of sense rather than of form; (3) to poetic exigency as strict concord would lead to incongruity, bathos, etc.; (4) to rhetorical tropes, etc. There is always a good and sufficient reason for the lack of numerical concord. The instances in which the examination has led to new interpretations show something of the value of the principle in Vedic hermeneutics.

A collection of the similes with lack of concord between the singular and plural numbers, which the writer is making, will illustrate and corroborate the foregoing and will furnish new interpretations for several Vedic passages.

AV.

The Atharva Veda has few duals in similes. Those which show the normal numerical concord between the substantive terms are—

After *ajirādhirājāu* (= *mṛtyúḥ ca nīrṛtiḥ ca*) — *ḡyenāu* (VII, 70, 3^b).

After *ántāu*—*sammātārāu* (XIII, 2, 13^b). See JAOS. XXXII, 44.

After *gṛdhrāu*—**kurkurāu* (VII, 95, 2^c); *gāvāu* (VII, 95, 2^b);
and *vṛkāu* (VII, 95, 2^d).

After *muṣkū* (*strīyās*)—*gardabhāu* (XX, 136, 2^d); *ṣakulāu* (XX, 136, 1^d).

With elliptic dual as antecedent—

After *dāmpatī*—**cakravākā* (XIV, 2, 64^b).

With dual dvandva as antecedent—

After *dyāvāprthivī*—*dhenū* (IV, 22, 4^b).

After *prāṇāpānāu*—*anaḍvāhāu* (III, 10, 5^b; VII, 53, 5^b).

With two singulars as antecedent—

After (*ṣrutādhāraṇā ca mēdhā ca*)—**ārtñī* (I, 1, 3^b).

After *āvām*—*strī anyā ca* (or *anyāc ca*)—*sākhāyāu* (VI, 42, 1^d, 2^a).

To these are to be added a few listed also in RV.—

After *indrāsómā* (RV. VII, 104, 6^b)—*ācīvā* (VIII, 4, 6^b).

After *indrāsómā* (RV. VII, 104, 6^d)—*nṛpātī* (VIII, 4, 6^d).

After (*havirdhāne*) (RV. X, 13, 2^a)—*yamé* (XVIII, 3, 38^b).

After *yamāc ca yamī ca* (RV. X, 10, 7^d)—*cakrā* (XVIII, 1, 8^d).

After *yamī ca anyāc ca* (RV. X, 10, 8^d)—*cakrā* (XVIII, 1, 9^d).

Of similes with but one dual member, I find a single instance,—III, 29, 6—

īreva nōpa dasyati
samudrā iva páyo mahát |
devāū savāsīnāv iva
ṣitipān nopa dasyati ||

[Like a refreshing draught he faileth not,

Like the sea, the great water,

Like the twain gods that dwell together,

The white-footed (ram) faileth not].

The concord in the singular in *pādas a, b* and *d* is broken by the dual in *c*, in which the reference is to the *acvīnā*, *duale tantum*.

The Rig Veda gives us 130 similes with the dual in both the *upameya* and the *upamāna* and at least 13, at most 20, others in which but one term is in the dual. The Atharva Veda gives but 19 similes with complete dual concord, and but one in which a single dual is found.

* Starred forms are $\tilde{\alpha}\pi\alpha\tilde{\varsigma}$ $\epsilon\iota\rho\tau\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$ in AV. All the words listed have *iva* as the particle of comparison.

Not only in the dual but also in the other numbers does the AV. show a remarkable lack of similes as compared with the RV. Thus, according to the citations in Whitney's *Index Verborum*, we have in the entire twenty books of the AV. only 368 similes with *iva* or *va* and 38 with *ná*, a total of 401, against the 207 similes with *iva* and 315 with *ná*, a total of 522, found by actual count in the first book alone of the RV. Of these the AV. has 40 with *iva* and 14 with *ná*, that are common to it and to the RV.

These figures give a conclusive demonstration of the enormous difference between these two Vedas in the use of figurative language, in their poetic power and artistic technique, and afford a strong confirmation of the statements made by the writer in this *Journal*, XXX, 182ff. and XXXII, 33ff. The study of the instances in which the general numerical concord between the terms of a simile is not maintained affords another demonstration of the vast gulf that so often separates the artistic, hieratic Ṛṣi of the Rig and the feebly imitative and essentially prosaic Shaman of the Atharva in the skill with which they use rhetorical tropes and syntactical schemata.

This study amply illustrates also the strict use of the dual in Vedic.

*Some Aspects of the Overland Oriental Trade at the
Christian Era.* — By WILFRED H. SCHOFF, Secretary
of the Commercial Museum, Philadelphia, Pa.

The conquests of Alexander resulted in a great development of commerce between India and the Mediterranean, which was made possible through the establishment of a regular overland trade route under single control from end to end. This was the route which led from Antioch in Syria to the ford of the Euphrates, thence down that river and across to Seleucia on the Tigris, up the Zagros valley, over the plateau to the Caspian Gates and north of the Persian desert to Nisaea and Antiochia Margiana; thence through Bactria to the Pamirs, or through Arachosia to Kabul and the Panjāb. Under the earlier Seleucidae Greek cities grew up at frequent intervals along this great highway of commerce, and Greek traders were active.

The disintegration of the Greek power in Asia was succeeded by the establishment of the Parthian dynasty, and the disintegration of the Greek power in Mediterranean lands was succeeded by the establishment of the Roman Empire. For three centuries the diplomacy of these two powers was focussed on their trade relations. The Parthians controlled the great overland trade route, and levied onerous taxes on the rich commerce that passed over it to the new market of the West; the Romans sought to create new trade routes, or failing that, to force better terms from Parthia.

The trade was largely in gems, spices and fine textiles from India, and in silk from China, paid for in coin or its equivalent, for Rome had little else to offer. It was therefore a trade that was peculiarly subject to intermediate taxation by any power established astride the trade-routes, and peculiarly susceptible of diversion from one route to another.

As the power and wealth of Rome increased, the enterprise

of her subjects was directed eastward, and before 50 A. D. the periodicity of the Indian monsoons was observed and Roman shipping was regularly dispatched from Egyptian ports to India, steering straight across the ocean and no longer hugging the shore. This sea trade was very actively developed between 50 and 100 A. D. and seriously crippled the overland caravan business; but before this came about, there was another important diversion of trade from the Parthian highway. In the Mediterranean lands it was observed through the growing prosperity of Petra at the expense of Antioch. By tracing the new route we may discover a striking combination of political and commercial elements that threatened the very existence of the Parthian power.

The route led from Petra, either overland across Arabia, or more notably by sea around Arabia, to the head of the Persian Gulf; thence up the mountains of Elam and overland south of the Persian desert to Lake Helmand, Arachosia and Kabul. This brought into combination the Nabataean Kingdom, the Arab states of Mesene and Characene which were closely related to it, the ancient Kingdom of Persis, the Scythian Sacae, and finally the Yue-chi or Kushans, ruling on either side of the Hindu Kush, in territory taken by them from the Greek kings of Bactria.

Of these elements three, the Arab Persian Gulf states, the Sacae at Lake Helmand and the Persians between, were at least nominally subject to the Parthian dynasty, but the bond was very loose. We read in the *Shah Nama* the contempt of Persia for the Parthians; "the throne did not belong to any one" and "men said that they had no longer a kingdom on the earth." And the Sacae, though admitting the Parthian overlordship, had previously admitted that of the Yue-chi, by whom they had been driven over the Pamirs, and who had followed them and were settled in adjoining territory; so that by inheritance they were no subjects of Parthia. The maintenance of overland trade by this route, in competition with the older Parthian route, depended on the existence of a strong power controlling the passes into India and Turkestan. Precisely this power existed under the Yue-chi dynasties.

There has been much discussion of the dates of these dynasties and the extent of the territories over which they ruled.

The tribes came out of Chinese territory and overran Bactrian territory before 100 B. C. Overland trade between China and the Greeks in Bactria had been opened soon after 200 B. C., the terrors of the great deserts having been overcome by the use of the Bactrian camel. By their control of the mountain passes the Yue-chi tribes were intermediaries in this trade, from the profits of which the growth of their influence was no doubt derived. After an uncertain period of settlement north of the Hindu Kush they penetrated India through the upper Indus and the Panjāb, and established there an empire which perhaps overshadowed and outlasted their Bactrian dominion. Their various tribes, although apparently allied or confederated, were under chieftains of different families, so that their dynasties were not necessarily continuous.

Recent debate has been focussed on the relative priority of the two leading Kushan dynasties, the one including Kozoulo and Wima Kadphises (the former at first ruling jointly with the Greek Hermaeus) and the other, Kanishka, Vasishka, Kanishka II., Huvishka and Vasudeva. The Kadphises dynasty, it is generally admitted, attached to themselves the remnants of the Greek kingdom of Kabul and overthrew the Indo-Parthian kingdom of Gondophares, about 50 A. D., after which they greatly enlarged the Kushan dominions in Arachosia and India. The beginning of the Kanishka dynasty is dated 58 B. C., the so called Vikrama era, by Prof. Sylvain Lévi, Prof. O. Franke, Dr. Fleet, Mr. Kennedy and others; 78 A. D., the Saka or Salivahana era, by Fergusson, Prof. Percy Gardner, Prof. E. J. Rapson, Dr. F. W. Thomas, Cunningham, and by Mr. Vincent A. Smith, in the third edition of his *Early History of India*, although in previous editions he had preferred a 2nd century dating; and by the Messrs. Bhandarkar as late as 278 A. D. The question of Kanishka's date is important because of its bearing on the history of both politics and religion; for in addition to his military achievements he convened a great Buddhist council out of which developed a missionary activity that was possibly felt as far away as China and Roman Syria. While the recent discussion of this question at sessions of the Royal Asiatic Society¹ in London has, perhaps, resulted in no final conversion to any of these dates

¹ JRAS, various numbers, 1912-13-14; see also the introductory treatises in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, new ed., vols. I and II.

by its partisans, it has served especially to direct attention to the important part played by the Kushan dynasties in the international silk trade; and further examination of the general state of international diplomacy and commerce of that period indicates, if not an earlier dating of a single dynasty like that of Kanishka, at least a dating of the domination of international trade-routes by the Yue-chi earlier than the overthrow of the Gondophares dynasty, about the middle of the first century.

The increase in the importation of silk at Rome was noted before the end of the Republic, and even at a time when conditions tended to restrict traffic through the trade-route terminus at Antioch. Lucan¹ gives a vivid description of the charms of Cleopatra seen through the "Sidonian fabric"; during the reign of Augustus silk fabrics were much affected by men, although the fashion was considered effeminate; and early in the reign of Tiberius the Roman Senate enacted a law² "that men should not defile themselves by wearing garments of silk". If we credit the various statements of Pliny³ this law was ineffective, and the demand for silk continued to grow; the fabric was worth its weight in gold, and the trade was a serious drain on the resources of the Empire. Pliny, indeed, counts it among the "most valuable productions"; "the most costly things that are gathered from trees are nard and Seric tissues".

The rise of the Nabataean trade coincided with the decline of the Ptolemies in Egypt and the overthrow of the Sabaeans, the commercial intermediaries of the Ptolemies, in South Arabia, by their neighbors and rivals the Homerites, who levied tribute on all traders from Egypt. This upheaval in South Arabia led also to the expulsion of another tribe, the Abaseni, into Africa, where they established the Abyssinian kingdom.⁴

This happened about, or a little before, the Christian era.⁵ By 80 A. D. those "people called Axumites" were established, and maintained friendly relations with Rome; so we are told by the author of the *Periplus*;⁶ later they were active allies

¹ Pharsalia X, 141.

² Tacitus, Annals. II, 33.

³ Hist. Nat. VI, 20; XI, 26; XXI, 8; XXXVII, 67.

⁴ Glaser, *Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens*, ch. XIV.

⁵ Glaser, *Die Abessinier in Arabien und Afrika*.

⁶ *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, §§ 4, 5; ed. Schoff, pp. 61-6, 140-2.

of the Romans and cooperated with them in destroying the power of the Homerites and thus clearing the sea-route to the East.

The Nabataean allies at the head of the Persian Gulf were the states of Characene and Mesene. Racially they were closely related. From their port of Obollah or Apologus (the Ubulu of the Assyrian inscriptions) the author of the *Periplus* noted in 80 A. D. an active sea-trade to India,¹ exporting gold and various products and bringing back timber and less bulky merchandise. Now the Chinese annals give us an important reference to this state. In a section written about 90 A. D. and embracing facts coming within the period 206 B. C. to 25 A. D. we find this comment:²

"The country of T'iao-chih is densely populated; it used to be governed by petty rulers, but An-hsi (Parthia) reducing them to vassalage, made it into a dependency".

At the time this was inserted in the annals it must have been "news". It can probably be referred to the latter half of the first century A. D. The author of the *Periplus* knew no Parthia; indeed, he speaks of "Persis" as an independent power, holding half of Southern Arabia.³ And a later passage in the Chinese annals refers again to T'iao-chih as having become "subject to Parthia as a vassal state under a military governor having control of all the small cities".⁴

The century following the Roman occupation of Syria was one of unrest among the Arab tribes of the northern desert, and the old highway from Antioch to Seleucia was infested with robbers. Indeed, it was not until the rise of Palmyra that the caravan trade was effectively policed and again became prosperous. And we have two records that indicate some effort of the Parthians to connect with the Southern, or Nabataean route; one Chinese, the other Greek.

In a year fixed as 97 A. D. "the general Pan-Chao sent Kan Ying as an ambassador to Ta-ts'in, who arrived in T'iao-chih, on the coast of the great sea. When about to take his passage across the sea, the sailors of the western frontier of Parthia told Kan-Ying: 'the sea is vast and great; with favorable winds it is possible to cross within three months:

¹ *Periplus* 149-151.

² Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient*, 145.

³ *Periplus*, §§ 27, 87: *op. cit.*, pp. 127, 161.

⁴ Hirth, *op. cit.*, 38.

but if you meet slow winds, it may take you two years. It is for this reason that those who go to sea take on board a supply of three years' provisions. There is something in the sea which is apt to make a man homesick, and several have thus lost their lives'. When Kan-Ying heard this, he stopped."¹

Now this port where the timid Kan-Ying ended his mission and avoided *mal de mer*, is named Yü-lo, which Prof. Hirth identifies with Hira below Seleucia, whence ships reached the Persian Gulf by the Euphrates, or the Pallacopas Canal.² It was "at the extreme west frontier of Parthia"; below it was T'iao-chih of the Arabs, which later came into vassalage; and from this place "coming from the land-road of Parthia you make a round at sea, and taking a northern turn, come out from the western part of the sea, whence you proceed to Ta-ts'in",—by circumnavigating Arabia.³ That is, at the end of the first century A. D. the Parthians were cutting into the Arab sea-route and about the same time they subjugated the Arabs themselves.

The Greek source for our view of the policy of Parthia as regards this southern route, is in the *Mansiones Parthicae* or *Parthian Stations* of Isidore of Charax, dating close to the Christian era.⁴ Here we are taken by the older route from Antioch to Seleucia, with mention of the "island in the Euphrates, where was the treasure of Phraates, who cut the throats of his concubines, when Tiridates the exile invaded the land";⁵ and of the Greek city Artemita—"but now it is called Chalasar",⁶ (showing the growth of Arab influence). Thence Isidore proceeds through Parthia proper to Nisaea and Antiochia Margiana. But here, instead of bearing eastward, his route bends southward through "Alexandria of the Arii"⁷ to "Sacastana of the Scythian Sacae", being the Lake Helmand region,⁸ and finally "the city of Alexandropolis, the metropolis of Arachosia; it is Greek, and by it flows the river Arachotus".⁹ And here the itinerary ends with the statement "As far as this place the land is under the rule of the Parthians".

That is, at the Christian era no Parthian custom-houses

¹ Hirth, *op. cit.* 39.

² *Ibid.* 39.

³ *Ibid.* 43.

⁴ Müller, *Geographi Graeci Minores*, I, 244-256; also ed. Schoff, Philadelphia, 1914.

⁵ *Ibid.* § 1.

⁶ *Ibid.* § 2.

⁷ *Ibid.* § 15.

⁸ *Ibid.* § 18.

⁹ *Ibid.* § 19.

collected their tolls east of Mervrud, Herat and Kandahar. Between those points and the Pamirs it seems necessary to infer the existence of a foreign and independent power, which can hardly have been other than that of the Yue-chi.¹

But observe that Isidore shows us Parthian control over one section of the southern route, that between Kandahar and Lake Helmand,³ and a northern connection from that point to the old overland route;⁴ while we have ample evidence that from the Saka territory trade went also through Carmana to Charax Spasini and Obollah, where it paid tolls to another power. This we may explain from the peculiar position of the Sacae, with their dual subjection, Kushan by inheritance and Parthian by adoption. And just at this time they played a large part in the Parthian empire; for when Phraates IV. whom Isidore mentions, was first driven from his capital by Tiridates in 33 B. C. he fled to the Scythians, who lent him troops and reestablished him on his throne. Just then the Parthians were in no position to be over-insistent on their sovereign rights; for the Romans supported Tiridates (who struck coins with the title *Philoromaïos* in addition to the usual *Philellēnos* of the Parthians) and kept him in their pay as an ever-useful pretender to the throne of their enemies.⁵

One of the earliest Chinese references to Parthia states that "when the emperor Wu-ti (B. C. 140-86) first sent an

¹ That such a power existed north of the Hindu Kush is indisputed. Between that range and the Indus the Greek city-state of Kabul may well have been the only place that had not succumbed to it. The routes eastward from Herat to the Bamian-Balkh pass, and from Kandahar to Kabul, had formerly been feeders to the Parthian trade-route; now they were under other hands. Isidore lists Arachosia and Sacastana under the Parthian dominions, but this was evidently no more than their western border. Later (about 35 A. D.) they moved eastward under Gondophares, and in the general break-up after his death (about 50 A. D.) the author of the *Periplus* (80 A. D.) found quarrelling Parthians at the mouths of the Indus, while above them were the Arattii, (a Panjāb tribe) the Arachosii, the Gandaraei (Gandhāra, with its capital Takshasilā, Taxila) and the people of Poclais (western Gandhāra, below Kabul, with its capital Pushkalāvati, Pukkalaoti, the Peucelaotis of Arrian) and "above these the very warlike nation of the Bactrians",² certainly the Yue-chi, probably then dominant over the small states above mentioned.

² *Periplus*, § 47; *op. cit.*, pp. 183-7.

³ Isidore, § 18.

⁴ *Ibid.* §§ 16, 17, 18.

⁵ Wroth, *Catalogue of the Coins of Parthia in the British Museum*, XXXVIII, plates 16-23.

embassy to Parthia the king ordered a general to meet him on the eastern frontier with 20,000 cavalry. As they sent an embassy to follow the Chinese embassy they came to see the country of China. In the east of Parthia are the Ta-Yuehchi"¹ (Kushans)—we may infer, not yet independent. And two centuries later, when the campaigns of Pan-chao brought the Chinese arms westward, we are told that he "established contact with Parthia"—that is, that by the end of the first century A. D. the Kushan power no longer blocked the Chinese trade-routes, but was confined to the Indus and its affluents.

The development of trade between the Kushan and the Nabataean dominions was the result of disorganization and weakness in the Roman and Parthian empires. With their recovery we shall see how quickly this interloping combination was broken up. Rome disliked Parthia, but one set off tariff-collectors was better than two; and the author of the *Periplus* tells us the Nabataeans took their 25 % of all merchandise and maintained a garrison to collect it.² So the policy of Rome was to develop some workable arrangement with Parthia for the overland trade, to build up her own sea-trade, and to destroy other competitors. A like policy ruled in Parthia and China.

While Rome was torn by the civil wars following the murder of Julius Caesar, and Parthia by those following the murder of Orodes by his son Phraates whom Isidore mentions, Kabul, Obollah and Petra could trade together unmolested; and this state of things endured until the close of the war of the Armenian succession, 58 to 62 A. D., after which there was lasting peace between Rome and Parthia.³ Even at the Christian era Isidore shows us the Parthians tapping it at Lake Hira. In 80 A. D. the author of the *Periplus* knew of the Kushans as "the very warlike nation of the Bactrians", who dwelt "above the Arachosians"⁴—but their warlikeness received a severe check in 90 A. D. when a Kushan king sent a great army, said to have included 70,000 cavalry, over the Pamirs to do battle with the Chinese general

¹ Hirth, *op. cit.*, pp. 36, 140.

² *Periplus*, § 19: *op. cit.*, p. 104.

³ Rawlinson, *Sixth Monarchy*, ch. XVI.

⁴ *Periplus*, § 47; *op. cit.*, p. 184.

Pan Chao.¹ The Kushan force was annihilated; Pan Chao "established contact with Parthia", and the 2d century A. D. shows us the Kushans overrunning India as far as the Ganges, but no longer measuring strength with China or Parthia. And in 104 A. D. the emperor Trajan sent a Roman army to the conquest of Petra and the destruction of the Nabataean Kingdom.² Parthia alone remained to claim its share of the overland trade and to compete with the Roman sea-trade; as the Chinese annals have it, "they (the Romans) traffic by sea with Parthia and India, the profit of which trade is tenfold. They are honest in their transactions, and there are no double prices . . . Their kings always desired to send embassies to China, but the Parthians wished to carry on trade with them in Chinese silks, and it is for this reason that they were cut off from communication. This lasted until the ninth year of the Yen-hsi period during the emperor Huan-ti's reign (A. D. 166) when the King of Ta-ts'in, Antun (Marcus Aurelius Antoninus) sent an embassy who from the frontier of Jih-nan (Annam) offered ivory, rhinoceros horns and tortoise shell"; (products of the Abyssinian coast of Africa)—"from that time dates the direct intercourse with this country".³

These various facts indicate that during the century between 50 B. C. and 50 A. D. we can account for the existence of a strong power, independent of Rome or Parthia, astride the overland trade routes, and that after about 50 A. D. we must assume its decadence and soon after 100 A. D. its passing from Central Asiatic affairs and its expansion in a purely Indian field. The Chinese annals show us the Yue-chi west of the Pamirs by 100 B. C. Does the later history of Turkish invaders lead us to suppose that this tribe remained peaceful shepherds for more than a century when let loose on the remains of Greek prosperity in Bactria? Did they not rather, like the Ottoman Turks, pursue their conquests with full vigor, fortifying themselves by assuming a religious leadership that would command the allegiance of their victims?

The history of the first century B. C. requires a Yue-chi

¹ V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 3^d ed. pp. 253-4; Douglas, *China* (Story of the Nations series), p. 18; Lévi, *Notes sur les Indo-Scythes*, p. 50.

² Dio Cassius, 68, 14.

³ Hirth, *op. cit.*, p. 42; this was probably a trading venture, and not an official mission.

power, if not everywhere supreme, at least the dominant force, between the Oxus and the Indus, taking full advantage of the temporary weakness of Rome and Parthia to strengthen its control of the silk-trade; the century following the Christian era shows that power spreading over Northern India and finally reaching the Erythraean Sea; but for an "Indo-Scythian" in the second century A. D. shutting off Chinese from Parthians there is no ready explanation. After the defeat at Kashgar and the fall of Petra, the bases for such a power are not apparent. And whatever the ultimate decision as to the date of Kanishka (which the fortunate discovery of some inscription may at any time establish beyond doubt) it is clear at least that his race before and during the first century exerted a more complete control of the overland trade-routes than they could have done at any date after 100 A. D.¹

On the sea-route the Indo-Scythians asserted themselves after their overland control declined. We find many evidences of their activity in the Indian Ocean. Pausanias gives us one, where he mentions the "island of Seria", usually confused with the Seres of China, but which we may identify with Masira on the southern coast of Arabia. He follows earlier writers in saying "both the Seres and the inhabitants of the neighboring islands of Abasa and Sacaea (the modern Kuria Muria) are of the Ethiopian race". But he qualifies by adding "some say, however, that they are not Ethiopians but a mixture of Scythians and Indians".² The author of the *Periplus* saw there only "three villages of natives, a rascally lot, wearing girdles of palm leaves";³ but the Indus delta he knew as "the coast district of Scythia, which lies above toward the north".⁴

And so we are led to a later Chinese account, when the

¹ The subsequent history of the Kushan tribes north of the Hindu Kush is still obscure. Apparently they were much reduced by the Sassanians in Persia and a new race of Asiatic invaders, the Ephthalite Huns. In 481 A. D. the Kushans defeated the Sassanian king Perozes, who attacked them where they then lived, on the southern shore of the Caspian; but about 600 A. D. they were overwhelmed by Armenian troops subject to the greatest of the Sassanians, Chosroes II. At that time both Kushans and Ephthalites were apparently vassals of the Turks. (Cf. Rawlinson, *Seventh Monarchy*, XVI; XXIV.)

² Pausanias, *Descr. Graec.* IV, 26; see *Periplus*, ed. Schoff, pp. 144-6.

³ *Periplus*, § 33; *op. cit.*, p. 146.

⁴ *Periplus*, § 38; *op. cit.*, p. 166.

missionary activities of the Kushan monarchs had outlived their military glory:¹ "as regards Ta-ts'in and T'ien-chu (Syria and India) far out on the western ocean, we have to say that, although the envoys of the two Han dynasties have experienced the special difficulties of this road, yet traffic in merchandise has been effected, and goods have been sent out to the foreign tribes, the force of winds driving them far away across the waves of the sea . . . All the precious things of land and water come from there . . . and also the doctrine of the abstraction of mind in devotion to the Lord of the world, all this having caused navigation and trade to be extended to those parts".

¹ Hirth, *op. cit.*, p. 46. General attention will also have been given to the results of Dr. Marshall's explorations in the Gandhāra region. His paper on the Date of Kanishka (*JRAS*, Oct. 1914) appeared subsequently to the preparation of the foregoing, and points perhaps in the same direction, of Kushan influence waning in Central Asia as it advanced in Northwestern India. It is, of course, mainly by archaeological investigation that any question like this can be finally solved.

(W. H. S., June, 1915.)

The Kashmirian Atharva Veda, Book Four.—Edited, with critical notes, by LEROY CARR BARRET, M. A., Ph. D., Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut.

Prefatory.—This fourth book of the Kashmirian Atharva Veda is edited in the same manner as were the first three books (see this Journal vol. 26 p. 197, vol. 30 p. 187, and vol. 32 p. 343). The remarks prefaced to Book Three are applicable here without change; the added experience in handling this manuscript seems to be bringing only one gain, a somewhat surer realization of the limits of possible attainment in restoring the text, and yet evidence of this may not always be clear in the results presented. Book Five will follow this one as soon as possible; at my request Professor Edgerton of the University of Pennsylvania has edited Book Six.

The transliteration is given line for line with the ms. and in spite of the limitation of a narrow page there ought to be no confusion in finding a passage in the facsimile. The abbreviations are the usual ones; except that Ç. is used to refer to the AV. of the Çāunikiya School, and ms. (*sic*) is used for manuscript. The signs of punctuation used in the ms. are fairly respresented by the vertical bar (= colon) and the "z" (= period): and the Roman period is used for a *virāma*: daggers indicate a corrupt reading.

Introduction.

Of the ms.—This fourth book in the Kashmir ms. begins f. 61a l. 4 and ends f. 74b l. 16,—13¹ folios, inasmuch as f. 62 is omitted in the numbering though the text is not interrupted. In f. 64b l. 5 three or four letters are marred by peeling of the bark: and there are not more than four unclear signs. The number of lines of script per page varies from 17 to 19.

Punctuation, numbers, glosses, &c.—There are no numbers at the ends of stanzas, and only irregular punctuation to mark the ends of hemistichs. In some places a short vertical bar just below the line of script indicates the position of a colon. No accents are marked.

The grouping of the hymns in anuvākas is maintained; there are 8 anuvākas with 5 hymns in each, and all are correctly numbered except that no number is written for anuvāka or hymn at the very end of the book. All the hymns are numbered save no. 14 and no. 40; the end of no. 14 is not indicated in any way.

In the left margin of f. 63b opposite l. 16 stands ācīrvacanāṃ: its position at the end of no. 5 seems to indicate that it applies to that hymn. In the lower margin of f. 70a is written vṛhaspatasūktāḥ (*sic*); it seems to refer particularly to st. 2 of no. 27. In the right margin of f. 71a stands ṣaḍṛtaṃ sūktāṃ, referring to no. 30: cf. Ppp. 2. 69 where the edited text probably should have been ṣaḍṛtusūktam. In the top margin of f. 71a stands indraṃ mitraṃ divīsū, probably abbreviated for devīsūktam and referring to no. 28 (= RV. 1. 106): in the same margin is also apannāṣṭakamta referring to no. 29 (= Ç. 4. 33) where there is some anukramaṇī material prefixed to the hymn. Thrice (in hymns 9, 17, 19) only the pratika of the last stanza is given followed by ity ekā to indicate previous occurrence in this ms.; this ity ekā seems to be an abbreviation perhaps of something like ity ekarcam, meaning "and so forth to the extent of this one stanza".

There are some corrections, both marginal and interlinear usually consisting of two or three letters.

Extent of the book.—This book has 40 hymns of which two are prose. The normal number of stanzas in a hymn is seven, as it is in Ç. 4: 31 hymns have 7 stanzas each, and not one has less. Assuming the correctness of the verse divisions as edited below (there are uncertainties in several places), we have the following table:

31 hymns have	7 stanzas each	= 217 stanzas
4 " "	8 " "	= 32 "
2 " "	9 " "	= 18 "
2 " "	10 " "	= 20 "
1 hymn has	13	= 13 "
40 hymns have		= 300 stanzas

New and old material.—There are 15 hymns in this book which may fairly be called new, although material already familiar in other texts enters to some extent into the structure of some of them. The number of stanzas which are essentially new is 114: the number of pādas which do not appear in the *Concordance* is a little above 260.

Of the 40 hymns in Ç. 4 sixteen appear here in fairly close agreement: there are here also two hymns of Ç. 1 (combined into one here), two of Ç. 2, one each of Ç. 3, 7, and 19; and some few scattered stanzas or pādas. Three hymns of the RV. appear here, a group of verses of KS. appear here as a hymn, and three stanzas of ApMB. (1. 6. 5—7) appear as the core of a hymn here. Other correspondences are insignificant.

ATHARVA-VEDA PĀIPPALĀDA-ÇĀKHĀ BOOK FOUR.

1. [f. 61a, l. 4.]

Ç. 4. 2.

om̐ namo nārāyaṇāya z z om̐ hiraṇya-
garbhas sam avartatāgre bhūtasya jātāṣ patir eka āsīt. sa
dādhāra pr̥thivīm
dyām utemām̐ kasmāi devāya haviṣā vidhema | ya ojoḍā
baladā ya-
sya viçva upāsate prasiçam̐ yasya devāḥ yasya çchāyāmṛ-
taṁ yasya mṛtyu-
ṣ kasmāi devāya haviṣā vidhema | yaṣ praṇato nimiṣato
vidharta patir viçvasya
jagato babhūva | içe yo asya dvipadaç catuspadaṣ kasmāi
devā z yana dyāur ugrā
pr̥thivī ca dṛça yena sva stabhitaṁ yena nākam̐ | yo anta-
rikṣam̐ vimama variya-
ṣ kasmāi de z ya ime dyāvāpr̥thivī tastabhānādhāred avasā
rejamāne |
yasminn adhi vitata eti sūraṣ kasmāi de z yasya viçvo
himavanto mahitvā
samudram̐ yasya rasayā sahāhuḥ diço yasya pradiçaṣ pañca
devīṣ kasmāi de-

vāya haviṣā vidhema z āpo ha yasya viçvam āyur dadhānā
 garbham janaya-
 nta mātārā | tatra devānām adhi deva āstha ekastūne vimate
 dṛḍha ugre ā-
 po garbham janayantīr vatsam agre sam īrayan. tasyota
 jāyamānasyolvasīd dhi-
 ran̄yayaḥ hiraṇya ulvāsīd yo gre vatso ajāyata | tvam yo
 tyor vṛbhnavantyoṣ pa-
 [f. 61b] ry apaçyad ruḍūr mahīḥ. z 1 z

Read: hiraṇyagarbhas samavartatāgre bhūtasya jātaṣ patir
 eka āsīt | sa dād̄hāra pṛthivīṁ dyām utemāṁ kasmāi devāya
 haviṣā vidhema z 1 z ya ojadā baladā yasya viçva upāsate
 praçiṣam yasya devāḥ | yasya chāyāmṛtaṁ yasya mṛtyuṣ ka-
 smāi ° ° z 2 z yaṣ prāpato nimiṣato vidhartā patir viçvasya
 jagato babhūva | içe yo asya dvipadaç catuṣpadaṣ kasmāi ° °
 z 3 z yena dyāur ugrā pṛthivī ca dṛḍhā yena sva stabhitaṁ
 yena nākaḥ | yo antarikṣam vimame variyaṣ kasmāi ° ° z 4 z
 ya ime dyāvāpṛthivī tastabhāne adhārayad avasā rejamāne |
 yasminn adhi vitata eti sūraṣ kasmāi ° ° z 5 z yasya viçve
 himavanto mahitvā samudram yasya rasayā sahāhuḥ | diço
 yasya pradiçaṣ pañca devīṣ kasmāi devāya haviṣā vidhema z 6 z
 āpo ha yasya viçvam āyur dadhānā garbham janayanti mātā-
 raḥ | tatra devānām adhi deva āsta ekasthūne vimite dṛḍha
 ugre z 7 z āpo garbham janayantīr vatsam agre sam ārayan |
 tasyota jāyamānasyolba āsīd dhiran̄yayaḥ z 8 z hiraṇya ulba
 āsīd yo 'gre vatso ajāyata | †tvam yotyor vṛbhnavantyoṣ† pary
 apaçyad uḍūr mahīḥ z 9 z 1 z

Our version of this hymn agrees closely with that of MS.
 and KS. St. 6 here is original but resembles somewhat st. 7
 of MS., and for that reason it might be better to read in our
 a āyan. It may be that what is given here as st. 9 does not
 belong to the hymn. Perhaps the root bhram is in 9c.

2. [f. 61b, l. 1.]

C. 4. 8.

bhūto bhūteṣu paya ā dadhāti sa bhūtā-
 nām adhipatiḥ rbabhūva | sa te mṛtyuç carate rājasūyam
 sa rājā rājyam a-

3. [f. 61b, l. 12.]

KS. 37. 9.

yat te candram kaçyapo roca-
nāvad dit saṁhitam puṣkalam cittrabhānuḥ asmin sūryār-
pitas sapta sākam
tasmin rājānam adhiviçrayemam. | yebhiç çilpāiṣ paprayā-
nām adṛñ-
had yebhir dyām abhyapiñçaṣ pravīdvān. | yabhir vācam
puṣkalebhir avyayañ-
s tena māgre varcasā saṁsṛjeha yebhis sūryas tapati pra
ketubhir ye-
bhir agnir dadṛçe cittrabhānuḥ yebhir āpaç candravarṇā
ajinvan te-
[f. 63a] na māgre varcasā saṁsṛjeha | āyam bhātu pradiçaṣ
pañca devī indra iva
jyeṣṭho bhavatu prajānām. | asmin dhehi puṣkalam cittra-
bhānv āyam pṛṇātu raja-
sor upastham | anu tvendro vatv anu vṛhaspatir anu tvā
somo nv agnir āvīt. |
anu tvā viçve avantu devās sapta rājāno ya udābhiṣiktāḥ
anu tvā
mittrāvaruṇehāvatām anu dyāvāpṛthivī moṣadhībhiḥ 'sūryo
hobhir anu
tvāvatu candramā nakṣatrāir anu tvedam āvi dyāuç ca tvā
pṛthivī ca pracetasā
çukro vṛhad dakṣiṇā tvā pipantu | anu svadhā siktā somo
gniṣ pūṣā tvā-
vatu savitā savena z 3 z

Read: yat te candram kaçyapa rocanāvad yat saṁhitam
puṣkalam cittrabhānu | yasmin sūryā ārpitas sapta sākam tasmin
rājānam abhi viçrayemam z 1 z yebhiç çilpāiṣ paprathānām
adṛñhad yebhir dyām abhyapiñçat pravīdvān | yebhir vācam
puṣkalebhir avyayañs tena māgre varcasā saṁsṛjeha z 2 z
yebhis sūryas tapati pra ketubhir yebhir agnir dadṛçe citra-
bhānuḥ | yebhir āpaç candravarṇā ajinvan tena māgre varcasā
saṁsṛjeha z 3 z āyam bhātu pradiçaṣ pañca devī indra iva
jyeṣṭho bhavatu prajānām | asmin dhehi puṣkalam cittrabhānv
āyam pṛṇātu rajasor upastham z 4 z anu tvendro 'vatv anu

vrhaspatir anu tvā somo 'nv agnir āvīt | anu tvā viçve avantu
devās sapta rājāno ya udābhiṣiktāḥ z 5 z anu tvā mitrāva-
ruṇā ihāvatām anu dyāvāprthivi sahāuṣadhībhiḥ | sūryo 'ho-
bhir anu tvāvatu candramā nakṣatrāir anu tvedam āvīt
z 6 z dyāuḥ ca tvā prthivi ca pracetasā çukro vrhad dakṣiṇā
pipartu | anu svadhā cikitām somo 'gniṣ pūṣā tvāvatu śavitā
savena z 7 z 3 z

The ms. corrects ttr to tr in f. 63a l. 2. Note that f. 62 is omitted in the numbering of folios. For st. 1 see also Ç. 13. 3. 10, and for st. 7 see Ç. 6. 58. 1.

4. [f. 63a, l. 8.]

Ç. 1. 7 and 1. 8. 1-3.

stuvānam aṣṭhā naya yātudhānam kimī-
dinam tvam hi devām stuto hantā tasyota babhūvyathā |

In pāda a the sign ṣṭh is not perfectly formed, and it seems that we must read agna ā naya, with kimīdinam at the end of b. In c I think deva samstuto is the most probable correction; in d babhūvitha ought to be read and dasyor as in Ç. seems better although tasyota might possibly stand; read also hantā.

ājyasya parameṣṭhin jātave-
das tanūvaçim. | agne tūlasya prāçānam yātudhānād vi lā-
payah

Read in ab parameṣṭhin and tanūvaçim. In c it would seem that we ought to read tālasya which is reported for all mss. of Ç.; read also prāçāna yātudhānān.

vi la-
pañtu yātudhānātriṇo ye kimīdinaḥ yathedam agne no
havir indraç ca
prati haryatām. |

In ab read vi lapantu yātudhānā triṇo; in c athedam; haryatam as in Ç. does not seem necessary.

agniṣ purasthād ā yaçchatu pratha indro
nudadacvāhumā |
vravītu sarvo yarmān ayam asmāitedya |

In the first hemistich we must surely read purastād ā yacchatu and nudad bāhumān; then if prāthendro may be read the two pādas are brought to a fair state; but ā yacchat protendro would seem rather better. In c read yātumān, and for d ayam asmity etya.

paçyāmi te vīryā jātaveda pra ṇo vrū-
hi yātudhānā nṛcakṣā | tvayā sarve paritaptāṣ parasthād ā
yāntu pra-
vruvānā upedam. z

In a read jātavedaṣ, in b yātudhānān nṛcakṣaḥ, in c purastād. In a Ç. has paçyāma which might stand here.

ā rambhasva vrāhmaṇā jātavedo hṛdi kāmā-
ya randhaya | dūto nu agnir ut tiṣṭha yātudhānān ihā naya |

The ms. corrects to rabhasva; read thus: vrahmaṇā should probably be read also in a. With randhaya pāda b seems possible, though it is somewhat suspicious. In c read no agna.

tvam agne yātu-
dhānān upababaddhān ihā naya | athāiṣām indro vajreṇa
apa çīrṣā vṛ-
çcatu

In b read upabaddhān, or upa baddhān as Whitney suggests. In c d read vajreṇāpa çīrṣāni; or perhaps vajreṇāpi with Ç.

idaṁ havir yātudhānān nadī henam ivā vahān nīdām
strī pumān karya

[f. 63b] çambhuvatām janah

Read: idaṁ havir yātudhānān nadī phenam ivā vahat | ya idaṁ strī pumān akar iha sa stuvatām janah z 8 z This is

the version of Ç.; I do not believe that our ms. indicates any variant.

yātudhānasya somapa jahi pra-
jām nayasya ca | nya stuvā-
nasya pātaya padam akṣatāvaram |

In b read nayasva, in c ni, in d param akṣy utāvaram.

ayaṁ stuvānāgamatvaṁ smota prati
haryata vṛhaspate vaçe kṛtvāgniṣomā viddhatam. z 4 z

Read: ayaṁ stuvāna āgamat taṁ smota prati haryata |
vṛhaspate vaçe kṛtvāgniṣomā vi vidhyatam z 10 z 4 z

Several of the vertical bars (i. e. punctuation marks) are below not in the line.

5. [f. 63 b, l. 3.]

Ç. 4. 4.

yām tvā gandha-
rvo ṣanad varuṇāya vratabhaje tām tvā vyaṁ khanāmasy
oṣadhiyaṁ çevaha-
rṣaṇī z vṛṇas te khanatāro vṛṣā tvāpaçy oṣadhe | vṛṣāsi
vṛṣṇyā-
vatī vṛṣaṇe tvā khanāmasi | ud uṣā ud a sūrya uç chuṣmā
oṣadhī-
nām. ud ejitu prajāpatir vṛṣā çuṣmeṇa vajinām. z ūr-
dhvasrā-
ṇim idaṁ kṛdhi yathā smi te virohato abhitaptam ivānati
tatas te çuṣma-
vattaram iyaṁ kṛṇotv aṣadhīḥ apām rasāuṣadhīnām aho
vanaspatīnām
avo somasya trātāmy āriṣyam asi vṛṣṇehaṁ | açvasya rṣva-
sya bhastasya puru-
ṣasya ca | ye rṣabhasya vājas tam asmāi dehy oṣadhe | saṁ
vājā rṣabhāṇām

saṁ ṣuṣmā oṣadhīnām saṁ pūṣām indra vṛṣṇiham asyāi
 dehi tanūbalaṁ | a-
 dyāgne abhya savitur adya devi vṛhaspatiḥ adya me vra-
 hmaṇate dhanur ivā tā-
 nayā pasah ūrdhvās tiṣṭhanti giraya ūrdhvā vātā ud irate
 ūrdhvo yaṁ mā-
 sako mayūṣivāhād a bhūmyām ut tiṣṭho agra vidhonusva
 vitesv āyantu nā-
 nyādyāḥ ato droṣva pāyava nāvaglāyo dhi muṣka-
 yoh. z 5 z anu 1 z

In the left margin opposite the last line is ācīrvacanaṁ; also a stanza end after tiṣṭho seems to be indicated by two slight oblique strokes above the line, in the next to the last line.

Read: yām tvā gandharvo 'khanad varuṇāya vratabhāje |
 tām tvā vyaṁ khanāmasy oṣadhīm ṣepaharṣaṇīm z 1 z vṛṣa-
 nas te khanitāro vṛṣā tvam asy oṣadhe | vṛṣāsi vṛṣṇyāvati
 vṛṣaṇe tvā khanāmasi z 2 z ud uṣā ud u sūrya uc ṣuṣmā
 oṣadhīnām | ud ejatu prajāpatir vṛṣā ṣuṣmeṇa vājinām z 3 z
 †ūrdhvasrāṇīm idam kṛdhi yathā sma te viroḥato abhitaptam
 ivānati | tatas te ṣuṣmavattaram iyaṁ kṛnotv oṣadhiḥ z 4 z
 apām rasa oṣadhīnām atho vanaspatinām | atho somasya bhrā-
 tāsy ārcyam asi vṛṣṇyam z 5 z aṣṭasya ṛcyasya bastasya pu-
 ruṣasya ca | ya ṛṣabhasya vājās tām asmāi dehy oṣadhe z 6 z
 saṁ vājā ṛṣabhānām saṁ ṣuṣmā oṣadhīnām | saṁ pūṣām indra
 vṛṣṇyam asmāi dehi tanūbalaṁ z 7 z adyāgne adya savitar
 adya deva vṛhaspate | adya me vrahmaṇas pate dhanur ivā
 tānayā pasah z 8 z ūrdhvās tiṣṭhanti giraya ūrdhvā vātā ud
 irate | ūrdhvo 'yaṁ māmako māyuh †ṣivāhād ā bhūmyām z 9 z
 ut tiṣṭho agre vidhonusva †vitesv āyantu nānyādyāḥ ato
 droṣva pāyava† nāvaglāyo 'dhi muṣkayoh z 10 z 5 z anu 1 z

For st. 1a cf. Ppp. 3. 15. 2a where the ms. has varāho ṣanad: in 1b vratabhāje seems good though vratabhaje might stand, or the C. mṛtabhraje. Our st. 2 appears only in Kāuṣ. 40. 14. In 4a the general significance of ūrdhvasrāṇīm is clear, but the exact meaning I cannot see; if it is to be emended ūrdhvasrāṇīm or ūrdhvasānum might be acceptable. In 8c mayūkhī ought to be considered. The suggestion for 10a seems possible; in 10c perhaps atho dravasva might stand; but I get nothing satisfactory out of the stanza.

6. [f. 63b, l. 17.]

Q. 4. 5.

hiranyaçrṅgo vṛṣabho yas samadrād udācarat. tenā saha-
 syenā vayaṁ
 ni janānt svāpayāmasi | na bhūmiṁ vātoḍ vātu nāta pati
 sūryaḥ z
 jinaç ca sarvān svāpaya sanaç cendrasakhā caran || vāihye-
 sayā puṣṭhiça-
 [f. 64a] yā nārīr yā talpaçivare | striyo yāṣ puṇyagandhās
 tās sarvāt svāpayā-
 masi | yejan-ejar ajagrabham cakṣuṣ prāṇam ajagrabham
 aṅgāṇy agrabham sarvā-
 rātrīṇām uta çarvare z yaste yaç carati yasya tiṣṭhan vi-
 paçyati | teṣāṁ saṁ
 dadhso kṣāṇi yathedaṁ harmyaṁ tathā | sapta mātā sapta
 pitā saptā çvā sapta
 vispatiḥ svapantus sarve jñātayas sarvaṁ ni çvājanam
 çayyaḥ svapna
 svapnādhikaraṇena sarvaṁ ni şvapayā jinaṁ | otsūryam
 anyāt svāpaya dvi-
 ṣaṁ caratād aham indra ivāriṣṭo akṣataḥ. z 1 zz

Read: hiranyaçrṅgo vṛṣabho yas samudrād udācarat | tenā
 sahasyenā vayaṁ ni janānt svāpayāmasi z 1 z na bhūmiṁ
 vāto ud vāti nāti paçyati sūryaḥ | janānç ca sarvān svāpaya
 çunaç cendrasakhā caran z 2 z vahyeçayāṣ proṣṭheçayā nārīr
 yāṣ talpaçivarīḥ | striyo yāṣ puṇyagandhās tās sarvās svāpa-
 yāmasi z 3 z ejad-ejad ajagrabham cakṣuṣ prāṇam ajagra-
 bham | aṅgāṇy agrabham sarvā rātrīṇām uta çarvare z 4 z ya
 āste yaç ca carati yaç ca tiṣṭhan vipaçyati | teṣāṁ saṁ dadhmo
 kṣāṇi yathedaṁ harmyaṁ tathā z 5 z svaptu mātā svaptu pitā
 svaptu çvā svaptu viçpatiḥ | svapantu sarve jñātayas sarvaṁ
 ni svājanam çvayayaḥ z 6 z svapna svapnādhikaraṇena sarvaṁ
 ni svāpayā janam | otsūryam anyān svāpaya dvyuṣaṁ caratād
 aham indra ivāriṣṭo akṣataḥ z 7 z 1 z

In the top margin of f. 64a the ms. has ssvā correcting
 sarvāt svā.

The corrections follow pretty closely the version of Q.: in
 5a I have inserted ca in accord with RV. 7. 55. 6a. The

reading of 6d offered is a conjecture, attempting to keep close to the ms., where however a confusion may have arisen by anticipation of 7b; for 6d Ġ. has svaptv ayam abhito janah.

7. [f. 64a, l. 7.]

Ġ. 2. 33.

akṣībhyām

s te nāsikābhyām karṇābhyāmn āsyād uta | yakṣmaṁ cīrṣa-
 nyaṁ mastiṣkāl la-
 lāṭād vi vayemasi | grīvābhyas ta uṣṇihābhyas kīkasābhyo
 anūkyāḥ ya-
 kṣmaṁ dorṣaṇyāmm ānsābhyām purasto vi vahāmasi |
 klomnas te hr̥dayābhyo halī-
 kṣmāt pārçvābhyām yakṣma satastābhyām kliham̐yo yatanas
 te vi varhāmasi | ātre-
 bhyas te gudābhyo vanugdhyād utarād uta | yakṣmaṁ pā-
 ṇyor aṅgulibhyo nakhebhyo vi
 vṛhāmasi | hastebhyas te māṇsebhyas srāvabhyo dhama-
 ni*ah yakṣmaṁ pr̥ṣṭibhyo ma
 majjabhyo nābhyām vir vahāmasi | ūrūbhyām dveṣṭhivad-
 bhyām pārṣṇibhyām pupadā-
 bhyām yakṣmaṁ bhajaddhyām çronibhyām bhaṅsaso vīr
 vahāmasi | aṅgād-aṅgāl lo-
 mno-lomno baddham̐ parvaṇi-parvaṇi | yakṣman tatasyām
 te vyaṁ viṣkaṇcam̐ vi va-
 rhāmasi | aṅgād-aṅgād aham̐ tava puruṣaḥ. z 2 z

Read: akṣībhyām te nāsikābhyām karṇābhyām āsyād uta |
 yakṣmaṁ cīrṣaṇyām mastiṣkāl lalāṭād vi vṛhāmasi z 1 z grīvā-
 bhyas ta uṣṇihābhyas kīkasābhyo anūkyāḥ | yakṣmaṁ dorṣaṇyam
 ānsābhyām urasto vi vṛhāmasi z 2 z klomnas te hr̥dayābhyo
 halīkṣmāt pārçvābhyām | yakṣmaṁ matasnābhyām plihno ya-
 knas te vi vṛhāmasi z 3 z āntrebhyas te gudābhyo ṛvanugdhyād
 udarād uta | yakṣmaṁ pāṇyor aṅgulibhyo nakhebhyo vi vṛhā-
 masi z 4 z hastebhyas te māṇsebhyas snāvabhyo dhamani-
 bhyah | yakṣmaṁ pr̥ṣṭibhyo majjabhyo nābhyā vi vṛhāmasi
 z 5 z ūrūbhyām te aṣṭhivadbhyām pārṣṇibhyām prapadā-

bhyām | yakṣmaṇ bhasadyaṁ gṛonibhyām bhaṁsaso vi vṛhā-
masi z 6 z aṅgād-aṅgāl lomno-lomno baddhaṁ parvaṇi-par-
vaṇi | yakṣmaṇ tvacasyaṁ te vayaṁ viṣvaṇcaṁ vi vṛhāmasi
z 7 z 2 z

At the beginning of 2d the ms. corrects pu to mu.

In 4b the vanugdhyād of the ms. may be a corruption of
vaniṣṭhor in Q.; gdh̄y and ṣṭh̄ are somewhat similar. In 5a
the asthibhyas of Q. seems better than our hastebhyas, which
latter might easily be a misreading for the former.

8. [f. 64a, l. 17.]

agne rakṣohā

tigmas tigmaçṛṅga ṛṣirā ṛṣayaṣ kaviṣ kavitaṁā apāgha-
çaṇ-
saṁ duritāṁ sahatāṁ arātiṁ pratyāṇ pratiharaneṇā aghā-
yate
[f. 64b] aghaṁ prati harāma | indro rakṣohā z somo ra-
kṣāuhā z varuṇo rakṣohā z
vāyu rakṣohā | tvāṣṭā rakṣohā | dhātā rakṣohā z savitā ra-
kṣohā z
sūryo rakṣohā z candramā rakṣohā | vṛhaspatī rakṣohā z
prajāpatī rakṣo-
hā | parameṣṭhī rakṣohā z tigmas tigmaçṛṅga ṛṣirā ṛṣayaṣ
kaviṣ ka-
vitāṁā | apāghaçaṇsaṁ duritāṁ sahatāṁ arā*im *****ṇ pra-
tiharaneṇā
aghāyate aghaṁ prati nurāma. z 3 z

Read: agnī rakṣohā tigmas tigmaçṛṅga ṛṣirā ṛṣayaṣ kaviṣ
kavitaṁā | apāghaçaṇsaṁ duritaṁ sahatāṁ arātiṁ pratyāṇ
pratiharaneṇā | aghāyate aghaṁ prati harāma z 1 z indro
rakṣohā ° ° ° z 2 z somo rakṣohā ° ° ° z 3 z varuṇo rakṣohā
° ° ° z 4 z vāyū rakṣohā ° ° ° z 5 z tvāṣṭā rakṣohā ° ° ° z 6 z
dhātā rakṣohā ° ° ° z 7 z savitā rakṣohā ° ° ° z 8 z sūryo
rakṣohā ° ° ° z 9 z candramā rakṣohā ° ° ° z 10 z vṛhaspatī
rakṣohā ° ° ° z 11 z prajāpatī rakṣohā ° ° ° z 12 z parameṣṭhī
rakṣohā tigmas tigmaçṛṅga ṛṣirā ṛṣayaṣ kaviṣ kavitaṁā | apā-

ghaçaṅsaṁ duritaṁ sahatām arātim pratyaṁ pratiharāṇeṇā |
aghāyate aghaṁ prati harāma z 13 z 3 z

Cf. MS. 1. 5. 1: 67. 5 and TB. 3. 1. 1. 4; 2. 8. In TB. we find apāghaçaṅsaṁ nudatām arātim, which suggests the possibility of prati nudāma here; but harāma is clear in the first writing of the formula and nurāma at the end may well be only the result of confusion of signs.

9. [f. 64b, l. 6.]

C. 7. 109.

saṁvasava iti to nāmadhe-
yam ugraṁpaçyā rāṣṭrabhr̥to hy akṣā | tasmāi ta indo ha-
viṣā vidhema |
vayaṁ syāma patayo rayiṇām z yadam ugrāya babhrava
yo kṣeṣu tanuva-
çī | ghr̥tena kalpaṁ çikṣāma | sa no mṛdāta idṛçe | ghr̥tam
agne a-
psarābhyo vaha tvaṁ pāṇsuṁ nakhebhyas siktāpaç ca |
yathābhāgo havyadātim
juṣaṇo madantu devā ubhayāni havyā yo no devo dhanam
idaṁ ti-
deça yo kṣāṇām grahaṇām çaṣaṇām ca | sa no vatu havir
idaṁ juṣā-
ṇo gandharvāis sadamādam madema | yāpsarasas sadamā-
dam pādanty anta-
rā havirdhānaṁ sūryaṁ ca | tā no hastam kṛtena saṁ
srjantu sapatnaṁ naṣ ki-
tavaṁ raṇdhayantu | yad devān tātito huve vrahmacaryaṁ
yad ūvima | akṣā-
ṇ yad babhrūṇālabhe tā te no mṛdānta idṛçe ādinavam
ity ekā z

z 4 z

Read: saṁvasava iti vo nāmadheyam ugraṁpaçyā rāṣṭrabhr̥to
hy akṣāḥ | tasmāi ta indo haviṣā vidhema vayaṁ syāma patayo
rayiṇām z 1 z idam ugrāya babhrave yo 'kṣeṣu tanūvaçī |
ghr̥tena kalpaṁ çikṣāma sa no mṛdātīdṛçe z 2 z ghr̥tam agne

apsarābhyo vaha tvaṁ pāṁsūn akṣebhyas sikatā apaç ca | ya-
 thābhāgo havyadātiṁ juṣāṇo madantu devā ubhayāni havyā
 z 3 z yo no devo dhanam idaṁ dideça yo 'kṣāṇāṁ grahaṇāṁ
 çeṣaṇāṁ ca | sa no 'vatu havir idaṁ juṣāṇo gandharvāis sa-
 dhamādaṁ madema z 4 z yā apsarāsas sadhamādaṁ madanty
 antarā havirdhānaṁ sūryaṁ ca | tā no hastaṁ kṛtena saṁ
 sṛjantu sapatnān naṣ kitavāṁ randhayantu z 5 z yad devān
 nāthito huve vrahmacaryaṁ yad ūṣima | akṣān yad babhrūn
 ālebhe te no mṛdantv idṛçe z 6 z ādinavam ity ekā z 7 z 9 z

In 2c kalpam seems possible, but it might be only a cor-
 ruption from kalim (so Ç.) through kalyam; Whitney reports
 kalyam as the Ppp. reading. In 6b the ms. clearly has
 ūvima but it does not seem at all acceptable, so I have read
 with Ç., and in 6c I have taken the suggestion of Bloomfield
 and Whitney ālebhe. The previous occurrence of st. 7 in this
 ms., as indicated, must have been in some of the lost portions.
 The stanza in Ç. reads ādinavam pratidivne ghrtenāsmāñ abhi
 kṣara | vṛkṣam ivāçanyā jahi yo asmān pratidivvati.

10. [f. 64b, l. 17.]

bhagas tveto nayatu hastagṛhya vṛhaspatiḥ ractā
 te astu | devas tvā savitā satyadharopasatyām namasyā
 kṛṇotu

In pāda b read puraetā; in cd read satyadhara upasadyām
 namasyām. Pāda a = Ç. 14. 1. 20; pāda b = Ç. 7. 8. 1b.

yām a-
 çvinā madhukaçāṁ devāgre ajanayaṁ tayā tvā patyām
 avatām kṛṇvo
 [f. 65a] madhumatī vayam. z

For b read devā agre ajanayan; if the words are rightly
 divided in c patyām (occurring also in 3c and 6c) escapes
 me unless it means "dominion". For d read kṛṇmo madhu-
 matīṁ vayam.

uttārā svaçruvā bhava nā-
nāndud apaçikṣā | viça tvā

patyām kṛṇva bhavā devṛṣu priyaḥ

In a read çvaçruvām, and for b nanāndur upaçikṣāḥ. For c a possible reading is viças tvā patyām kṛṇvantu (understanding ā + kṛ): for d read bhavāsi devṛṣu priyā. Cf. Ç. 14. 1. 44; ApMB. 1. 6. 6; SMB. 1. 2. 20.

In the top margin over nānāndud apa the ms. gives ru na.

adbhir āttamānaṁ ta-
nvaṁ çumbhamānā gṛhā-
n prehi mahiṣi bhavāmi | tatra tvāhur gṛhapatyāya devāḥ
prajāpatir ja-
radāṣṭir yathāsat.

In a read āttamānaṁ, in b bhavāsi: in c garhapatyāya. For pāda a cf. Ç. 12. 3. 30b, and for c Ç. 14. 1. 20c.

yad uttaram ārohanṭir vyasyāntiṣ pṛda-
nyataḥ | adbhi-
ṣ tvā çattor mūrdhvānaṁ sahaputrā virāḍ bhavaḥ

Read: ud uttaram ārohanṭi vyasyanti pṛtanyataḥ | udbhi-
ntsva çattor mūrdhānaṁ sahaputrā virāḍ bhava. z 5 z

This is a variant of ApMB. 1. 6. 5, where pāda c is mūrdhānaṁ patyur ā roha; our suggestion is only a makeshift.

çvaçrūṇām çvaçurāṇām gṛṇām
ca dhanasya ca | vi rāja patyām deveṣu sajātānām virāḍ
bhava |

In b read gṛhāṇām, in c devṛṣu, and in d virāḍ. Cf. ApMB. 1. 6. 7.

yad gi-
riṣu parvateṣu goṣv açveṣu yar madhu | yenākhyābhyāṣi-
cyanta tenā-
ham asyā mūrdhāna abhiṣiñcāmi nāryaḥ |

In a read giriṣu, in b yan; in c yenākṣā abhya, in d probably mürdhānam, and in e nāryāḥ. Pādas ab = Ç. 9. 1. 18ab; c = Ç. 14. 1. 36c; for the rest cf. SMB. 1. 7. 5.

yad varco gavi kalyāṇe
yad vā sūrya vase tṛṇe | abhyañjanasya yad varcas tena
mānājmi varcasā
z 5 z anu 2 z

Read: yad varco gavi kalyāṇe yad vā sūrye vase tṛṇe |
abhyañjanasya yad varcas tena mānājmi varcasā z 8 z 5 z
anu 2 z

11. [f. 65a, l. 10.]

yenācarad uṇanā kāvyo gre vidvān kratū-
nām uta devatānām. | sahaḥṛdayena haviṣā juhomi sa-
dhṛīcī-
nam vo mano stūgram | mahat satyam mahad dhavir uṇa-
nāḥ kāvyo mahān. | devā-
nām ugrāṇām ṣaṭam ḥṛdayāni sahācara | aham satyena sa-
yuj ā-
carāmy aham devīm anumati* pra veda | indredamvānām
hṛdayam vo stu
sadhṛīcinam vo mano stūgram | tvaṣṭā vāyuḥ kaçyapa indram
agnir manasā
tvāyam haviṣas padena | avindām ṣaktro rajasi praviṣtam
sadhṛīcī-
nam vo mano stūgram | yename dyāvāpṛthivy ataṣkartur
yenābhavantarikṣam
[f. 65b] svar yat. | manasā vidvān haviṣā juhomi sadhṛīcī-
nam vo mano stūgram dyāvā-
pṛthivī hṛdayam sasūvadhrī yenedam tvaṣṭā vy akrṇotu
dhīraḥ tasyā uṇa-
naḥ kratubhis samvidānaḥ cittam viveda manasi praviṣtam |
cityam cāitad ākūti-
tiḥ ca yena devā viṣehire | etat satyasya ṣṛaddhaya ṛṣayas
sapta juhvatī

z i z

Read: yenācarad uṇā kāvyo 'gre vidvān kratūnām uta devatānām | sahṛdayena haviṣā juhomi sadhricinām vo mano 'stūgram z 1 z mahat satyaṁ mahad dhavir uṇā kāvyo mahān | devānām ugrāṇāṁ ṣataṁ hṛdayāni sahācarā z 2 z ahaṁ satyena sayuj ā carāmy ahaṁ devīm anumatiṁ pra veda | indro devānāṁ hṛdayaṁ vo 'stu sadhricinām vo mano 'stūgram z 3 z tvaṣṭā vāyuṣ kaçyapa indro agnir manasā tvāyan haviṣas padena | avindan ṭṣaktro rajasi praviṣtaṁ sadhricinām vo mano 'stūgram z 4 z yeneme dyāvāprthivi caskambhur yenābhavad antarikṣaṁ svar yat | manasā vidvān haviṣā juhomi sadhricinām vo mano 'stūgram z 5 z dyāvāprthivi hṛdayaṁ sasūvāte yenedaṁ tvaṣṭā vy ākrṇotu dhiraḥ | tasyoṇā kratubhis saṁvidānaḥ cittaṁ viveda manasi praviṣtam z 6 z cittaṁ cāitad ākūtiḥ ca yena devā viṣehire | etat satyasya ṇṛaddhayaḥ ṛsayas sapta juhvati z 7 z 1 z

In the right margin of f. 65a opposite l. 11 is dhrīci; and in the top margin of f. 65b is ṣri perhaps intended to correct sasūvadhri.

In 2b and 6a it might be well to write uṇāṣ. In 4c I incline to think cittaṁ a probable reading. In 5a the reading of the ms. may be ataṣkantur; it seems probable that a form of skambh is intended.

12. [f. 65b, l. 5.]

Q. 4. 31.

tvayā manyo saratham ārujanta ṛsamāṇāso ṛsadā marutvaṁ

tikṣṇa iṣava āyudhā saṁṣiṇānopa pra yanti naro agnirūpāḥ
agnir i-

va manyo ttvāra sāsahasvas senānīn nas sahure huta edhi
jitvāya ṣatṛū-

nvi bhajāsu veda | ojo mimāno vi mṛdho nudamba sahasva
manyo abhimā-

tim ammahe rujan mṛṇan prehi ṣatṛn. | ugram te ṇṛaddho
nanv ā rurugle va-

cī vaçaṁ nayāsaha ekaja dhvaṁ eko bahūnām asi manyam
 īdatāṣ pa-
 cūn-paṇūn yuddhāya saṁcīcādhī | akr̥dyaduda kayā ajā
 vyaṁ
 dyumantaṁ ghoṣaṁ vijayāya kṛṇmahe | vijeṣakṛd indra
 ivānava-
 vravo smākam manyom adhipā bhaveha | viyaṁ te nāma
 sahure gr̥-
 nāmasi vidmā tam utsaṁ yava ābabhūtha | ābhūtyā sahasā
 vajra
 sāyakas saho bibharṣy abhibhūta uttaraṁ | kratvā no manyo
 saha ma-
 dy edhi mahādhanasya puruhūta saṁ sr̥ji z saṁsr̥ṣṭan
 dhanam ubhayaṁ
 samākṛtam asmabhyaṁ dattaṁ varuṇaḥ ca manyo | bhiyo
 dadhānā hr̥dayeṣu
 cāttravaḥ parājitā yaṁtu paramāṁ parāvataṁ z 2 z

Read: tvayā manyo saratham ārujanta ṛṣamāṇāso dhr̥ṣatā
 marutvan | tikṣṇeṣava āyudhā saṁcīcānā upa pra yanti naro
 agnirūpāḥ z 1 z agnir̥ iva manyo tvara sāsahasva senānir̥ nas
 sahure hūta edhi | jītvāya cāttrūn vi bhajasva veda oja mimāno
 vi mṛdho nudasva z 2 z sahasva manyo abhimātim asme rujan
 mṛṇan pramṛṇan prehi cāttrūn | ugraṁ te cārdho nanv̥ ā ru-
 rujre vaḥ vaçaṁ nayāsā ekaja tvam z 3 z eko bahūnām asi
 manyav̥ īdatāṣ paṇūn-paṇūn yuddhāya saṁ cīcādhī | akr̥ttaruk
 tvayā yujā vyaṁ dyumantaṁ ghoṣaṁ vijayāya kṛṇmahe z 4 z
 vijeṣakṛd indra ivānavavravo smākam manyo adhipā bhaveha |
 priyaṁ te nāma sahure gr̥nāmasi vidmā tam utsaṁ yata āba-
 bhūtha z 5 z ābhūtyā sahasā vajra sāyaka saho bibharṣy abhi-
 bhūta uttaraṁ | kratvā no manyo saho medy edhi mahādha-
 nasya puruhūta saṁsr̥ji z 6 z saṁsr̥ṣṭan dhanam ubhayaṁ sa-
 mākṛtam asmabhyaṁ dattaṁ varuṇa ca manyo | bhiyo da-
 dhānā hr̥dayeṣu cāttravaḥ parājitā yaṁtu paramāṁ parāvataṁ
 z 7 z 2 z

In the TB. version of st. 1b (TB. 2. 4. 1. 10) harṣamāṇāso
 stands, and it might well be read here. The reading of our
 ms. in 4a does not seem to offer any help; I have adopted
 the RV. reading. For 7d C. and RV. have parājitāso apa
 ni layantām.

In 2d the ms. corrects to nudasva.

13. [f. 65b, l. 18.]

Q. 2. 25 (in part).

çam no de-

vī prṣṇyaparṇy açam nirṛtaye karat. | ugrā hi kaṇvajambha-
nī tām
[f. 66a] tvāhārṣam sahasvatī |

In pāda a read prṣṇiparṇy, in b 'karat; in d sahasvatīm.

sadānvāghnī prathamā prṣṇyaparṇy ajāyata | tayā
kaṇvasyām çiraç chinadmi çakunīr iva z

Below the line after prathamā a colon is indicated. Read prṣṇiparṇy in b, kaṇvasya in c, and çakuner in d.

ūrjabhṛtam prāṇabhṛtam pra-

jānām upatarpaṇīm | sarvās tvā prṣṇyaparṇī yataṣ kāṇvā
anī-
çat. |

In b read upatarpaṇīm; probably ūrjabhṛtam can stand in this form. There seems to be reference here to female kāṇvās, so for the second hemistich we may read sarvās tvam prṣṇiparṇy ataṣ kāṇvā anīnaçah.

samākṛtīn āniradāta stīrṇaçṛṅgeva ṛṣabhaḥ rāyam ka
kaṇvam pāpmānam prṣṇyaparṇī mahambatī |

I have not been able to get a satisfactory form for pāda a; sam ākṛtīr anīnaçah may be something like what was intended. In b read stīrṇaçṛṅga iva: in c arāyam kaṇvam, and for d prṣṇiparṇī sahasvatī.

tvam agre prṣṇiparṇy agnir i-

va prṇvahi kāṇvā jīvitayopanī | grāmeṇā veçaya tamān-
si yatra vā çchās tat pāpīr apa pātayah

It seems best to put these six pādas into one stanza; they are parallel to parts of stt. 4 and 5 in Q. With some bold emendations we may read: tvam agre pr̥ṇiparṇy agnir iva pranudann ili | kaṇvā jīvitayopanir girim enā ā veçaya | tamāṁsi yatra vā chāyās tat pāpīr apa pātayaḥ z 5 z

rāyam asṛkpāvānaṁ yaç ca sphā-
tim jahiruṣati | garbhādaṁ kaṇvaṁ nāçayaṁ pr̥ṣṇyaparni
sahasvati |

Read arāyam in a, jihirṣati in b; probably nāçaya in c; for d pr̥ṇiparni sahasvati.

ā no gāyāno grhān yā ca sphātim upāharān | ugre pr̥ṣṇya-
parṇi-
s tam kaṇ kaṇvām ānaçāitaḥ z 3 z

Read: ya no gayān yā no grhān yā ca sphātim upāharan | ugre pr̥ṇiparni tvaṁ tām kaṇvām ānāçayetaḥ z 7 z 3 z

14. [f. 66a, l. 10.]

yasminn āsistihita i-
d antaḥ chalyo veṇur veṣṭanaṁ tejanaṁ ca | māu nirjanitri
janayehi
çṛṇvam ayaṁ tātum ayata hitu prahita |

In pāda a a possible reading might be āsīt sthita id antaḥ; the regular sandhi would then call for çalyo in b. For c perhaps so nirjanitri janayeha sṛṇyam is possible, and for d perhaps iyaṁ tātum etu hetiḥ prahitā. These are merely suggestions, and to call them possible may be too bold.

asti bhittvā yada majja-
ṣ pāpātha yadi vā saritaḥ puruṣaṁ nikāme | urvīm gavyū-
tis aty ehy a-
rvāñ. paçcād açmīn uddhataṣ sūryasya |

In a read *asthi* and *yadi majjñas papātha*, in b *sṛtaṣ* and *nikṣāse*. In c read *gavyūtim*, in d *raçmīn*.

mātariçvān pavamānāstvā-
yaṁ sūryābhrājan tanvādrçekāḥ | asno gandhāt puṁsaḥ
praty avasva vi-
mucyasva yo nyayāste tra |

For a b we may probably read *mātariçvan pavamānāstv* *ayaṁ sūryābhrājan tanvām drçikāḥ*; in d yo 'nya āste 'tra.

praty avasvātāu saty ehy arvāṅk
tāns te vidma ba-
hudhāva vīrye | imās svasāro ayam it pitā cayaṁ te mâte-
mam e-
hi bandhum |

For a the best reading I can get is *praty avasva tān aty* *ehy arvāṅ*, and in b perhaps *vīryāya*. The second hemistich is good if we read *pitā ceyam*.

amitrāir astvā yadi vā sumitrāir devāir vā
deva prahitāva-
[f. 66b] çṛṣṭāvadvān. çṛgaṁ puruṣe jahāti z çṛṅgo çikharas
saṁ sṛjāmi-
taḥ

In a read *amitrāir* and *sumitrāir*, and perhaps *astā* for *astvā*: in b *devi prahitāvasṛṣṭā*: in c probably *āvidhyān sṛgaṁ*. For d I would read *çṛṅgi çikharas saṁ sṛjāsitaḥ*; but an instrumental case would seem preferable to *itaḥ*. The ms. corrects to *sṛgaṁ* in c.

siṣāsi sakto yadi vāsy agre yadi vāsy aritaḥ puruṣa-
sya māmse
dadhrṇ paçān upavṛjya muktākṣi çalyaṣ kṛṇutām āyinā-
yahastā

In a we might read *çikhāsi*; in b *ṛtaḥ*. In c read *dadhrk* *pāçān upavrajya †muktākṣi*; possibly *moktā* is intended. In

d I can only suggest āyino ahastān; there is no sign of the end of the stanza.

(hastā)bhy a-
 staṁ çamayo bhriyamāṇo vahiṣṭhāpacyām vīrudhām bale-
 na | adbhiṣ prā-
 ṇakta syās satyaktaḥ koçe jāmīnām nihataṁ hy aṁsaḥ.

Perhaps a possible form for pādās ab is abhy āstām samo yo bhriyamāṇo vahiṣṭhāpācyām vīrudhām balena; all but the last two words appear very uncertain. For c it seems as if we might have adbhiṣ prāṇiktaḥ syās satyaniktaḥ; or perhaps we might read adbhiṣ prāṇaktu yas satyāktaḥ. For d read koçe jāmīnām nihitām hy aṁcuḥ.

ṣaṣṭirātre ṣa-
 ṣṭiçasya çalyasya paridhiṣ kṛtaḥ yatas tvam adya devayam
 āsthā |
 nā çyāvayāmasi |

Read: ṣaṣṭirātre ṣaṣṭikasya çalyasya paridhiṣ kṛtaḥ | yatas tvām adya devīm āsthānāt çyāvayāmasi z 8 z 4 z

In pāda a ṣaṣṭikasya seems preferable to the possible(?) vocative ṣaṣṭiçasya. In c devayam might be acceptable.

There are some indications that this is a charm to accompany the making of an arrow; but the whole thing is unclear to me and the suggestions offered are based only on possibilities of the palaeography of this ms.

15. [f. 66b, l. 7.]

Q. 4. 12.

saṁ majā majjñā bhavatu saṁ u te pa-
 ruṣā paruḥ saṁ
 te mānsasya visrastaṁ saṁstrāvam asu parva te |

Read majjā in pāda a, put colon after paruḥ, and read saṁstrāvam astu in d.

majjñā majjñā saṁ dhīyatā-
m adhnāstha vi rohatu | srāva te saṁ dadhmā snārdhnā
carmaṇā carma roha-
tū

Read majjā for the first word in a, asthnāsthi in b; for c read snāva te saṁ dadhmaḥ snāvnā, in d rohatu.

loma lomnā saṁ dhīyatām tvacam saṅkalpayā tvacam |
asṛk te snā
rohatu mānsam mānsena rohatu |

For b read tvacā saṁ kalpayā tvacam; in c read 'snā.

rohiṇī saṁrohiṇy āthnaç çirṇasya
rohiṇī rohiṇī rohiṇyām arha ātāsi rohiṇy asy oṣadhe

The consistent reading of rohiṇī here probably has no significance; and there seems to be a dittography after çirṇasya. Something like the following might be considered possible: rohiṇī saṁrohaṇy asy asthnaç çirṇasya rohiṇī | rohaṇyām arha ābhāsi rohiṇy asy oṣadhe.

ya-
d a çirṇe yad a dyuttam asthi peṣtam tātpunaḥ | dhātā tat
sarvaṁ kalpayā
yā maṁ dadhata paruṣā paruḥ |

Read: yad u çirṇam yad u dyuttam asthi peṣtam tā ātma-
naḥ | dhātā tat sarvaṁ kalpayāt saṁ dadhat paruṣā paruḥ.

Whitney reports for Ppp. reading in cd kalpayāt saṁ dadat.

yadi vajro viṣṣṭā sthārakā
jātu patitvā yadi vā viriṣṭam | vṛkṣād vā yadi vāvibhyasi
çī-
rṣarbhūr iti sa evaṁ san dhāmi te paruḥ

In a read vakro and sthālakā; and in b viriṣṭā would seem a little better. In c the intensive of vyadh seems to be

intended and we may probably read vāvyadhyase; unless we may read vā vidhyase which does not seem to me as good: with •bhur the rest may stand I think.

ut tiṣṭha prehi sam u dhā-
hi te paruḥ sam te dhātā dadhātu tanno viriṣṭām rathasya
cakra pyupava-

[f. 67a] r yathāiryathāiti sukhasya nābhiṣ prati tiṣṭha evam
z 5 z anu 3 zz

Read: ut tiṣṭha prehi sam u dhāhi te paruḥ sam te dhātā
dadhātu tanvo viriṣṭam | rathas sucakras supavir yathāiti su-
khas sunābhiṣ prati tiṣṭha évam z 7 z 5 z anu 3 z

With the corrections suggested the form of this hymn be-
comes fairly satisfactory: it varies notably from the version of
C., and generally for the better.

16. [67a, l. 2.]

Cf. RV. 1. 191. 1—7 passim.

udyann ādityo guṇān hantu sūryo nimrocān raçmibhir u
vantu | tāvan no a-

dhi saimhatam apsarā mūlam aghanad gandharvaṣ pary
avravīt. tena vo vattrā-

hā sūryo ni jassyān ni mṛtrata ghnām | guṇām haṇtv ā-
yatī ghnān hantu

parāyatī ghrāṇān vaghnatī hantu ghuṇān pinaṣṭi piçatīm
ghu-

ṇānaṣ kiñ caneha vaḥ prativuddhā abhūtana | pradoṣam
taskara iva |

guṇānā madhyata jyeṣṭhaṣ kaniṣṭhā uta madhyamaḥ hatā
vā sarve jñā-

tayo hatā mātā hataṣ pitā yathā phena uḍake dadṛçāno
ni

jasyatu evān vayan ghuṇān sarvān sākam vācā ni jāsa-
yāma-

si | ni gāmvo goṣṭhe asadan ni mṛgāso avikṣata | nityam
ādi-

tya raçmibhir ghrṇān sarvān ajījaṣaḥ udyan rathin ā ta-
nuṣva bā-

ṇa vabhi sam arpayā | ghrṇā tvaṁ parvaṇāditya ghorayā
tanvā ta-

• pah. z i z

Read: udyann ādityo ghrāṇān hantu sūryo nimrocan raçmi-
bhir u hantu | tāvan no adhi samhatam z 1 z apsarā mūlam
akhanad gandharvaṣ pary avravīt | tena vo vṛtrahā sūryo ni
jasyān ni †mr̥trata ghrāṇān z 2 z ghrāṇān hantu āyati ghrāṇān
hantu parāyati | ghrāṇān avaghnati hantu ghrāṇān pinaṣṭi
piṇṣati z 3 z ghrāṇāṣ kiñ cancha vaḥ | pratibuddhā abhūtana
5 b - pradoṣaṁ taskara iva z 4 z ghrāṇānāṁ madhyato jyeṣṭhaṣ
kaniṣṭha uta madhyamaḥ | hatā yas sarve jñātayo hatā mātā
hataṣ pitā z 5 z yathā phena uḍake dadṛçāno ni jasyati |
evā vyaṁ ghrāṇān sarvān sākāṁ vācā ni jāsayāmasi z 6 z ni
gāvo goṣṭhe asadan ni mṛgāso avikṣata | nityam āditya raçmi-
bhir ghrāṇān sarvān ajījaṣaḥ z 7 z udyan raçmīn ā tanuṣva
bāṇā vābhi sam arpayā | ghrāṇān tvaṁ parvaṇāditya ghorayā
tanvā tapaḥ z 8 z 1 z

It seems clear that there are eight stanzas here, but the first and fourth each lack a pāda: in st. 1 I believe it was pāda c, and in st. 4 pāda b. For the missing(?) pāda of st. 1 we have no hint, but we can see a parallel for a first hemistich of st. 4 in RV. 1. 191. 7cd adṛṣṭāḥ kiñ cancha vaḥ sarve sākāṁ ni jasyata. In st. 2d ni mṛdnād might be read. Our st. 3 is a variant of RV. 1. 191. 2; for our 4cd cf. RV. st. 5; our 7ab = RV. 4ab = Ç. 6. 52. 2ab.

17. [f. 67a, l. 13.]

Contains Ç. 7. 56. 8; 6. 138. 3ab: RV. 1. 191. 13—15.

yānataṣ paraṇato dārora ivāpatakṣaṇam | ça-
rkoṭo nāma vāsi kutas tvaṁ vithavānaça |

Read vā asi in pāda c, and viṣavān asi in d.

ya ubhayena praharasi

puççhena cāsyena ca | yāsyē cana te viṣaṁ kutas te pu-
çchadhāv asat.

Read āsyē in c, and pucchadhāv in d. Q. 7. 56. 8cd has āsyē na te viṣaṁ kim u te pucchadhāv asat; but it does not seem necessary to have a negative in our pāda c.

vi-

dapsutaçya dānavasya tasya tvaṁ naṣād asi | tasyāgre ra-
saṁ viṣaṁ ta-
tas tvardhārasaṁ viṣaṁ |

The general import of the first hemistich is fairly clear, I believe; for vidapsutaçya I have thought of yad apsu tasya, or else some form of vi+ dabh; for naṣād perhaps we might read niṣād in the sense of "abode". In pāda c read 'rasaṁ, and in d possibly tavārasaṁ.

rasārasaṁ tvākaraṁ vadhre va-
dhriṁ tvākaraṁ vadhriṁ

tvā cakrun devā amṛtāsāsuraṁ |

In a read arasārasaṁ, at the end of b tvākaram; in c cakrun for d probably amṛtāso asuram iva.

yattakaṣ kakumbhakas takam bhi-

[f. 67b] nadmi taṁ mayā | tato viṣaṁ parā sica | sapācīm
anu saṁvitam

Read: iyattakaṣ kuṣumbhakas takam bhinadmi taṁ mayā |
tato viṣaṁ parā sicam apācīm anu saṁvatam z 5 z

RV. has aṣmanā at the end of b which is better than taṁ mayā, if the latter is really possible. Perhaps sica would be better in c.

imaḥ pa-

çcā mayūryas sapta svasāro agruvaḥ | tās te viṣaṁ vi jahur
udakaṁ kumbhi-
nīr iva | kūpāt kulajanīr iva |

Read: imāḥ paṇcād mayūryas sapta svasāro agruvaḥ | tās
te viṣam vi jahur udakaṁ kumbhinī iva kūpāt kulajanī iva
z 6 z

RV. has pañca in a, in c it has jabhrira ° °. Whether there
is really a fifth pāda seems to me doubtful.

navānām navatīnām ity ekā z z

z 2 z

The reference here is to Ppp. 3. 9. 7 which was edited as
follows: navānām navatīnām viṣasya ropuṣiṇām | sarvāsām agra-
bham nāma vitāpetārasam viṣam.

18. [f. 67b, l. 4.]

vrātam aha sapakṣiṇām | vrātaṁ tuṇḍiyaçām uta |
vrātaṁ

vuddhirbalānāmm aham pradhvām rakṣā iva cātaye |

Removing the colon after pāda a and reading tuṇḍiyasām
we have a good hemistich. In c vṛddhabalānām would seem
good: in d pratyān rakṣa iva seems to me the most plausible
suggestion.

pravaktā pramā-
dāitā nibhrā tandrīs tītiyaka | tāṁ jaṅgitrasyāgninā sarvaṁ
apa
yajāmasi |

The margin has mahi correcting yajāmasi.

In pāda a we might read prasādhaye tān, for b nidrā
tandrīs tṛtiyakaḥ: in cd read tān jaṅgiḍasyāgninā sarvān apa
yajāmahi.

açundhān naṣ pari pāhi rakṣobhya uta jaṅginah
yā-

tudhānāt kimīdinaḥ tasmān naṣ pāhi jaṅgiduḥ

Read açundhān in a, jaṅgiḍa in b, kimīdinas in c, and jaṅgiḍa in d. The ms. corrects jaṅgiduḥ to jaṅgiḍaḥ.

vatsarābhyo gāndha-
rvebhyo devebhyo asurebhyāḥ yātudhānāt kimīdinaḥ tasmān
naṣ pā-
tum jaṅgiduḥ

Read apsarābhyo in a, kimīdinas in c, and pātaṁ jaṅgiḍaḥ in d.

ni te çatrūn dati devo agnis trīr arātum asitaṁ
yātudhānān ā yāhi çatrūn duritāpaghnāyānsa tām no ya-
kṣmebhyaḥ
pari pāhi jaṅgiḍaḥ ni te çatṛn dahati devo gnin nir arātum
asitaṁ
yātudhānān ā yāhi çatṛ duritāpaghnāyānsa tām no ya-
kṣmebhyaḥ |
pari pāhi jaṅgiḍaḥ

Read: nis te çatrūn dahati devo agnir nir arātim asitaṁ
yātudhānam | ā yāhi çatrūn duritān apāghāyāns tām no ya-
kṣmebhyaḥ pari pāhi jaṅgiḍa z 5 z

The extensive dittography is clear. The emendation in pāda c is not beyond criticism.

akarmāgnim adhipām asya devam anv āra-
psva sahasā dāivyena | sahasvān nas sahasā pātu jaṅgiḍo
yato ja-
yema pṛtanājyeṣu

Read jaṅgiḍo in c.

satyo gnis satyāpaḥ satye me dyāvāpṛthivī
viçvaçambhū satyam idaṁ vrahmāsmākaṁ kṛtaṁ astu | yam
abadhnād uçane-
ndrāya taṁ te badhnāmi jaṅgiḍaṁ z 3 z

Read: satyo 'gnis satyā āpaḥ satye ime dyāvāpṛthivī | viçva-

çambhu satyam idam vrahmāsmākaṁ kṛtam astu | yam abadh-
nād uçanendrāya tam te badhnāmi jaṅgiḍam z 7 z 3 z

19. [f. 67b, l. 18.]

Cf. RV. 1. 191. 10–12, 14.

iyantikā çakuntikā
[f. 68a] sakhā jaghāsa te viṣam | maham mṛṣy asāu asāu
puruṣo mṛtaḥ sa ja
na marāti mā vayam marāmāre bhyojanaṁ hṛiṣṭhā madhu
tvā madhulāka-
rat. sūryam viṣa saṁsrjāmi dvitīyam surāvato grhe | tri-
ṣuptā viṣpū-
liṅgakā viṣasya puṣpakas akṣan ā | ālvantaroṭam viṣam vi-
tārī ka-
rambho rasam viṣam vār ugram arasam viṣam agniç ca
viçvacarṣaṇiḥ çakunti-
kā me vṛavīd viṣapuṣpaṁ dhayantikah na ropayati na mā-
dayati na
viṣam hanti pāuruṣam | mahamṛṣamāu asāu puruṣo mṛtaḥ
sa ja na
na marāti mā vayam madāmāre syojanaṁ hariṣṭhā maru
tvā madhulāka-
rat. navānām navatīnām ity etā z 4 z

Read: iyattikā çakuntikā sakā jaghāsa te viṣam | †maham
mṛṣy† asāv asāu puruṣo 'mṛtaḥ | sa cin nu na marāti mā va-
yam marāmāre 'sya yojanaṁ hariṣṭhā madhu tvā madhulāka-
rat z 1 z sūrye viṣam saṁsrjāmi dṛtiṁ surāvato grhe | †ma-
ham ° ° | sa ° ° ° z 2 z tris sapta viṣpuliṅgakā viṣasya puṣpa-
kam akṣan | †maham ° ° | tāç cin nu na maranti mā ° ° ° z 3 z
†ālvantaroṭam viṣam vitārī karambho 'rasam viṣam | †maham
° ° | sa ° ° ° z 4 z vār ugram arasam viṣam agniç ca viçvacarṣa-
ṇiḥ | †maham ° ° | sa ° ° ° z 5 z çakuntikā me 'vṛavīd viṣa-
puṣpaṁ dhayantikā | na ropayati na sādāyati na viṣam hanti
pūruṣam | †mahamṛṣ† asāv asāu puruṣo 'mṛtaḥ | sa cin nu na

marāti mā vayan̄ marāmāre 'sya yojanaṁ hariṣṭhā madhu tvā
madhulākarat z 6 z navānām mavatīnām ity ekā z 7 z 4 z

The hymn is given thus en bloc to display the more clearly what seems to me the intention of the ms. in respect to the refrain. Good work in textual criticism has been marred by theories of responsion: but the repetition in RV. 1. 191. 10—13 and the habit of this ms. as seen in hymn 8 of this book, or Bk. 3. 9 and 15, gives strong reason for the arrangement. But st. 6 as given is not symmetrical with the others; its pādas abc plus arasaṁ sārvaṁ viṣam appear as a complete stanza on f. 115b. In view of this it might seem good to write the refrain only in stt. 1—5.

For our 8a RV. has sūrye viṣam ā sajāmi; which may be intended here. In 4a there seems to be a possibility that some form of ālu is present, and then perhaps çārkoṭaṁ viṣam. Our 5a has appeared Ppp. 3. 9. For st. 7 cf. no. 17 of this book.

20. [f. 68a, l. 9.]

madhumatī patye ssi

yajñārāya madhumattaraḥ atho madhumavyase bhaṁso ma-
dhon nipatane haṁ

In pādas a b it would seem possible to read ° syām jārāya madhumattarā; the verb probably should be in the first person and to read 'smi would leave "yaj" unaccounted for. In c I can only suggest madhumad yaço me. Pāda d seems clearly to begin bhaṁso madhor, after which nipatanam if that may mean "abiding-place"; I do not believe aham is here, but it might belong to st. 2a.

madhu-

nā mā saṁsṛjāmi māsureṇa surām iva | vān mahyaṁ ma-
dhunā saṁsṛṣṭā-

kṣāu mī madhusaṁdṛcī

In d read °kṣyāu me; cf. Ç. 7. 36. 1a.

madhu dyāur madhu pṛthivī madhv
indro madhu sūryaḥ |
striyo yā jajñire madhu tābhyo haṁ madhumattaraḥ

In d read 'haṁ madhumattarā.

madhumatīr uṣadhaya ā-
po madhumatīr uta | gāvo yā jajñire dhu tābhyo haṁ ma-
dhumattaraḥ

In a read oṣadhaya, in c madhu, in d 'haṁ madhumattarā.

madhu-
r jāto madhuga vīrudhām balavattamaḥ | tenāhaṁ sarvasmāi
puse kṛṇve
nikaraṇaṁ hṛdi |

Read for a madhor jāto madugho; cf. Ç. 5. 4. 1ab: in c
read punse.

yathāçvo bandhaneṣṭho vaḍavām abhi dhā-
vati | evā

tvam ugra oṣadhe muṁ kanikradatim ā naya

In d read 'muṁ kanikradatam.

aṅgo namo divi
çvaso aṅgo na-
mo divi stanah anyā vivitsamāno anyāḥ parājighānsan. | |
[f. 68b] mām anu vra te manaç chāyāyantum ivā nayat.
z 5 z anuvā 4 zz

Read: aṅgonnamas divi çvaso aṅgonnamas divi stanah | anyā
vivitsamāno anyāḥ parājighānsan | mām anu pra te manaç
çayyāyām tam ivā nayat z 7 z 5 z anu 4 z

The reading suggested for the first hemistich is very close
to the ms., but I am not altogether confident about it; the
second hemistich seems fairly good. Pāda e = Ç. 3. 18. 6c;
in pāda f I have also thought of çāyantam or chāyāyantram;
but in any case this pāda does not seem to follow up pāda e
very well.

21. [f. 68 b, l. 2.]

khananti tvā tayimātādāmārasi bāhavaḥ dāsasya prakrīd
 usy uta kha
 im arasasaṁ viṣaṁ |

In ab read tāimātādhā, and for the rest of b māro si bāhvoḥ might be possible. In c I have thought of prakrīr asy uta, for which cf. Q. 4. 7. 6: for d kha idam arasasaṁ viṣaṁ seems probable. A plant-name in the vocative seems to follow tvā; cf. the following verse which occurs f. 115a l. 12 and 13: aṣvatthe nihataṁ viṣaṁ kapagle nihataṁ viṣaṁ ṣilāyāṁ jajñe tāimātaṣ prathamo viṣadūṣaṇī. This seems to throw some light on our pāda a.

idamti tvā karkaṭaṣaḥ kurumgā adhi sāniṣu |
 pāpī jagdhi prasūr asy atriṣāte na ra rūrupaḥ |

For ab read adanti tvā karkaṭaka kuraṅgā adhi sānuṣu. In c pāpīr seems probable; for d read abhrikhāte na rūrupaḥ. Pāda d is Q. 4. 7. 5d, which appears Ppp. 2. 1. 4d and 5d where abhrikhāte should have been read.

ava jḡām iva dhanvi-
 naḥ ṣuṣmaṁ tanomi te viṣaḥ | parā roraṇsya pātaya sūrya-
 pūrvā ṣa-
 voṣasuḥ

For ab read ava jyām iva dhanvinaḥ ṣuṣmaṁ tanomi te viṣa; cf. Q. 6. 42. 1ab. In pāda c we seem to find parā+pat, and for roraṇsya we might consider rohāṇsi; parā rohāṇsi pataya is the suggestion for c. In d sūryapūrvā seems good and inclines one to think of uṣasaḥ at the end; but a marginal correction reads vaṣoṣamaḥ. I can get nothing further here.

sinduṣ paṣcāt parihitas sūryasyodayanaṁ purah
 tato yad anta-
 rā viṣaṁ tat sarvaṁ vidūṣaṇaṁ |

Read viṣadūṣaṇam in d: pāda b = VāDh. 1. 15b and Ppp. 4. 22. 3b. Read sindhuṣ in a.

madhu tvā madhukṛt kṛṇotu pituṁ tvā pitu-
kṛt kṛṇotu | tato niṣadya pātaye radho vāya tiṣṭhate |

In c pataye (2nd sg. opt.) would seem preferable: in d
rādho 'vāya.

jaghāsa tvā lo-
makanyas tan mām upariṣṇyāparud dāimāiç cakrire sṛja
sarvaṁ nvāiṣajo vi-
ṣaṁ |

In pāda I think we may take jaghāsa as 1st person and
read a vocative after tvā; perhaps lomakaṇṭa is possible, as a
plant name. For b I can only suggest (with little confidence)
tan mām upariṣaṇyāpāt. For cd it seems possible to read ud
dhāimāiç cakrire mṛjaṁ sarvaṁ bhiṣajo viṣaṁ. With such
corrections the stanza could be translated, I believe.

urvyā urakṣatas turāyāturasya ca | bhūmyā hi jagra-
bhaṁ nāma viṣaṁ
vārayatam iti viṣaṁ dūṣayatād iti z 1 z

Read: urvyā ūrakṣatas turasyāturasya ca | bhūmyā hi ja-
grabhaṁ nāma viṣaṁ vārayatām iti viṣaṁ dūṣayatām iti
z 7 z 1 z

22. [f. 68 b, l. 11.]

ahaṁ vā i-
ndram ātaram indro mām indrabhrātaraṁ indrādi vakrām
vīrudham arṣaṁ vi-
ṣadūṣaṇī |

For the first hemistich I can offer only what the trans-
literation gives, and that seems a very doubtful text: indrād

u might be considered in c. In d we would probably be safe in reading *aharṣaṁ viṣadūṣaṇīm*, or *ariṣaṁ*.

yadi kici padvat sabhavad yāt kāṇḍe yaç ca
puṣpavat.

ud ejitu prajāpatis sarvaṁ tad viṣadūṣaṇam.

Here we might read in a yat kiṁ cit and çaphavad, in b yat and yac; in c read ejatu as in Ç. 4. 4. 2c.

sindhuṣ paçcā-
d varuṇas sūryasyodayanaṁ punaḥ tato yad antarā viṣaṁ
tad vācā dū-
ṣayāmasi |

The sign "v" in viṣaṁ in pāda d is imperefect; and a period after viṣaṁ is suggested.

In a read varuṇasya, in b puraḥ. Cf. st. 3 of preceding hymn.

yāvat sūryo dhipati yāvaç cā dyā vapaçyati | tāva-
d viṣasya dūṣaṇaṁ vaco nir mantrayāmahe |

In a read 'dhipatir, for b yāvac ca dyāur vipaçyati. With our a b cf. Ç. 10. 10. 4d.

jihvā me madhusaṁsrā-
[f. 69a] vā jihvā. me madhuvādinī | jihve varcasvatī bhava
sāpa te puruṣo ri-
ṣat. |

In d read māpa te. Ç. 19. 39. 2c is na ghāyaṁ puruṣo riṣat.

hā hī kalyāṇi subhage prṣṇiparṇy anāture | imaṁ me
adya
pāuruṣaṁ dīrghāyutvāyo anvayaḥ

In b read prṣṇiparṇy, in c pūruṣaṁ; and for d probably dīrghāyutvāyānu nayaḥ.

yā dyo varṣantu vṛṣṭayo yābhi-
r jivāntv aghnyā ta me viṣasya dūṣaṇīs savitā kāçayat.
z 2 z

Read: yā dyor varṣanti vṛṣṭayo yābhir jivanty aghnyāḥ |
tā me viṣasya dūṣaṇīs savitā tā ākāçayat z 7 z 2 z

23. [f. 69a, l. 5.]

Q. 19. 46.

prajāpatiṣ tvā badhnātu prathamas ambhṛtaṁ vīryāya
kam | taṁ te badhnāmy āyu-
ṣe varcasojase ca balāya çāstrtaṣ tvābhi rakṣatu | ūrdhvas
tiṣṭhaṁ ra-
kṣaṁṁ apramādas ambhṛtemanu mā tvā dabhaṁ paṇayo
yātudhānāṁ indrīva
va dhasyū davi dhūṣva pṛdanyataḥ sarvāṅç chatṛṇ vi ṣa-
hasvāstrtaḥ ghṛtā-
tullabdhō madhuvāṅ payasvā sahasraṁprāṇaç çatayonir
vayodhā çambhū-
ç ca mayobhūç corjasvāṅç ca payasvāṅç cāstrtaḥ asmin ma-
nām ekaça-
taṁ vīryāṇi sahasraṁ prāṇā yasminn astrire | vyāghra
çatṛṇ abhi
tiṣṭha sarvāṅ yas tvā pṛdenyād adharas so stv astrtaḥ çā-
taṁ cana prahara-
nto bhijanto na tastroire | yasmin indraḥ pary adhatta ca-
kṣuṣ prāṇam a-
tho balas ambhṛtaḥ indrasya tvā varmaṇā pari dhāmo pu-
nas tvā devā¹
paṇayantu sarve tvastṛtaḥ yathā tvam uttaro sāu sapatnas
sapatnahā sa-
jātānām aso vaçī tathā tvā savitā karad astrtas tvā abhi
rakṣa-
tu z 3 z

Read: prajāpatiṣ tvā badhnātu prathamam astrtaṁ vīryāya
kam | taṁ te badhnāmy āyuṣe varcasa ojase ca balāya cāstrtas
tvābhi rakṣatu z 1 z ūrdhvas tiṣṭhan rakṣāpramādam astrte-

man mā tvā dabhan paṇayo yātudhānāḥ | indra iva dasyūn
ava dhūṇṣva pṛtanyataḥ sarvāṅḥ ṣaṭrūn vi śahasvāstṛtas ° ° °
z 2 z ghṛtād ullabdho madhumān payasvān sahasraprāṇaḥ ṣa-
tayonir vāyodhāḥ | ṣambhūḥ ca mayobhūḥ corjasvāṅḥ ca paya-
svāṅḥ cāstṛtas ° ° ° z 3 z asmin maṇāv ekaṣataṁ vīryāṇi sa-
hasraṁ prāṇā astṛte | vyāghra ṣaṭrūn abhi tiṣṭha sarvān yas
tvā pṛtanyād adharas so 'stv astṛtas ° ° ° z 4 z ṣataṁ cana
praharanto bhidanto na tastrire | yasminn indraḥ paryadatta
cakṣuḥ prāṇam atho balam astṛtas ° ° ° z 5 z indrasya tvā
varmaṇā pari dhāpayāmo yo devānām adhirājo babhūva | pu-
nas tvā devaḥ pra ṇayantu sarve 'stṛtas ° ° ° z 6 z yathā
tvam uttaro 'so asapatnas sapatnahā | sajātānām aso vaḥ tathā
tvā savitā karad astṛtas tvābhi rakṣatu z 7 z 3 z

The ms. indicates punctuation after 3b, after cakṣuḥ in 5c
and after 7b. In st. 6 I have supplied from Q. the missing
pāda b.

24. [f. 69a, l. 17.]

apaḥ caravaḥ coṣmā ca vāḥ paḥṇa ṣokaḥ cābhivi-
[f. 69b] ṣoka tṛtīyakaḥ ca pareparaḥ ca te takmaneto na-
ḥyata |

Read: apa ṣaravaḥ coṣmā ca vāḥ paḥṇa ṣokaḥ cābhiviḥ-
kaḥ | tṛtīyakaḥ ca pareparaḥ ca te takmāna ito naḥyata z 1 z

There are a good many uncertainties here. In pāda b cā-
bhīḥyakaḥ would rectify the meter. In c tṛtīyakaḥ is given as
being the normal spelling, but in Ppp. 1. 32 the word is
spelled tṛtīyeka; parepara seems surely to be a fever, perhaps
equivalent to anyedyuḥ.

veda vāi te takmaṁ nāmāgniḥ ṭam
nāmāsitaṁ tveto vi nayāmasy anu takmaṁ vṛtrasya romi
nabhasyo napāt. |

In a and in c read takman, in b ṭan nāmāsitam. In d the
best suggestion seems to be vṛtrasya ropir.

dyāu-

ç cāsmat pṛthivī ca takmānaṁ nāçayatām itaḥ | pañcapa-
tsuntri nāma

te mātā asūyeka psu nṛtyase |

For the first part of c I can get nothing; for the rest we might read nāma te mātāsūyeko 'psu nṛtyase. The transliteration in c is not sure.

tasyāhaṁ veda te nāma ça takmaṁ nir ato dhru-
vaḥ odur asya nāmāsi priyātithiç ca tanveto nāçayāmasi
vrahmaṇā

vīryāvatām

For b read sa takman nir ato dravaḥ. In c we should probably read huḍur asya nāmāsti, comparing Ppp. 1. 32. 2; Ç. 1. 25 has hrūḍu. For de read tam ito nāçayāmasi vrahmaṇā vīryāvatā; these pādas = Ç. 4. 37. 11ef.

yo si jalapaç ca lapaç cām māguç ca tapāiç ca |
tṛtyekaç ca parepa-

raç ca te takmānāito nacata |

In a we seem to have jalpa and lapa; and asti would perhaps fit better with pāda b, in which there may be two verbs; I can only suggest yo 'sti jalpaç ca lapaç cā māguç ca tepuç ca. But it would seem to give a stronger hemistich if we could read two nouns in b. Read cd as in st. 1.

vikileda virohatu vṛkāmaṣ kality arju-
na | girim gaçcha dhūmaketo ṛṣeṇa mām sa saṁdate | vṛhat
tvam agne rakṣo

adhi saṁjahi madhyamaṁ uttasam çṛṇhi |

In pāda a vikledo is possible, and probably virohatu can stand; for b the only suggestion I can make is vṛkān skhalayaty arjunaḥ, but this is not convincing. For cd a possible reading is girim gaccha dhūmaketav ṛṣeṇa mām sa saṁdhatte; but pāda d is not very good. In f read madhyamam uttamam.

̣am̄ no agnir jyotiraneke
 astu sam̄ dyāvāpṛthivī yanehasā | māteva piteva rakṣata
 enam̄ muñca-
 tānam̄ pary añhasaḥ z 4 z

Read: ̣am̄ no agnir jyotiraniko astu ̣am̄ dyāvāpṛthivī ane-
 hasā | māteva piteva rakṣatāinam̄ muñcatāinam̄ pary añhasaḥ
 z 7 z 4 z

Pāda a = ̣. 19. 10. 4a; for b cf. RV. 6. 75. 10b.

25. [f. 69b, l. 11.]

̣. 4. 10.

vātāj jāto antarikṣād vidyuto jyo-
 tiṣaḥ pari | sa no hiraṇyadā ̣aṅkhaḥ kṛṇaḥ pātv añhasaḥ
 hiraṇyā
 nām eko si sa hosāc abhi jajñiṣe | ratheṣu darṇatam iṣa-
 dhāu ro-
 canas tvam̄ | yo grato rocanāvām̄ samudrad adhi jajñiṣe |
 ̣aṅkhena tvā
 rakṣānsy atriṇo vi ṣahāmahe | ye triṇo yātudhānām̄ rakṣa-
 so ye
 kimīdinaḥ | sarvāṅṇ chakha tvayā vyaṁ viṣūco vi vudhā-
 mahe | z
 ̣aṅkhenāmivām̄ avadyaṁ ̣aṅkhenotas sadānvā ̣aṅkho no
 viṇvabheṣaja-
 [f. 70a] ṣ kṛṇaḥ pātv añhasaḥ divi jātas samudrataḥ
 sindhutas paryābhṛtaḥ sa no
 hiraṇyadāṇ ̣aṅkha āyuṣprataraṇo matiḥ devānām̄ asta
 kṛṇanam̄ babhū-
 va tad ātmaṁna caraty apsv antaḥ | tam̄ te badhnāmy āyuṣe
 varcase balāya ca kā-
 rṣiṇas tvābhi rakṣatu z 5 z anuvā 5 || z

Read: vātāj jāto antarikṣād vidyuto jyotiṣaḥ pari | sa no
 hiraṇyadāṇ ̣aṅkhaḥ kṛṇaḥ pātv añhasaḥ z 1 z hiraṇyānām̄

eko 'si sa homād adhi jajñiṣe | ratheṣu darçatas tvam iṣudhāu
 rocanas tvam z 2 z yo 'grato rocanānāni samudrād abhi ja-
 jñiṣe | çaṅkhena hatvā rakṣāṁsy atrīṇo vi śahāmahe z 3 z ye
 'trīṇo yātudhānā rakṣaso ye kimīdinaḥ | sarvāṅç çaṅkha tvayā
 vayam viṣūco vi vidhyāmahe z 4 z çaṅkhenāmivām avadyam
 çaṅkhenota sadānvāḥ | çaṅkho no viçvabheṣajaṣ kṛçanaṣ pāt-
 anhasaḥ z 5 z divi jātas samudrataḥ sindhutas paryābhṛtaḥ |
 sa no hiranyadāç çaṅkha āyusprataraṇo maṇiḥ z 6 z devānām
 asthi kṛçanaṁ babhūva tad ātmanvac caraty apsv antaḥ | tam
 te badhnāmy āyuse varcase balāya ca kārçanas tvābhi rakṣatu
 z 7 z 5 z anuvā 5 z

The ms. indicates a punctuation after 5b; and it seems to suggest a separation of tvābhi in 7e. Our st. 4 has no parallel. In 6d I have given maṇiḥ with Ç., but the reading of the ms. gives reason for thinking of 'sati.

26. [f. 70a, l. 4.]

RV. 8. 91.

kanyā vār avāyati
 somam açrutāvadat. | hastam bharanty avravīd indrāya
 çanimami tvā çakrā-
 ya çanimami tvā | asūyeṣu vīrako gṛham-gṛham vicakaçat.
 imam jambhasutam piva dhānāvantaṁ karambhiṇam apū-
 pavantaṁ ukthinam
 kuç chakat kuvit karat kuvin no vasyasas karat. kuvit sati-
 yaço yatī-
 r indreṇa saṅgamāmahī | ā canī tvā cikitsāmo dhi cana tvā
 nemasi | çanāir iva çanakāir ivendrāyendo pari srava | imāni
 trī-
 ni viṣṭapā tānīndra vi rohaya | çiras tatasyorvarām ād idam
 mā
 upodare | asāu ca yā na urvātirā imām tatvas pari | atho
 ta-
 dastu yaç chiras sarvā tā romaçā kṛdhi | kha rathasya khe
 nasaṣ khe yo |

gasya çakrato | apālām indra triṣ pūtvya akr̥ṇot sūryatva-
cam z 1 z

Read: kanyā vār avāyatī somam api srutāvidat | astam bha-
ranty avravīd indrāya sunavāni tvā çakrāya sunavāni tvā z 1 z
asāu ya eṣi vīrako gr̥ham-gr̥ham vicākaçat | imam jambhasutam
piba dhānāvantaṁ karambhiṇam apūpavantam ukthinam z 2 z
kuvic chakat karat kuvit kuvin no vasyasas karat | kuvit pa-
tidviṣo yatīr indreṇa saṅgamāmahāi z 3 z ā cana tvā ciki-
tsāmo 'dhi cana tvā nemasi | çanāir iva çanakāir ivendrāyendo
pari srava z 4 z imāni trīṇi viṣṭapā tānīndra vi rohaya | çiras
tatasyorvarām ād idam ma upodare z 5 z asāu ca yā na ur-
varād imāni tanvaṁ pari | atho tatasya yac chiras sarvā tā
romaçā kṛdhi z 6 z khe rathasya khe 'nasaṣ khe yugasya çä-
takrato | apālām indra triṣ pūtvya akr̥ṇoh sūryatvacam z 7 z 1 z

In st. 1 b I have given avidat with RV. and JB.; but it
would seem possible to retain avadat of the ms., or perhaps
even to read avandat.

27. [f. 70a, l. 15.]

divas pr̥ṣṭhe sadhuprcas suparn̥ṣ pañçaçate bhuvanasya
gopāḥ ā-
nujāvaram anuratta ugrā teṣām indram vīyā īrayanta

In a read madhuprcas suparn̥ṣ. In c I am not sure that
ānujāvaram can stand and anuratta I cannot solve; it would
seem fitting if pāda c began with yā (or ya). For d read
teṣām indram vīryāīrayanta; the ms. makes the correction to
vīryā.

purohitaḥ pa-
rameṣṭhī sadājjyāabhivardham asmā kṛṇod vṛhaspatiḥ tena
sapatrā-

[f. 70b] n adharān kṛṇuṣva kṣeme paçūn bahulān vardha-
yevā |

In a b we may probably read sadājayo abhivardham asmāi;
or perhaps sadā jayād. In c read sapatnān, in d vardhayitvā.

jāitrāyodyātu rathavā-
hanam te | gobhācam ūṣanta ye samānas sarve samagrā
dadhr̥ṣā bharanta |

The ms. gives only this for st. 3 and it looks as if pāda b is the missing one. For c the only suggestion I can make is gāvo bhāgam ucchanto ye samānās; in d read dadhr̥ṣā.

a-
bhi vardhasva bhrātr̥vyān abhi ye tvā pr̥danyataḥ ni ṣiṇḍhi
sarvān dhūrvato bhī
bhīvardhato yathāsasi |

In b read pr̥tanyataḥ; in c ni ṣiṇḍhi, and for d probably abhīvardho yathāsasi. Q. 1. 29. 3d is abhīvarto yathāsasi.

abhivardham abhibhavam abhiṣeṇam
mahāgaṇam
viṣas tvā sarvā vāñchatv āpo divyāṣ payasvatīḥ

In a we may probably read abhīvardham, in b abhiṣeṇam, in c read vāñchamt̥v. With our a cf. Q. 1. 29. 4a; cd = Q. 4. 8. 4cd.

abhī vardhasva prajayā
vāvṛdhāno abhy anīkaiṣ paṇubhir bhavāmi | vrahmarāja-
nyāir viṇvāir vāvṛ-
dhānaḥ cūdrāir atīha sabhayā pr̥danyataḥ

In a read abhi, in b bhavāsi; in c vāvṛdhānaḥ, and in d a possible reading is abhiha sahyāḥ pr̥tanyataḥ. It does not seem probable to me that a form of sabhā should stand in pāda d. The margin seems to suggest cūdrer.

vardhasva kṣettrāiṣ pradatasva pra-
jaya vardhasva vīrāiṣ paṇubhir bahur bhavaḥ ṣriyā sa ulkāir
yamas tvā pr-
danyād āpr̥tas tubhyam ṣapala ṛtyāya tiṣṭhatu | om̐ dāpr̥tas
tubhyam ṣa-
pala ṛtyāya tiṣṭhatu z z z

Read: vardhasva kṣetrāiṣ pra prathasva prajāyā vardhasva
vīrāiṣ paṇubhir bahur bhavaḥ | ṣriyā cūlakāir t̥yamas tvā p̥ta-
nyād t̥āp̥rtas tubhyaṁ t̥ṣapala r̥tyāya tiṣṭhatu z 7 z 2 z

For the first hemistich the suggested form seems good. In
c yas tvā p̥rtanyād would end the pāda well; but to end c
thus would not divide the syllables of the second hemistich
evenly. For āp̥rtas I should incline to read ābh̥rtas, and
r̥tyāi for r̥tyāya; also sapāla might be possible. The import
of the hymn is clear in the main, but the details are by no
means certain. In the lower margin of f. 70a, below st. 2, is
written v̥rhaspatasūktah.

28. [f. 70b, l. 10.]

RV. 1. 106.

indram mittram varuṇam agnim ūtaye
mārutam ṣardho aditiṁ havāmahe | ratham na durgād va-
savas sudhānuvo

viṣvasmān no añhaso niṣ pipartana | ta ādityā ā gata sa-
rvatāta-

ye bhūta devā v̥t̥tratūryeṣu sambhuvah ratham na durgād
vasavas sudhānavo vi-

ṣvasmān no añhaso niṣpipartana | avantu naṣ pitaras supra-
vācana uta de-

vī devaputre t̥tav̥rdhā | ratham na durgād vasavas sudhā-
navo viṣvasmā-

no añhaso niṣ pipartana | narāṇasam vājinaṁ vājayantam
kṣayadvīraṁ

pūṣaṇam sumnāir amahe | ratham na durgā z v̥rhaspate
sadam in na suvām k̥r-

dhi ṣam yor yat te manuritam turīmahe | rathan na durgā
z indram kutsam v̥t̥tra-

haṇam ṣacīpatiṁ kaṭe nivāḍha ṣṣir ahvad utaye | ratham
na durgād va-

[f. 71a] savas sudhānavo viṣvasmān no añhaso niṣ pipar-
tana z devāin no devy adi-

tin ni pātu devās trātā trāyatām aprayuṣchan. tan no mittro
varuṇo mā-
mahantām aditis sindhuṣ pṛthivī uta dyāuḥ z 3 z

Read: indraṁ mitraṁ varuṇam agniṁ ūtaye mārutāṁ ṣar-
dho aditiṁ havāmahe | ratham na durgād vasavas sudānavo
viṣvasmān no aṁhaso niṣpipartana z 1 z ta ādityā ā gatā
sarvatātaye bhūta devā vrtrātūryeṣu ṣambhuvah | ratham na
" " " z 2 z avantu naṣ pitaras supravācanā uta devī devaputre
ṛtāvṛdhā | ratham na " " " z 3 z narācaṁsaṁ vājinaṁ vāja-
yantaṁ kṣayadvīraṁ pūṣaṇaṁ sumnāir imahe | ratham na " " "
z 4 z vrhaspate sadam in naḥ sugaṁ kṛdhi ṣaṁ |yor yat te
manurhitaṁ tad imahe | ratham na " " " z 5 z indraṁ kutso
vrtrahanaṁ ṣacīpatiṁ kāte nibālha ṛṣir ahvad ūtaye | ratham
na durgād vasavas sudānavo viṣvasmān no aṁhaso niṣpipar-
tana z 6 z devāir no devy aditir ni pātu devas trātā trāya-
tām aprayucchan | tan no mitro varuṇo māmahantām aditis
sindhuṣ pṛthivī uta dyāuḥ z 7 z 3 z

In the top margin of f. 71a stands indraṁ mitraṁ dīvisū
and also apannāṣṭakamta.

29. [f. 71a, l. 3.]

Q. 4. 33.

om̐ kutsa ṛ-

ṣiḥ gāyatrīyāṁṣ chandaḥ agnir devatā apan nā aṣṭau ṣucaye
viniyogaḥ

z z om̐ apa naṣ ṣoṣucad agagne ṣucakad ā rayim̐ | apa naṣ
ṣocuca-

d agham̐ | sukṣettriyaṁ sughātuyā vasūyā ca yajāmahe |
apan naṣ ṣo-

ṣucad agham̐ | z pra yad bandhiṣṭa etām prāsmākasaṣ ca
sūrayaḥ apa na-

ṣ ṣoṣucad agham̐ | pra yat te agne sūrayo jāyemahe pra-
ti vayam. apan naṣ ṣo-

ṣucad agham̐ | pra yad agne sahasvato viṣvato yanti bhā-
navaḥ apan naṣ ṣoṣu-

cad agham | tvaṁ hi viçvatomukha viçvataṣ paribhūr asi
 apan naç çoçuca-
 d agham | dviṣo no viçvatomukhāti nāveva pārāya | apan
 naç çoçu-
 cad agham | sa nas sindhum iva nāvayāte parṣas svastaye |
 apan naç çoçuca-
 d agham z 4 z

Read: apa naç çoçucad agham agne çuçuḡdhy ā rayim | apa
 naç çoçucad agham z 1 z sukṣettriya sugātuyā vasūyā ca ya-
 jāmahe | apa naç " " " z 2 z pra yad bhandiṣṭa eṣāṁ prāsmā-
 kāsaç ca sūrayaḥ | apa naç " " " z 3 z pra yat te agne sūrayo
 jāyemahi pra te vayam | apa naç " " " z 4 z pra yad agneḥ
 sahasvato viçvato yanti bhānavaḥ | apa naç " " " z 5 z tvaṁ
 hi viçvatomukha viçvataṣ paribhūr asi | apa naç " " " z 6 z
 dviṣo no viçvatomukhāti nāveva pārāya | apa naç " " " z 7 z
 sa nas sindhum iva nāvayāti parṣā svastaye | apa naç çoçucad
 agham z 8 z 4 z

The ms. corrects to apa naḥ in st. 8. We might retain
 parṣas in 8b.

The anukramaṇī material prefixed may be read thus: kutsa
 ṛṣiḥ | gāyatraṁ chandaḥ | agnir devatā | apa no aṣṭāu çucaye
 viniyogaḥ. In Kātyāyana's Sarvānukramaṇī (ed. Macdonell,
 p. 9) the entry referring to RV. 1. 97 is apa no 'ṣṭāu çucaye
 gāyatraṁ.

30. [f. 71a, l. 13.]

om devaç çaraṇakṛtaç çaraṇā me bhavata
 prācyām
 diço gñinā rājñādhyakṣeṇa yaçā bhūyāsaṁ yasasaṁ mā
 kṛṇuta
 cārum antrādaṁ parā dviṣantaṁ sṛṇītaḥ | bhavata dakṣi-
 ṇayā di-
 ço indreṇa rājñā bhavata pratīcyā diço varuṇena rājñā
 bhavata udi-
 cyām diças somena rājñā bhavata dhruvāyā diço viṣṇunā
 rājñā bhava-

ta ūrdhvāyā diḥo vṛhaspatinā rājñā | bhavata uttamāyā di-
 ḥaṣ praṇāpatinā rājñā | bhavata paramāyā diḥaṣ parameṣṭhi-
 nā rā-

[f. 71 b] jñādhyakṣeṇa devāḥ ḥarakṛtaḥ ḥaraṇā me bhavata
 sarvābhyo gbhya iḥānena rājñā-
 dhyakṣaṇa yaḥā bhūyāsam yaḥasam mā kṛṇuta dviṣantam
 sṛcṇitaḥ z

z 5 z anu 6 z

Read: devāḥ ḥarakṛtaḥ ḥaraṇā me bhavata | prācyā diḥo
 'gninā rājñādhyakṣeṇa yaḥā bhūyāsam | yaḥasam mā kṛṇuta
 cārum antrādam parā dviṣantam ḥṇita z 1 z devāḥ ° ° bha-
 vata | dakṣiṇāyā diḥa indreṇa rājñā ° ° ° z 2 z devāḥ ° ° bha-
 vata | prācyā diḥo varuṇena rājñā ° ° ° z 3 z devāḥ ° ° bha-
 vata | udicyā diḥa somena rājñā ° ° ° z 4 z devāḥ ° ° bha-
 vata | dhruvāyā diḥo viṣṇunā rājñā ° ° ° z 5 z devāḥ ° ° bha-
 vata | ūrdhvāyā diḥo vṛhaspatinā rājñā ° ° ° z 6 z devāḥ ° °
 bhavata | uttamāyā diḥaṣ praṇāpatinā rājñā ° ° ° z 7 z de-
 vāḥ ° ° bhavata | paramāyā diḥaṣ parameṣṭhinā rājñā ° ° °
 z 8 z devāḥ ḥarakṛtaḥ ḥaraṇā me bhavata | sarvābhyo digbhya
 iḥānena rājñādhyakṣeṇa yaḥā bhūyāsam | yaḥasam mā kṛṇuta
 dviṣantam ḥṇita z 9 z 5 z anu 6 z

In the right margin of 71a stands ṣaḍṛtam sūktam, seem-
 ingly indicating this number; cf. Ppp. 2. 69. The word antrā-
 dam does not fit this context very well: perhaps the clause
 would be better written yaḥasam mā kṛṇuta parā dviṣantam
 ḥṇita.

31. [f. 71 b, l. 3.]

Q. 3. 16.

prātar agniṁ prātar indram havāmahe prā-
 tar mittrāvaru-

ṇā prātar aḥvinā prātar bhagam pūṣaṇam vrahmaṇaspatim
 prātas somam uta ru-

dram huvema | prātarjitam bhagam ugram huvema vayan
 putram aditer yo vidhartā |

agniṣ cid yām manyamānas turaṣ ci rājā cid
 yaṁ bha-
 gaṁ bhakṣīty āha | bhaga prañeter bhaga satyarādho bha-
 gemām dhiyam utavā u-
 daṁ naḥ bhaga prāṇo janaya gobhir aṣvāir bhaga pra nṛbhir
 vṛvantas syāma z
 utedānīm bhagavantas syāmota prapitva uta madhye ahnā
 utodite maghat sū-
 rye vayaṁ devānām sumatāu syāma | bhaga eva bhagavām
 astu devās tena vayaṁ
 bhagavantas syāma | taṁ tvā bhagas sarve ij johavīmi ma
 no bhagaṣ puraetā
 bhaveha z sam adhvarāyoṣaso nasatto dadhikrāveva ṣu-
 caye padāya arvā-
 cīnaṁ vasuvidaṁ bhagaṁ no ratham ivāṣva vājina avantu |
 aṣvāvatīr go-
 matīn na uṣāso vīravatīṣ sadam icchantu bhadraḥ | ghr̥taṁ
 duhānā vi-
 ṣvataṣ pravīṇā yūyaṁ pāta svastibhis sadā naḥ z 1 z

Read: prātar agniṁ prātar indraṁ havāmahe prātar mitrā-
 varuṇā prātar aṣvinā | prātar bhagaṁ pūṣaṇaṁ vrahmaṇas pa-
 tiṁ prātas somam uta rudraṁ huvema z 1 z prātarjitaṁ bha-
 gam ugraṁ huvema vayaṁ putram aditer yo vidhartā | adhiṣṭ
 cid yaṁ manyamānas turaṣ cid rājā cid yaṁ bhagaṁ bhakṣīty
 āha z 2 z bhaga pranetar bhaga satyarādho bhagemām dhi-
 yam ud avā dadan naḥ | bhaga pra ṇo janaya gobhir aṣvāir
 bhaga pra nṛbhir nṛvantas syāma z 3 z utedānīm bhagavantas
 syāmota prapitva uta madhye ahnām | utoditāu maghavant
 sūrye vayaṁ devānām sumatāu syāma z 4 z bhaga eva bha-
 gavān astu devas tena vayaṁ bhagavantas syāma | taṁ tvā
 bhaga sarva ij johavīmi sa no bhagaṣ puraetā bhaveha z 5 z
 sam adhvarāyoṣaso namantu dadhikrāveva ṣucaye padāya | arvā-
 cīnaṁ vasuvidaṁ bhagaṁ no ratham ivāṣvā vājina ā vahantu
 z 6 z aṣvāvatīr gomatiṁ na uṣaso vīravatīṣ sadam ucchantu
 bhadraḥ | ghr̥taṁ duhādā viṣvataṣ pravīṇā yūyaṁ pāta svasti-
 bhis sadā naḥ z 7 z 1 z

For pravīṇā as given in st. 7 here TB and ApMB have
 prapīṇā which may be intended by our ms.: but the reading
 of the ms. can stand.

32. [f. 71 b, l. 15.]

Q. 4. 32.

yas te sadyo

vidhad vajra sāyaka saha ojaḥ puṣyad viçvam manuṣam
 sāhyāma dāsa-
 m āryam tvayā yujā vayam sahasṛtena sahasā mahīyasā |
 manyur indro
 manyur evāsa devo manyur hotā varuṇo jātavedāḥ manyur
 viça īdate mā-
 [f. 72a] nuṣīr yaś pāhi no manyo tapasā sajoṣāḥ | abhihi
 manyo tapasas taviṛyam ta-
 pasā yujā vijīha sattṛṇ. | amittrāhā vṛttrahā dasyuhā ca-
 viçvā va-
 sūny ā bharā tvam naḥ tvām hi manyo abhibhūtyojās sva-
 yambhūr bhāso abhimāte-
 śahaḥ viçvacarṣaṇis sahuris sahiyān asmāsv ojaḥ pṛtanāsu
 dhehi |
 abhāgas sann apa pareto asmi tava kṛtvā tavaviṣasya pra-
 cetāḥ tam tvā manyo a-
 kratur jihīdāham svā tanur bhalāvā na ehi | ayam te assy
 upa mehy arvā-
 n pratiçīnas suhure viçvadhāvam | manu vajrin upa nā va-
 vṛtsu hanāva dasyū-
 n uta podhyāpe | abhi prehi dakṣiṇato bhavā no dhā va-
 vṛttraṇi jamghanā
 ca bhūri | juhomi te dharuṇe madhvo agram ubhā upāṇçu
 prathamā piveva z

z 2 z

Read: yas te sadyo 'vidhad' vajra sāyaka saha ojaḥ puṣyad
 viçvam anuṣak | sāhyāma dāsam āryam tvayā yujā vayam sa-
 hasṛtena sahasā mahīyasā z 1 z manyur indro manyur evāsa
 devo manyur hotā varuṇo jātavedāḥ | manyum viça īdate mā-
 nuṣīr yaś pāhi no manyo tapasā sajoṣāḥ z 2 z abhihi manyo
 tapasas taviyān tapasā yujā vi jahiha çatrūn | amitrahā vṛtra-
 hā dasyuhā ca viçvā vasūny ā bharā tvam naḥ z 3 z tvam
 hi manyo abhibhūtyojas svayambhūr bhāmo abhimātiśahaḥ

viçvacarṣaṇis sahuris sahiyān asmāsv ojaṣ prtanāsu dhehi z 4 z
 abhāgas sann apa pareto asmi tava kratvā taviṣasya pracetaḥ |
 taṁ tvā manyo akratur jihidāham svā tanūr baludāvā na ehi
 z 5 z ayaṁ te āsmy upa mehy arvāṁ praticīnas sahure viçva-
 dāvan | manyo vajrinn upa na ā vavṛtsva hanāva dasyūn uta
 bodhyāpeḥ z 6 z abhi prehi dakṣiṇato bhavā no dhā vṛtrāṇi
 jaṅghanaḥ ca bhūri | juhomi te dharuṇe madhvo agram ubhā
 upāṅgu prathamā pibeva z 7 z 2 z

In the top margin of 72a is yāṁ correcting tavīryaṁ.

In st. 1a manyo as in the other texts seems a better reading but sadyo can stand. In 3a tavaśas as in Ç. and RV. is much better and perhaps should be read here; tapasas might have been written through anticipation of tapasā in 3b. In 7b the ms. reading jaṅghanā ca may be considered as pointing to the jaṅghanāva of the other texts but with jaṅghanaḥ ca I have kept as close to the ms. as possible.

33. [f. 72a, l. 10.]

Ç. 4. 23.

agner manve prathamasya pracetasas pāñcanyasya
 bahudhā ya-
 m indhate viço-vi priçīcimāṁsam īmahe sa no muñcatv
 aṅhasaḥ sajātaṁ
 jātavedasam agnir vaiçvānaram vibhuṁ havyavāham ha-
 vāmahe sa no muñca-
 tv aṅhasaḥ | yathā havyaṁ vahasi jātavedo yathā yajñam
 kalpayasi
 prajānan. | evā devebhyas sumatī hy ā vaha sa no muñcatv
 aṅhasaḥ | yāma-
 n-yāmabhy apayuktaṁ vayiṣṭaṁ karman-karmatv ābhagam |
 agnim īde rakṣoḥaṇam
 yajñavṛtaṁ ghr̥tāhutaṁ sa no muñcatv aṅhasaḥ yenaṛṣayo
 balam idyota
 yajā yanāsurāṇām ayajanta māyā | yenāgninā paṇin indro
 [f. 72b] jighāya sa no mañcatv aṅhasaḥ yena devā amṛtam anv
 avindan yenoṣadhī madhuma-

tīr akr̥ṇvan. | yenedaṁ svar ābharaṁ sa no muñcatv anhasaḥ z yasyedaṁ pradiçi
yad virocate yaj jātaṁ janitavyaṁ ca kevalaṁ stāumy
açrīm nāthito johavī-
mi ma no muñcatv anhasaḥ z 3 z

Read: agner manve prathamasya pracetasas pāñcajanya-
bahudhā yam indhate | viço-viçaḥ praviçivāñsam īmahe sa no
muñcatv anhasaḥ z 1 z sujātaṁ jātavedasam agniṁ vāiçvāna-
raṁ vibhum | havyavāhaṁ havāmahe sa no ° ° z 2 z yathā
havyaṁ vahasi jātavedo yathā yajñam kalpayasi prajānan | evā
devebhyas sumatiṁ hy ā vaha sa no ° ° z 3 z yāman-yāmann
upayuktaṁ vahiṣtaṁ karman-karmann ābhagam agniṁ iḍe |
rakṣoḥaṇaṁ yajñavṛdhaṁ ghṛtāhutaṁ sa no ° ° z 4 z yenaṛsayo
balam uddyotayan yujā yenāsurāṇāṁ ayuchanta māyāḥ | ye-
nāgninā pañin indro jigāya sa no ° ° z 5 z yena devā
amṛtam anv avindan yenāuṣadhīr madhumatir akr̥ṇvan | ye-
nedaṁ svar ābharaṁ sa no ° ° z 6 z yasyedaṁ pradiçi yad
virocate yaj jātaṁ janitavyaṁ ca kevalam | stāumy agniṁ nā-
thito johavīmi sa no muñcatv anhasaḥ z 7 z 3 z

In st. 3c ihā might be read for hy ā as given above. In
5c the ms. reading jigāya does not give as good a meaning
as jigāya.

34. [f. 72b, l. 4.]

Ç. 4. 25.

vāyo savitur vidathāni manma-
he yāv ātamanyūd viṣato ye ca rakṣataḥ yo viçvasya pari
babhūvas tāu no mu-
ñcatam anhasaḥ

Read vāyos in pāda a, ātmanvad viṣato yāu in b: it seems
clear that for c we may read yāu viçvasya paribhū babhū-
vathus. With these corrections the stanza differs from the
Yajur Veda texts only in having viṣato for their bibhṛto.

yayos saṁkṣātā varimāṇi pārthivā yābhyām
 rajo gu-
 sthitam antarikṣam yayoh prayām nānu ṣaṣ canānuṣe tāu
 no muñcatam aṇhasaḥ

Read saṁkhyātā in a, and probably antarikṣe in b; we may leave gusthitam as yet another spelling of guspitam. In c read kaṣ canānaṣe.

tava vrate ni viṣāntve janāsas tvāiyate prehirate cittra-
 bhānau | divam vāyo-
 s savitā ca bhuvanāni yaçchatas tāu no muñcatam aṇha-
 saḥ |

Read viṣante in a, for b tvayy udite prerate citrabhāno. The simplest correction in pāda c is to read vāyus and yaçchatas; but vāyos of the ms. does suggest the Q form yuvan vāyo, and with this we would read yacchathas here.

pra sūmatim saṁ
 mumatir vā ūtaye mahatsvaṇtām matsaram mādayetām |
 arvāg vāmasya prava-
 tā ni yaçchatas tāu no muñcatam aṇhasaḥ

For the first hemistich read pra sumatim savitar vāya ūtaye mahasvantam matsaram mādayetām. | In c read yacchathas.

rayim me poṣam savitota vāyus ta-
 no jakṣivāṇ savitāmuṣavāu | aveyakṣmatām muhasmāsu
 dhattam tāu no mu-
 ñcatam aṇhasaḥ

For pāda b we may read tanvo dakṣam ā suvatām suçevāu; tanvo is closer to our ms. than tanū (as in Q.) and jakṣivāṇ seems to have no place here. A good reading for pāda c is, I believe, yāv ayakṣmatām maha asmāsu dhattam; otherwise begin the pāda with ayakṣmatām.

apeto vāyos savitā ca duṣkṛtam upe ya-
 kṣmam sa

samitām sedatim. para sam hy ūrjā sṛjata maṁ balena tāu
no muñca-
tam aṇhasaḥ

Read vāyo in a; and for b I would read apa yakṣmaṁ
çimidām sedhataṁ parā. In c read ūrjayā sṛjathaḥ saṁ.

upa çreṣṭhā nāçiṣo devayor dhvamanv asthiram |
stāuma de-

vaṁ savitāraṁ ca vāyurṁ tāu no muñcatam aṇhasaḥ z 4 z

Read: upa çreṣṭhā na āçiṣo devayor dhāmān asthiraṁ |
stāumi devaṁ savitāraṁ ca vāyurṁ tāu no muñcatam aṇha-
saḥ z 7 z 4 z

35. [f. 72b, l. 16.]

Ç. 4. 27.

marutām ma-
manva adhi me vruvantu premaṁ vojo vājasātāvantu | āsūn
iva suya-

mām bhūtaye te no muñcatv aṇhasaḥ | utsam akṣitam ya-
canti ye sadā ya vā

[f. 73a] siñcantu rasas oṣadhīṣu puro dadhe mārutaḥ pṛṣṇimā-
taraṁ te no muñcatv aṇha-

saḥ | payo dhenunām rasam o ṣadhīṇām yavas arvatām ka-
vayo ya invat.

saçmā bhavanti marutaṁ dyonās te no muñcantv aṇhasaḥ |
apas samudrād dvi-

vam ud vahanti divas pṛthivīm abhi yā sṛjanti | yadbhī-
çānām muru-

taç caranti te no muñcatv aṇhasaḥ ye kilālāis tarpayantyo
ghṛtena ya vā va-

yo medasā saṁsṛjanti | ya içānā maruto varṣayanti te no
muñcantv aṇhasaḥ |

yadīd idam māruto mārutena yadi devā dāivenayajñag
āraḥ

yūyam esiddhe vasavas tasya niṣkṛdhe te no muñcantv
 aṇhasaḥ | tigmam anīkaṁ
 vitataṁ sahasvaṁ mārutaṁ ṇavaḥ pṛtanāsu ugram stāumi
 māruto nāthite

johavīmi te no muñcantv aṇhasaḥ z 5 z anu 7 z

Read: marutāṁ manve adhi me vruvantu premaṁ tvojō
 vājasātā avantu | ācūn iva suyamān ahva ūtaye te no muñcantv
 aṇhasaḥ z 1 z utsam akṣitaṁ vyacanti ye sadā ye vāsiṁcanti
 rasam oṣadhiṣu | puro dadhe marutaḥ pṛcṇimātṛn te no ° °
 z 2 z payo dhenūnāṁ rasam oṣadhiṇāṁ javam arvatāṁ kavayo
 ya invatha | ṇagmā bhavantu marutaḥ syonās te no ° ° z 3 z
 apas samudrād divam ud vahanti divas pṛthivīm abhi yāḥ
 srjanti | ye adbhīr iṇānā marutaḥ caranti te no ° ° z 4 z ye
 kilālāis tarpayanti ye ghr̥tena ye vā vayo medasā sam̐srjanti |
 ya iṇānā maruto varṣayanti te no ° ° z 5 z yadīd idaṁ maruto
 mārutena yadi devā dāivyenedṛg āra | yūyam iḍidhve vasavas
 tasya niṣkṛtes te no ° ° z 6 z tigmam anīkaṁ vitataṁ sa-
 hasvan mārutaṁ ṇavaḥ pṛtanāsūgram | stāumi maruto nāthito
 johavīmi te no muñcantv aṇhasaḥ z 7 z 5 z anu 7 z

The ms. suggests a punctuation after °siṁcantu in 73a l. 1,
 and after aṇhasaḥ in 73a l. 5.

In st. 1b we might read with Ç. premaṁ vājam, or perhaps
 predam ojo; the ms. reading might be a sort of confusion of
 the two. In 3b we might keep close to the ms. and read
 yavam, but javam is much better. In 7b Ç. has ṇardhaḥ,
 which may have been intended here for v and rdh are similar
 signs.

36. [f. 73a, l. 10.]

Ç. 4. 26.

manve vām dyāvā-
 pṛthivī subhojasāu ye prathetās amitā yojanāni pratiṣṭhe
 hy abha-
 bha vantaṁ vasūnām te no muñcatam aṇhasaḥ | pratiṣṭhe
 ha babhūvathur vasūnām pra-

viddhe devī subhage utūdī dyāvāpṛthivī bhavatañ me syone
te no muñca-

tam añhasaḥ ye prāutyā bibhṛto ye manuṣyā ye mṛtañ
bibhrato ye havīñši |

dyāvāpṛthivī bhavatañ me syone te no muñcatam añha-
saḥ | yatra çriyā

bibhṛto ye vanaspatīn yayor vām viçvā bhuvanāny antaḥ
dyāvāpṛthivī

bhavatañ me syone te no muñcatam añhasaḥ ye kilālāis
tayañto ye ghr̥te

yābhyām narte kiñ cana çaknuvanti | dyāvāpṛthivī bhava-
tañ me syone te

[f. 73b] no muñcatam añhasaḥ asaṁtāpaya svatapasā huve
vām urvī gambhīre kavi-

bhin namasye | dyāvāpṛthivī bhavatañ me syone te no
muñcatam añhasaḥ ye

na medam abhiçocati yena vā yena kṛtañ pāuruṣeyaṁ na
dāivyaṁ stāumi

dyāvāpṛthivī jōhavīmi te no muñcatam añhasaḥ z 1 zz

Read: manve vām dyāvāpṛthivī subhojasāu ye 'prathetām
amitā yojanāni | pratiṣṭhe hy abhavatañ vasūnām te no muñca-
tam añhasaḥ z 1 z pratiṣṭhe ha babbhūvathur vasūnām pra-
viddhe devī subhage urūci | dyāvāpṛthivī bhavatañ me syone
te no ° ° z 2 z ye srotyā bibhṛtho ye mānuṣyān ye 'mṛtañ
bibhṛtho ye havīñši | dyāvā ° ° z 3 z ye usriyā bibhṛtho ye
vanaspatīn yayor vām viçvā bhuvanāny antaḥ | dyāvā ° °
z 4 z ye kilālāis tarpayatho ye ghr̥tena yābhyām narte kiñ
cana çaknuvanti | dyāvā ° ° z 5 z asaṁtāpe sutapasā huve vām
urvī gambhīre kavibhir namasye | dyāvā ° ° z 6 z yena medam
abhiçocati yena vā yena kṛtañ pāuruṣeyaṁ na dāivyaṁ |
stāumi dyāvāpṛthivī jōhavīmi te no muñcatam añhasaḥ z 7
z 1 z

In 6a we might accept the ms. reading svatapasā, but the
ms. probably has merely a faulty writing: we might also con-
sider svatavasā.

37. [f. 73b, l. 5.]

C. 4. 28.

bhavāṇvāu manve vī tasya vittam yayor vām yad idam
 vitiṣṭhate | yāv āiṣāte
 dvipado yaṇ catuṣpadas tāu no muṇcatam aṇhasaḥ yor
 abhyadhva ubha yad yāure ci-
 d yāu vitatāv iṣabhṛtām amiṣṭhāu | bhavāṇvāu bhavataṁ
 me syonāu tāu no muṇca-
 tam aṇhasaḥ yayor vadhān vāpadyate kiṇ canāntan de-
 veṣu uta mānuṣe-
 ṣu bhavāṇvāu bhavataṁ me syonāu tāu no muṇcatam
 aṇhasaḥ yāv ārebhathe ba-
 hu sākam ugrāu pra cetasyarāṣṭram abhibhān janeṣu | bha-
 vāṇvāu bhavataṁ
 me syone to no muṇcatam aṇhasaḥ sahasrākṣāu vṛtrahaṇā
 huve vām dūre-
 hetī sunemī ugrāu | bhavāṇvāu bhavataṁ me syonāu tāu
 no muṇcatam aṇha-
 saḥ z z yaṣ kṛtyākṛd yātudhāno mahalo ni tasmin yaha-
 tam a-
 dhi vajam ugrāu | bhavāṇvāu bhavataṁ me syonāu tāu
 no muṇcatam aṇhasaḥ
 adhi me vrūtaṁ pṛtanāsa ugrāu sam vajreṇa sṛjataṁ yaṣ
 kimīdi |
 stāumi bhavāṇvāu nāthito jahavīmi tāu no muṇcatam
 aṇhasaḥ z
 z 2 z

Read: bhavāṇvāu manve vām tasya vittam yayor vām yad
 idam vitiṣṭhate | yāv iṣāte dvipado yā catuṣpadas tāu no muṇca-
 tam aṇhasaḥ z 1 z yayor abhyadhva uta yad dūre cid yāu vitatāv
 iṣabhṛtām aṣiṣṭhāu | bhavāṇvāu bhavataṁ me syonāu tāu ° °
 z 2 z yayor vadhān nāpadyate kiṇ canāntar deveṣūta mā-
 nuṣeṣu | bhavāṇvāu ° ° ° z 3 z yāv ārebhathe bahu sākam
 ugrāu pra ced asrāṣṭam abhibhān janeṣu | bhavāṇvāu ° ° °
 z 4 z sahasrākṣāu vṛtrahaṇā huve vām dūrehetī stuvann emy

ugrāu | bhavācarvāu ° ° ° z 5 z yaṣ kṛtyākṛd yātudhāno †ma-
halo nī tasmin †yahatam adhi vajram ugrāu | bhavācarvāu
° ° ° z 6 z adhi me vrūtam pṛtanāsūgrāu saṃ vajreṇa sṛjatam
yaṣ kimīdi | stāumi bhavācarvāu nāthito jōhavimi tāu no muñ-
catam añhasaḥ z 7 z 2 z

In st. 5 b it does not seem that our ms. presents a variant in its sunemī. In 6b dhattam as in Ç. is the only plausible suggestion; adhi seems to improve the pāda.

38. [f. 73 b, l. 17.]

Ç. 4. 29.

manve vaṃ mittrāvaruṇāv ṛtāvṛdhāu satyojasāu
dṛhyā-

nī yo nirete yāu satyāvānam avatho haveṣu tāu no muñ-
catam añha-

[f. 74 a] saḥ | satyojaso dṛhvaṇī yo nidethe pra satyāvānam
avatho have-

ṣu | yāu gaṇchato nṛcakṣasa āpabhruṇā sutaṃ tāu no muñ-
catam añhasaḥ |

yav ṛṅgirasom atho thāv agasti mittrāvaruṇā jam atrim |
yāu kaṇya-

pam atho yāu vasiṣṭhaṃ tāu no muñcatam añhasaḥ | yāu
bhāradvājam avatho

vadhyadhvaṃ viṇvāmittraṃ varuṇa mitra kutsaṃ yāu kakṣi-
vantam avataḥ prota ka-

ṇvaṃ tāu no muñcatam añhasaḥ yāu dyāvāsyam avatho
yāu gaviṣṭhiraṃ mi-

ttrāvaruṇā pumīḍham attrim | yo vimadam avathas sapta-
vaṣṭhim tāu no mu-

ñcatam añhasaḥ yo medhātithim avato yāu triṇokam mittrā-
varuṇā u-

ṇaṃ kāvīyū || yāu mudgalam avatho gāutamaṃ ca tāu no
muñcatam añhasaḥ ya-

yo rathas satyavartmarajjuraṇmir mithuyā carantim abhi-
yāti dūṣayan.

stāumi mittrāvaruṇā nāthito jōhavīmi no tau muñcatam añ-
hasaḥ z

z 3 z

Read: manve vām mitrāvaruṇāv ṛtāvṛdhāu satyāujasāu dru-
hvaṇo yāu nudethe | yāu satyāvānam avatho haveṣu tāu no
muñcatam añhasaḥ z 1 z satyāujasāu druhvaṇo yāu nudethe pra
satyāvānam avatho haveṣu | yāu gacchatho nṛcakṣasā babhruṇā
sutaṁ tāu ° ° z 2 z yāv āngirasam avatho yāv agastiṁ mitrā-
varuṇā jamadagniṁ atrim | yāu kaṣyapam avatho yāu va-
siṣṭhaṁ tāu ° ° z 3 z yāu bharadvājam avatho yāu vadhrya-
çvaṁ viçvāmitraṁ varuṇa mitra kutsam | yāu kakṣivantaṁ ava-
thaḥ prota kaṇvaṁ tāu ° ° z 4 z yāu çyāvāçvam avatho yāu
gaviṣṭhiraṁ mitrāvaruṇā purumidham atrim | yāu vimadam ava-
thas saptavadhriṁ tāu ° ° z 5 z yāu medhātithim avatho yāu
triçokaṁ mitrāvaruṇā uçanāṁ kāvyaṁ yāu | yāu mudgalam
avathaḥ prota gotamaṁ tāu ° ° z 6 z yayo rathas satyavar-
tmarjuraçmir mithuyā carantaṁ abhiyāti dūṣayan | stāumi
mitrāvaruṇā nāthito jōhavīmi tāu no muñcatam añhasaḥ
z 7 z 3 z

The ms. suggests a colon after nirete in f. 73b, l. 17, and
one after añhasaḥ in f. 74a, l. 9. In the top margin of f. 74a
še is written above (nide)the.

In 1b and 2a druhvaṇo has seemed the most probable
reading but the reading of TS., MS., and KS. is rather against
it; they have satyāujasā dṛṇhaṇā (MS. durhṛṇā) yaṁ nudethe.
In 2c perhaps babhruṇāṁ would be a better reading.

39. [f. 74a, l. 12.]

C. 4. 24.

indrasya manve çaçvad yasya manvire vṛttraghna
stāumā upa memā
aguḥ yo dāçuṣas sukrto havam ethā sa no muñcatv añha-
saḥ yaç carṣa-
ṇipra carṣaṇi svarvid yasya grāvāṇaṣ pravadanti nṛmṇe
yasyādhva-

ryus saptahotā mudicyut ma no muñcatv añhasaḥ | yo gra-
 ṇām ugrabāhu-
 r yo dānavānām balam āsasāda | yena jitās sindhavo
 yena
 gāvas sa no muñcatv añhasaḥ | yasya vaçāsu ṛṣabhāsa
 ukṣaṇo ya-
 smin iyaṁte svarvas svarvide | yasmiñ çukraṣ pravartate
 vrahmaçumbhitas sa
 no muñcatv añhasaḥ yasya juṣṭiyam sominaḥ kāmayinge
 yo havanta
 iṣuvantaṁ gaviṣṭāu yasminn arkaṣ saçriye sminn ojaṣ sa
 no muñca-
 [f. 74b] tv añhasaḥ | ya uttamaṣ karmakṛtyāya jajñe asye
 vīryam prathamasyānuv
 ddham yonodyato vajro bhyāyatāham sa no muñcatv añha-
 saḥ yaṣ saṅgrāmān naya-
 ti saṁ yudhe vaçī yaḥ puṣṭyānaṣ saṁsrjāta dvayāni | stāu-
 mīndram nā-
 thito jōhavīmi sa no muñcatv añhasaḥ z 4 z

Read: indrasya manve çaçvad yasya manvire vṛtraghna
 stomā upa mema āguḥ | yo dāçuṣaṣ sukrto havam eyāt sa no
 muñcatv añhasaḥ z 1 z yaç carṣaṇipraç carṣaṇiḥ svarvid yasya
 grāvānāṣ pravādanti nrmṇam | yasyādhvaras saptahotāmadhucyut
 sa no ° ° z 2 z ya ugrāṇām ugrabāhur yayur yo dānavānām
 balam āsasāda | yena jitās sindhavo yena gāvas sa no ° ° z 3 z
 yasya vaçāsa ṛṣabhāsa ukṣaṇo yasmāi miyante svaravas svar-
 vide | yasmiñ çukraṣ pravartate vrahmaçumbhitas sa no ° °
 z 4 z yasya juṣṭim sominaḥ kāmayinge yaṁ havanta iṣuvantaṁ
 gaviṣṭāu | yasminn arkaç çriye yasminn ojaṣ sa na ° ° z 5 z
 ya uttamaṣ karmakṛtyāya jajñe yasya vīryam prathamasyānu-
 buddham | yonodyato vajro bhyāyatāhiṁ sa no ° ° z 6 z yaṣ
 saṅgrāmān nayati saṁ yudhe vaçī yaḥ puṣṭāni saṁsrjati dva-
 yāni | stāumīndram nāthito jōhavīmi sa no muñcatv añha-
 saḥ z 7 z 4 z

In st. 2b I have followed Ç. in reading nrmṇam, but nrmṇe
 as in the ms. seems possible. In 3a I have inserted yayur,
 following Ç. In 4c Ç. has yasmāi çukraṣ pavate which is
 better than our text at least in meter. At the end of f. 74a

l. 19 the ms. would seem at first sight to give havabu but I do not believe that the scribe intended that.

40. [f. 74b, l. 4.]

çunam vātmān a
 pākaromi çunam badhnāmi tambhyām āgreṇa vrahmaṇā
 havis tasmiñ jā-
 gara kaç cana | bāhum vatsam upanayam pātre gām duhann
 avravīt. ariṣṭam
 vrahmabhyo haviḥ çivam kṛṇotu kaçyapaḥ yatraḥ tiṣṭhanti
 sukṛtasya lo-
 ke trayo tikāçā trīṇi çīrṣāṇy eṣām trayas tiṣṭhanti pra-
 grhya
 kumbham yathā haviḥ kaçyapum yathāte satyāt sambhūto
 vadati taṇḍulā-
 t kṣīrāvapam ṛṣir vrahmatyāgreṇam ni ced etu kaçyapa
 ṛtumukhe
 candra bhāgāṣ pātram odanam uddharāt. prāpartu vrahmaṇo
 havi-
 r yathā vedena kaçyapa | ye bhūtāny amṛjanti ye bhūtāny
 akalpa-
 yan. | sarvasya vidvān adhvaryuḥ ṣaṇṇām bhavati kaçya-
 pa | çī-
 vāpo vatsekhyāç çivā bhavantv oṣadhīḥ vāto vatsedyāç
 kaçyapaç çiva
 çivam tapatu sūryaḥ z z iti atharvaṇapāippa-
 lādaçākhāyām caturthaṣ kāṇḍas samāptāḥ z z
 kāṇḍaḥ z 4 z

Read: çunam vatsān upākaromi çunam badhnāmi tanyām |
 āgrayanam vrahmaṇā havis tasmiñ jāgara kaç cana z 1 z bā-
 hum vatsam upanayan pātre gām duhann avravīt | ariṣṭam
 vrahmabhyo haviḥ çivam kṛṇotu kaçyapaḥ z 2 z trayas tiṣṭhanti
 sukṛtasya loke trayo tikāçās trīṇi çīrṣāṇy eṣām | trayas ti-
 ṣṭhanti pratigrhya kumbham yathā haviḥ kaçyapo yatāte
 z 3 z satyāt sambhūto vadati taṇḍulān kṣīra āvapam | ṛṣir

vrahmabhya āgrayāṇāṁ ni ced etu kaṣyapaḥ z 4 z ṛtumukhe
candra bhāgāḥ pātram odanam uddharāt | prāpantu vrahmāṇo
havir yathā vedena kaṣyapaḥ z 5 z ye bhūtāny amṛjanta ye
bhūtāny akalpayaṁ | sarvasya vidvān adhvaryuḥ śaṇṇāṁ bha-
vati kaṣyapaḥ z 6 z çivā āpo vatsebhyaḥ çivā bhavantv oṣa-
dhiḥ | vāto vatsebhyaḥ kaṣyapaḥ çivāṁ tapatu sūryaḥ z 7 z 5 z
anu 8 z

ity atharvaṇi pāippalādaçākhyāṇi caturthas kāṇḍas samā-
ptaḥ z z kāṇḍaḥ 4 z

In st. 1d I have wondered if kaṣyapaḥ might stand at the
end. In 3d yatāte is given as being very close to the ms.,
but yacchāte might be considered as a possibility. In 4d ni
codayatu is in some respects much better than ni ced etu;
but feeling rather uncertain about the entire hymn I have
not ventured to depart so far from the ms. In 5c prāpantu
would seem to be an a-aorist from pra+āp, but prapāntu
might be considered as a possibility.

22
1944-1945
1946-1947

1948

1949-1950

1951

1952-1953

The Tone-Accents of two Chinese Dialects.—By CORNELIUS
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A—Cantonese.

The Cantonese words whose "tones" are analyzed on Chart A were spoken by Mr. Sun Yap Shang, of Oakland, a well-known teacher of that dialect. Each word was a typical example of one of the "tones" of the traditional list. The records were made by the Rousselot apparatus. Of each record the wave-lengths (representing the time of each vibration) were carefully measured and plotted, forming the curves or patterns of pitch shown on the chart.¹ Each curve is there identified both by the number—in arabic numerals—and by the name assigned to that particular "tone" in the native list. The hair-line curves shown in the chart are plotted from duplicate records taken for control of results. In all these cases the correspondence between duplicate and original turned out to be so surprisingly close as to give assurance both as to the general accuracy of the method and as to consistency of utterance on the part of the speaker.

From the first it seemed doubtful whether under conditions of actual speech such an unusual number of tonal species could be certainly distinguished either in hearing or in utterance. But when once the figures were plotted, and it was possible to make definite comparison of them, the doubt was greatly strengthened. Few of these figures show any clear-cut distinction of form. Tone 1, to be sure, with its deep curving drop, and Tone 4 with its single short sharp note, are unmistakable. But the other eight seemed at first a mere huddle

¹ For a full account of the method used see this Journal vol. xxxi, pp. 284—286.

of featureless shapes all crowded into the narrow compass of mid-voice pitch. Nowhere among them was there a rising glide or a circumflex or a low-pitched level note—figures of real individuality and character common in tonal languages. Nevertheless, after further study certain marked resemblances between members of this group of eight began to appear, leading to a rearrangement of them in four groups, each group consisting of two obviously similar figures constituting apparently a single species or type. This would be a simplification of the scheme very much to be wished, but before accepting it even tentatively certain matters must be considered.

1. In all similar studies so far undertaken, the one abiding feature of these "tones" has proved to be the *general* figure or pattern of movement as regards pitch. Considerable differences in detail are freely allowed, and indeed for the most part pass unnoticed, as may be seen in Chart B, where several examples of the same "tone" uttered consecutively by the same person are plotted side by side.

2. The feature least stable is absolute pitch, that is, definite position on the musical scale. Examples of large variation in this feature may be seen in groups IV and VI on Chart A, and under I in Chart B. That this is inevitable becomes plain when we recall that in singing each succeeding note takes its place at a measured interval of pitch from its immediate predecessor, so that each note furnishes a definite cue for the pitch of the next one. In singing, therefore, it is possible for a trained voice guided by a trained ear to approximate that interval so nearly that the ear of the listener is entirely satisfied; though even so it can never be mathematically correct. But in speech there are no measured intervals at all, and no constants of pitch to measure from. In tonal languages no vowel takes its cue of pitch from its neighbor, but only from a general sense of the relation of its "tone" to the general scheme of the voice. Under such conditions it is impossible for the organs of speech to strike accurately and maintain consistently—or for the ear to judge with even approximate accuracy—the definite pitch of any vowel in the flow of words. If proof be needed of this statement, one has only to look at the pairs of duplicates shown on the chart—duplicates which, as has already been said, are remarkable for the accuracy of their reproduction. The words in each case were the same,

and were uttered in close sequence; yet they differ in pitch sometimes as much as three semitones. "Tone" then, in our sense of the word, is not exactly pitch at all, but rather a patterned change or movement within the field of pitch. If the general pattern or figure remain the same, small differences of pitch do not compel the assumption of different species.

3. Vowel-quantity is a thing strictly observed, I believe, in all languages of the Chinese type. If "tone" be a patterned change or movement of pitch, quantity is time elapsed during the movement. Longer time-allowance favors a fuller execution of the pattern. Shorter time compels more or less abridgement. Time—that is quantity—is the horizontal ordinate of the chart, while pitch is the vertical one. Long quantity therefore appears as long reach of the figure across the chart. If a given pattern is found in both long and short forms, the long would naturally be accounted the type or species, since it is the more fully characterized, while the short would be the variety.

Turning now to the chart, we observe that in group II No. 5 is a third longer than No. 2; in group III No. 7 is a third longer than No. 8; in group IV No. 9 is half as long again as No. 10. In all these cases the patterns are strikingly similar, save that No. 9 has made use of its longer time to throw in a preliminary flourish. Unless further investigation should invalidate these results, it would seem that these six "tones" of the Cantonese list should be reduced to three species, each having perhaps a short variety.

The case of group V is not so clear. The resemblance between its members is not so compelling, and the quantity affords no clue. It seems altogether unlikely that within so narrow a compass of pitch two distinct species, each with the same pronounced rising vanish, could be successfully maintained. Determination of the matter can only be accomplished by those who can compare the results of a large series of instrumental records with the reports of a trained ear on the living speech.

4. So far as I know, long quantity "by position" as in Latin and Greek prosody has no place in the Chinese scheme. But in one language of the Chinese type—namely the Siamese—there is the interesting case in which a short vowel followed by either of the nasals, *m*, *n*, or *ng*, in syllabic closure, has its tonal function continued in the nasal, so that its "tone"

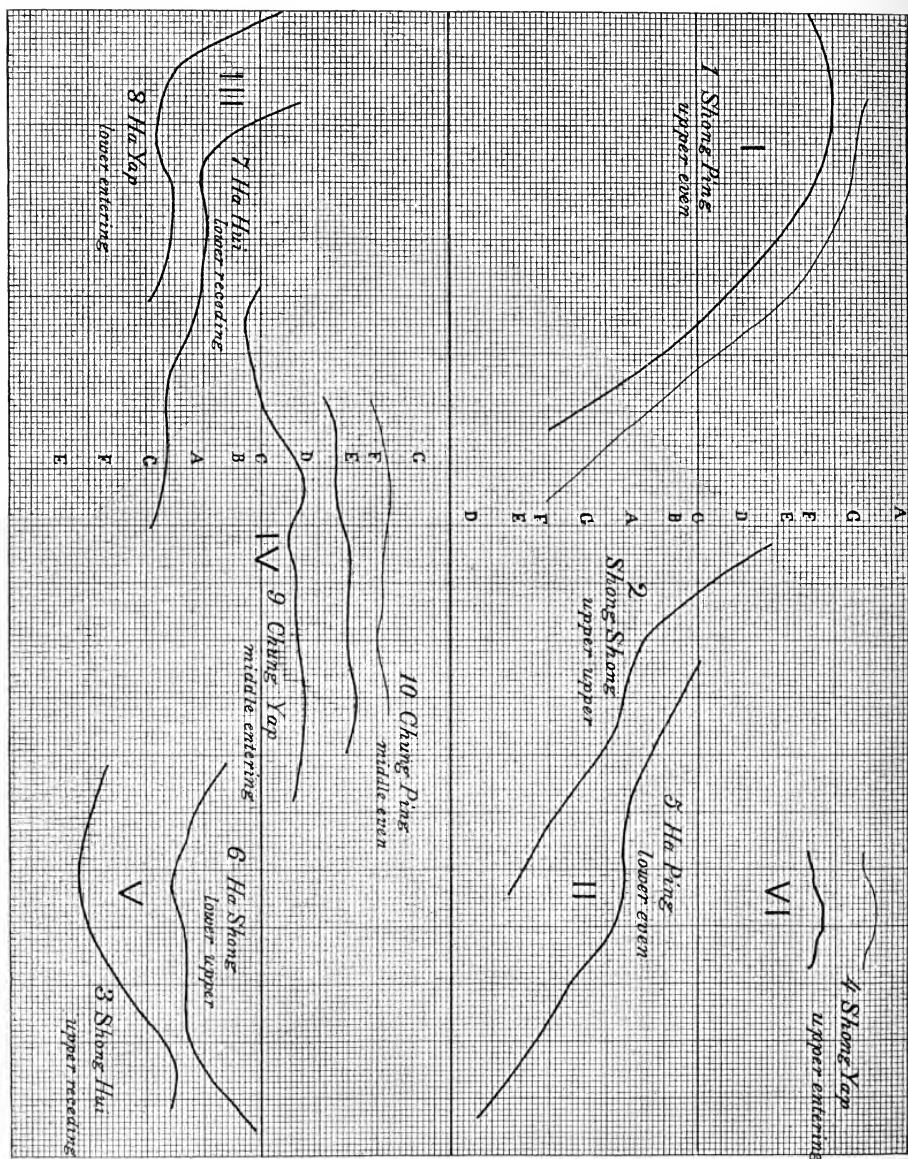
invariably has the full pattern of the long vowels.¹ This comes about through the fact that the nasals are vowel-like—if indeed they be not vowels altogether, as some are ready to claim—and sufficiently sonorous to take full intonation. This feature is emphasized by the fact that the only other syllabic closure ever heard in the language is that of the unvoiced stops, *p*, *t*, *k*, and the glottal stop which is not recognized in English. That is, all short vowels in closed syllables are either lengthened by continuation into a nasal, or are abruptly chopped off by the guillotine of an unvoiced stop which is not even exploded. That closure does affect tone is shown not only by the amplification of pattern in the case of the nasals, but by the fact that in the other case the vowels are limited to two special “tones,” the one a sharp high-pitched note extremely short (identical with Tone 4 of the Cantonese scheme), and the other a very short variety of the “depressed level tone” of long vowels. All this suggests the need of a careful examination of this field in the Chinese dialects also, if the theory of their “tones” is ever to be placed on a sure basis.

To sum up this part of the discussion—1) In the records of the eight traditional “tones” here in question there seem to be but four real patterns or figures of movement, and this fact strongly suggests the reduction of the eight to four. 2) The slight differences of pitch noted within some of the pairs so grouped offer no valid objection to their association under one species, since the differences are no greater than those often found between consecutive utterances of the very same word. 3) The minor differences of figure or pattern which appear are in some cases fully accounted for by demonstrated difference in vowel-quantity, which, as is well known, does often modify the tonal pattern materially. 4) In other cases the observed facts of a kindred speech suggest an examination of the syllables listed by the natives as of a given “tone” to ascertain whether they are open or closed; and if closed, whether the closure is by sonorous consonants which extend the vowel tone, or by stops which abruptly cut it off.

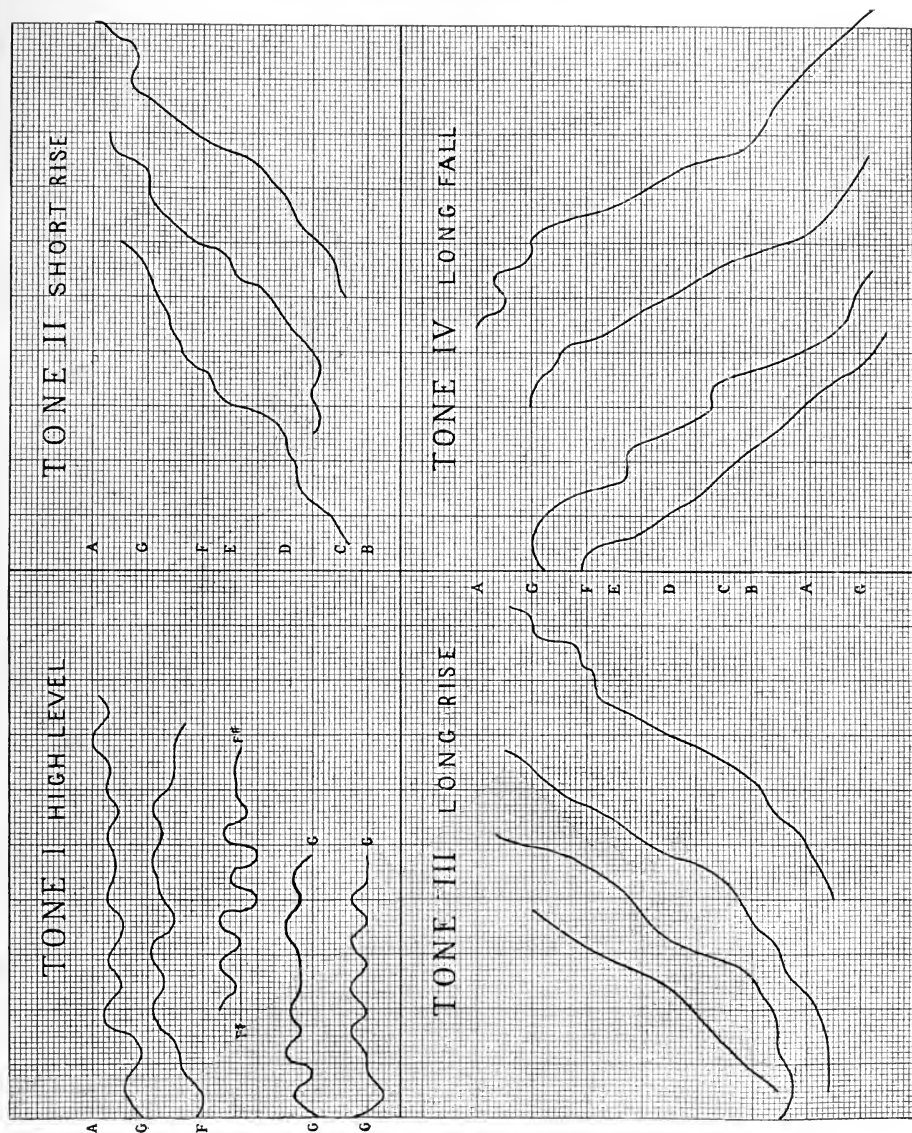
If this tentative combination and reduction is found to be in accord with the facts, the Cantonese scheme of “tones”

¹ Cf. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. xxxi, pp. 287—88.

A-CANTONESE



B-PEKINGESE





would be brought into workable dimensions, and the "huddle about the mid-voice pitch" would be greatly relieved. But even so it would not entirely amend the lack of bold and unmistakable distinctions in this group of "tones." The approximately level line on IV indeed is ordinarily an unmistakable figure; but here its neighbors on either side are too nearly like it, and too nearly like each other, to make discrimination between the three either very easy or very sure in actual practice. Languages of this type are not only limited to monosyllabic words, but the number of possible monosyllables is in some dialects greatly reduced by allowing very few consonants to take the final place. The result is that there are not monosyllables enough to furnish forth the necessary vocabulary unless difference of tone be added to the possible differences of articulate elements alone. One wonders therefore whether, when they were about it, the founders of the Cantonese dialect failed to develop distinctions which really distinguish, or whether the present situation is the result of a sort of tonal decay which has leveled distinctions that once were valid—distinctions which meticulous Chinese scholarship retains in its scheme, though they now are no longer found in its practice.

I feel sure that the figures on the chart are truthful representations to the eye of the various movements of pitch in the particular words which were spoken into the receiver of the recording instrument. It is possible, of course—though I do not think it actually so in this case—that the speaker's accent was at fault, or that the words he spoke did not properly represent the "tones" indicated. But, barring this possibility, it seems certain that in three, or perhaps four, instances, a given pattern was duplicated under another name. The evidence is there on the chart. A much larger series of records, and records of many different voices, must of course be examined before any general conclusion is reached. But for this voice and for this series of records the following summary and reclassification I think will hold. I offer it only as a starting point for further investigation and comparison by those who are more fully equipped and more fortunately placed for the accomplishment of the task.

The Tone-patterns of Cantonese Speech—Description and Reclassification.

- I (Tone 1).—A drop of increasing steepness through more than an octave from a level start at high pitch of voice. Long in quantity.
- II (Tones 2 and 5).—A straightaway glide from about mid-voice pitch, dropping gradually through less than an octave. Long, with probably a shorter variety.
- III (Tones 7 and 8).—A short drop from about mid-voice pitch, merging some three tones below into a level run. Long, with well marked short variety.
- IV (Tones 9 and 10).—A level run at a little above mid-voice pitch. Long, with well-marked short variety. (Identical with the "middle tone" of the Siamese.)
- V (Tones 3 and 6).—A preliminary movement of uncertain figure at the depressed level of III, ending with a rising vanish. Possibly meant for the reverse of III.
- VI (Tone 4).—A high note, extremely short, in which the vowel tone is abruptly cut off by the closure of an unvoiced stop *not exploded*. (Identical with the "high abrupt" or "high explosive" of the Siamese.)

B—Pekingese.

The speech here recorded and analyzed is that of Mr. K. S. C. Kiang, Assistant in Chinese in the University of California, brought up from infancy in Peking, and resident there nearly all his life. The purity of his accent is vouched for by Professor John Fryer.

In plotting the results on Chart B, no attempt was made—as was done in the other case—to soften or generalize the minute inaccuracies or excentricities of execution which seem to be present in every vocal utterance. These are here retained as illustrating the superior delicacy of instrumental analysis as compared with even the trained ear. To the ear the serpentine wanderings of Tone I are absolutely unheard—are all blended into a single level note; and the three glides of Tones II, III, and IV, give not the slightest hint of uncertainty in attack or of hesitation in movement such as appears in the chart. For all ordinary purposes, however, the generalized form is no doubt preferable as less confusing, and as present-

ing more clearly the features which are constant. The small number of tonal patterns found in the Pekingese has permitted the plotting of several examples of each which may serve further to illustrate these points.

The chief features of the Pekingese scheme as here shown are: (a) its simplicity, due to the fewness of its "tones" and to the remarkable consistency of adherence to type; and (b) the high pitch and small compass of voice used in their execution. This last might of course be merely a personal peculiarity of the speaker. But Dr. Fryer is inclined to regard it as a general characteristic of the northern dialect. The only point of doubt which appears is caused by the very close resemblances between Tones II and III, raising the question as to whether they are not really one. This will be considered in the discussion of the individual Tones, to which we now pass.

Tone I is discerned by the ear as a high-pitched level note, near the upper limit of the speaking voice. Instrumental analysis of it, while in general confirming the impression of the ear, discloses a constant wavering or "wobbling" of the voice about a central line of level pitch. This central line seems to be the note which it is intended to strike and hold, but from which in its execution the voice continually sags or wanders, and to which it has to be continually brought back by a series of infinitesimal readjustments in the tension of the vocal chords. As has already been said, the same phenomenon in the form of hesitation and correction, may be traced in nearly all the other lines plotted on this chart.

Tones II and III may be best considered together. They are both rising glides ranging through the greater part of an octave, and reaching the high level of Tone I. Typically, however, III begins at a point about three semitones lower than II, and ranges upward through a whole octave; while II begins at about C, and covers only three-fourths of an octave. III moreover has usually a short preliminary movement before the rise actually begins. This is understood by the ear—if it notes it at all—as a short level run. This preliminary is commonly absent from II, or is much reduced. Yet II sometimes shows it unmistakably, and III sometimes lacks it altogether. Then III typically stretches over a wider horizontal space on the chart, that is, occupies longer time—a natural

result of its double movement and of its longer climb. But it is not so in every case. Indeed, were not the word here spoken known to be of Tone III, the example shown on the extreme left of group III would be taken for an unusually perfect specimen of Tone II.

On none of the lines then which we have been considering can groups II and III be really distinguished. The examples might be so arranged as to form a continuous series. According to all scientific canons they should be considered a single species. Should further examination of vocabulary, syllabication, and current usage discover a division along the line of vowel-quantity, the longer form would naturally be considered the type, while the shorter would be the variety.

Tone IV is simply III reversed. It is a long descending glide, beginning near where III ends, and ending near where III begins. The initial uncertainties, moreover, carry a suggestion of a preliminary run, which may or may not be confirmed by further examination.

Note.—A few weeks ago,¹ when these studies were already under way, the writer learned that a Scandinavian scholar whose name could not be recalled had recently published a study of certain of the Chinese "tones." In the troublous days since then the writer has not been able to get track of the paper, nor to secure any further information regarding it. Under the circumstances it was thought best to complete what was begun and let the results take their chance. Being thus independently obtained, and very likely by independent methods and from different material, they should be of some value, if only for corroboration or as a starting point for further investigation.

¹ The manuscript of this article was submitted in November, 1914. ED.

*The Propagation of the Date Palm: Materials for a
Lexicographical Study in Arabic.*—By PAUL POPENOE,
Editor of the Journal of Heredity, Washington, D. C.

Date growing in the southwestern United States has been proved by fifteen years or more of careful experiment to be a profitable industry, and is certain, I believe, to become one of the important commercial cultures in those parts of California and Arizona that are suited to it, within a very few years. Already about 32,000 palm offshoots of the choicest sorts known to the Orient have been imported, representing nearly 400 varieties out of probably 5,000 to be found in different parts of the date-palm region, and more than 150,000 seedling palms, in addition, have been planted out by ranchers and by state and federal experimenters. The culture of the palm, which was brought to approximately its present Oriental state of perfection as early at least as the time of Hammurabi, is being subjected to careful tests by occidental scientists, some of the procedures being retained, and others rejected or improved. But in order that the culture of the palm in the United States shall be as nearly perfect as possible, it is quite necessary that we should have a thorough knowledge of what the Arabs have done. To this end, it is necessary that the scattered but fairly copious Arabic notices of the subject be known, and a necessary preliminary to such a study is an understanding of the vocabulary of the date-palm in the Arabic language. The present paper attempts to present some of the material in one limited branch of the culture, and consists largely of observations which I made during two years in Arabic speaking countries, collecting date palm offshoots for the West India Gardens of Altadena, California.

The date palm offshoot, the sucker by which the palm must be reproduced if it is to come true, is designated by a different name in almost every part of the Arabic-speaking world. In

some parts of Egypt, I am informed, it is known as *faṣīlah* ("weak"), a word also in use among the Berber population of the Wādī Mzāb in Algeria. The word is also used to some extent in Baghdād, and no doubt also in other regions; it is frequently corrupted to *faṣīlah*, a spelling which, however, can be justified orthographically as meaning "ready to be separated from its mother". It is further corrupted to *faṣlah*, a form which in literary Arabic designates an offshoot removed from the mother-palm. *Naqīl* or *nagīl* is another Egyptian name, according to Schweinfurth¹; it appears to be from *naqala*, to transplant, and the alternative spelling نجيل which he gives is doubtless to be set down as a vulgar error.

At al-Baṣrah, the shipping point of the world's greatest date-growing region, the offshoot is commonly called *farkh*, a word which properly designates any young animal or plant, and particularly a young chicken. If the offshoot springs from the trunk some distance above the ground, instead of at the base (the usual position), it is called a *rakbah* ("rider"), a word which is also used at Baghdād by the Badawīn. The general population of Baghdād calls such an offshoot *naghal* (a bastard), while the Christians, who avoid this word from delicacy, use the term *farkh* or else *jummār*, the latter word properly designating the pith or fibrous interior of the palm. *Rukabah* is the form used at Biskra, the chief shipping point for dates in Algeria. Schweinfurth found '*aqrab* ("twisted") used in this connection at Assiut in upper Egypt; as offshoots of this kind are frequently distorted, the name seems appropriate. He reports the name at Rosetta to be *masāsah*, the root of which seems to carry the idea of "to be in contact with", and at el-Qoren he found still another name, '*alūl*, an appellation which carries the idea of defectiveness.

To return to the ordinary type of offshoot, growing from the base of the palm, the customary name at Baghdād is *tālah*, a word of obscure origin. It has been ascribed to the Sanscrit *tal*, a palm; but as I found it in use (though rarely) at Biskra, Algeria, such a derivation seems extremely unlikely. According to Arab lexicographers, it is from a root *twl*, changed by metathesis to *tlw*; but my friend Father Anastase-Marie of the Carmelite Mission at Baghdād, who has in-

¹ *Arabische Pflanzennamen aus Aegypten, Algerien u. Jemen*, von G. Schweinfurth. Berlin, 1912, Dietrich Reimer.

vestigated the matter with care, thinks the origin is rather to be sought in the Greek *thallos* ("sprig, sprout or sucker"), a conjecture which I willingly adopt.¹

At Biskra the customary word for the offshoot is *jabbār*, the proper signification of which is "stout" or "sturdy". The word is used more correctly in the Wādī Mzāb to designate a palm high enough so that a horse can pass under its leaves; and at Baghdād, and elsewhere among purists, the word is used only to designate a large, strong palm. In Algeria the word *jabbār* is used particularly when an Arab is conversing with foreigners; the Arabs around Biskra, when talking among themselves, habitually refer to the offshoot as *zumrah*, a word which the lexicographers say means "a small company of persons". But as the phrase *nabt zamir* classically means "a plant having few leaves", the word *zumrah* applied to an offshoot probably has been borrowed from this signification, and is not particularly vicious.

In Tunisia, the word regularly used for an offshoot is *ghars*, while in the Fezzān the allied form *maghrūsah* is current. The latter is classical, but also means "a seedling", in which sense I believe it is sometimes used today. The root *gharasa* means simply "to plant a tree".

In the extreme south of Algeria, below Tuggūrt, the offshoot is always called *hashānah*, certainly a corruption of the classical *hishshān*, plural of *hashsh* signifying an uncared-for palm. *Hishsh* (also found with the vowel *a* or *u*) also designates, in dictionary language, a plantation of palms; whence, it is interesting to note, it has taken on the meaning of water-closet.

At al-Madīnah the classical name *ṣinw* ("uterine brother or son") is still in use, while in parts of Najd, Father Anastase-Marie tells me, it is called *رَضْعَة* (also corrupted to *raṣ'ah*), "the adherent".

In Oman the name *ṣarm* is used, the classical signification of which is "that which is cut off". *Ṣirām* means a crop of dates, but in a *ḥadīth* it is transferred to the palms themselves. As far as I could learn, the Omanis call not only an offshoot, but a seedling palm, *ṣarm*.

¹ I am deeply indebted to Père Anastase-Marie, editor of the monthly journal *Lughat-al-'Arab*, for many other suggestions which have been invaluable to me in the preparation of this paper and in other work.

Finally, in the parts of Algeria bordering on Morocco, the name of an offshoot, I am informed, is *squelem*, a word evidently borrowed from the Berber.

The circle of offshoots around the base of a palm, which imagination might easily liken to a bird's nest, is so designated by the Arabs, *'ushsh*. The same word (spelled *'aush* by Schweinfurth) is in use in Egypt, but in the Sudan it may designate a single offshoot, to judge from labels received by the U. S. Department of Agriculture from Dongola. Classically, *'ishshah* describes a palm the leaves of which are few and the base weak. At Baghdād the name for this circle of offshoots is *أَشْأَة*, plural *أَشْأَة*, for which I can suggest no derivation.

It will be observed that the modern Arab has a considerable latitude in choosing a word to signify "a date-palm offshoot". But the literary language contains many other names which are understood, though not colloquially used, by date-growers at the present day. *Sawāl* ("cut off" or "separated"), *ṣaur* ("replica"), *jathīth* ("cut" or "uprooted"), are used in this sense. For the latter, *qathīth* is sometimes written—a dialectal error which can also be justified from the root *qaththa*, to uproot. Richardson's dictionary gives *ḥabalāh* or *ḥablah* as a name for the palm offshoot, but I believe the word means only a sprout of the grapevine. *Zarjūn*, which Richardson cites in the same connection, also belongs to the vine rather than the palm; a fact understood from its derivation in the Persian *zargūn*, "color of gold", i. e. wine.

An offshoot high up on the trunk of the palm is called by the classical language *'uqqah* (the root means "to cut"); or *ṣunbūr*, from a root which means "[the palm] was solitary". An offshoot taken from the mother and planted is, in the classics, a *wādī* ("removed"), or *هَرَاء* (Persian *هَرَاء*). After being taken from the mother, but not yet planted, the offshoot is called *qa'ah* or *batīlah* or *rakzah*, the root meaning in each case being "cut off" or "detached".

A palm one year old is called a *khar'ab* (with numerous variations in spelling), but this word is not confined to palms, being common to all trees, and transferred to girls of tender years. *Shakīr* designates a palm offshoot, or any other kind of shoot or sucker. *'Aṭīl* is said to have been used in al-Aḥṣā' (the ancient Hajar) to mean an offshoot, but I have found no

authoritative statement to this effect,¹ and if so used, it must have been a dialectal form. Among the classical names occasional found for the offshoot one may add *riḍ* and *ja'lah*.

The offshoot is planted (*gharasa* is the customary verb, but in Arabian 'Irāq they now use *shatala*, a word of Aramean origin) in a hole which is classically called *faqīr*, but at present usually *fugrah*. At Baghdād, and also in Egypt, I believe, it is called *hufrah*, both words meaning merely "excavation". At Biskra the regular word is *bīr*, which properly means a cistern, but is sometimes used in the classical period in this connection. I believe the use of *hufrah* in this sense is not classical.

The palm plantation is called *nakhīl* in the Ḥijāz, and this appears to me to be the most elegant word. At Baghdād *bustān* is the usual term, although this Persian word properly refers to any kind of a garden. Around the Persian gulf the name *nakhlistān*, (Persian, "palm garden") is often heard. In Algeria they usually say *ghābah* "a forest", but the word *janīnah* (vulgar form of the classical *jannah*, a garden in general) is often used. In southern Tunisia, where the palm plantations are in hollows among the sand dunes, they are called *ghā'it*, or more often by the plural *ghūtān*, "hollowed out". In Oman I was told that the plantation was designated as *maqṣūrah*, which means little more than "enclosure". In al-Baṣrah the Persian *bāghchah*, "little garden", is used for a small plantation.

The literary language is much richer in terms of this sort, many of them figurative. *Hā'it* ("guarded"), *ḥadiqah* ("encircled"), *hishsh*, *'uqdah*, *ṣaur*, *ḥazīrah* ("an enclosure, a prohibited spot"), *أَيْكَة* ("a thicket"), *ṣarīmah* (regularly "a group of palms"), *manqabah* ("an enclosure"—rare), *jannah* "a garden"), *dirham* (a synonym for *ḥadiqah*) are among the terms found. Richardson gives *bāḥah*, but as far as I know this applies only to the courtyard of a house. *Uḥūm* is classical for "a large plantation of palms". *Jirbah*, meaning a cultivated field, is used by poetic license in some verses of 'Imru-l Qais to designate a palm plantation; the words *maghris* and *mizr'ah*, with similar meaning, are sometimes similarly applied.

¹ The authority cited by the native lexicographers is al-Azharī; see Lane s. v. نَطْلٌ. ED.

As the two sexes are on different trees in the genus *Phoenix*, to which the date-palm belongs, cross-pollination must take place whenever fruit is produced, and the heredity of every date is therefore so mixed that when seeds are planted they rarely reproduce the desired type. Since the dawn of history, therefore, Arabs have propagated the palm ordinarily by offshoots, and rarely planted seeds. Seedling palms are to be found almost everywhere, but they are usually "volunteers", and Arabs in many districts seem scarcely to have a distinct name for them. Classically the word *daqḥah* occupied this place, but nowadays it has been attached to so many good varieties, at present reproduced only through offshoots, that in nearly every district it has lost most of its original meaning. In Algeria *daqḥat* [al-] *nūr*, ("the translucent seedling") is the finest date grown, and no one nowadays would think of propagating it from seed. The Algerians do not have any well-defined word for seedling, but in southern Tunisia the word *ḥishshān* (used in the Algerian Sahara for "offshoot") has that signification. In Arabian 'Irāq the word *daqal* is still used, but it carries two ideas, as it does also classically: (1) a palm produced from seed; (2) a palm of unknown variety. The Baghdādī usually designates a seedling explicitly as *tālah daqḥah*. The unequivocal classical word is *jam'*, from the root "to gather together"; *sharbah* is a synonym; while *jathīth*, sometimes designating an offshoot, may also designate a seedling. *Khud'ah* is another synonym, because the origin of a seedling is *humble*. The word 'ajamah or 'ajmah, from the root "to chew", apparently gets its application because the seed is the part of the fruit which one bites upon. In Egypt Schweinfurth found نقيلة الاوبلة in use at el-Qoren to designate a seedling, while the natives of Assiut, Luxor and Qené said "*schettl*". The poverty of this vocabulary strikingly reflects the state of mind of the oasis dweller, who hardly considers a seedling palm to be entitled to the name of date-palm.

Tammuz and Osiris.—By GEORGE A. BARTON, Professor
in Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

The parallel between the Semitic god Tammuz and the Egyptian Osiris is most complete.¹ Both were gods of life, and of vegetation; both cults were of wide popularity in different sections; with both there were connected myths of death and resurrection. Were the two cults connected or were they of independent origin? If of independent origin, why did they present so many points of similarity?

It is a favorite theory of the school of pan-Babylonians that the Osiris cult was borrowed from Babylonia. According to some it is the cult of Tammuz transferred to Egyptian soil;² according to others the cult of Marduk.³ According to certain Sumerologists Tammuz was a deity of Sumerian origin, whose worship was adopted by the Semitic Babylonians, and from them spread to all the Semites.⁴

In 1902 the writer offered proof that the Ishtar-Tammuz cult was the one universal Semitic cult, that it was of Semitic origin, and that in Babylonia it mingled with Sumerian cults and became dominant among them.⁵ Since that time this thesis has been strengthened by Eduard Meyer's proof in 1906 of the priority of the Semites in Babylonia,⁶ which has since been amplified by the publication of Ward's *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, 1910, and proof from the Semitic norms of

¹ See Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, 2. ed., London, 1914; von Baudissin, *Adonis und Eshmun*, Leipzig, 1911, and Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, Oxford, 1914.

² Radau, *Sumerian Hymns and Prayers*, in BE, XXX, p. 1.

³ So Jeremias, *Altes Testament im Lichte des alten Orients*, 82; *Alt-orientalische Geisteskultur* 315f.

⁴ Langdon, *op. cit.*

⁵ *A Sketch of Semitic Origins, Social and Religious*, New York and London, 1902.

⁶ *Sumerier und Semiten in Babylonien*, Berlin, 1906.

Sumerian proper names.¹ The Semitic nature of Tammuz may therefore be assumed. It may also be assumed that the Ishtar-Tammuz cult originated in a desert-oasis civilization in which the environment led to the deification of life-giving water and the resultant vegetation.²

It has been assumed by some writers that the Egyptian race came into existence through the migration of Semites to Africa and the mingling of these immigrants with African tribes.³ Such writers assume that Osiris was Tammuz carried to Egypt by these Semites and there baptized with a new name. If this theory were true, the brilliant study of Professor Breasted,⁴ in which he has traced from the abundant literature, beginning with the material afforded by the Pyramid Texts, the gradual conquest of Egypt by Osiris, would be but the record of the triumphal progress of the Semitic god.

All questions of origins are difficult and obscure, and this is especially true in the case of nations like the Babylonians and Egyptians, who emerged from savagery before the beginning of writing, and whose earliest conceptions can only now be constructed from a few surviving clues. Before, however, the Asiatic origin of Osiris is accepted one ought to be satisfied on two points. 1. Do the linguistic phenomena of Egyptian resemble Semitic linguistic phenomena so much more closely than the linguistic phenomena of the Lybian, Berber, and Somali dialects do, that it is necessary to postulate a prehistoric invasion of Egypt by Semites to account for these phenomena? 2. Are the physical and economic conditions which surrounded these people in north Africa in primitive times so different from those that surrounded the Semites in Arabia that such a pair of deities as Isis and Osiris could not have originated there quite as well as Ishtar and Tammuz in Arabia? It is the purpose of this paper to discuss these two questions, and we address ourselves to the linguistic problem first.

¹ See the writer's article "Religious Conceptions Underlying Sumerian Proper Names" in JAOS, XXXIV, 315f.

² See the writer's *Semitic Origins*, ch. III.

³ So Breasted, *History of Egypt*, New York, 1909, p. 25 and Naville, *The Old Egyptian Faith*, New York, 1909, pp. 8—11.

⁴ *The Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, New York, 1912.

Of all the parts of speech, pronouns are the most characteristic in any language. It is doubtful whether pronouns can be proved ever to have been borrowed bodily by one language from another.¹ The pronouns of the Semitic languages are as follows:—

Assyrian.	Syriac.	Aram.	Hebrew	Arabic	Ethiopic
1 c. <i>anāku</i>	'enā	'anā	'ānōkî 'anî	'ana	'ana
2 m. <i>atta</i>	'ant	'antā	'attā	'anta	'anta
2 f. <i>attî</i>	'antî	'antî	'attî	'anti	'anti
3 m. <i>šû</i>	<i>hû</i>	<i>hû</i>	<i>hû'</i>	<i>hûa</i>	<i>we'etu</i>
3 f. <i>šî</i>	<i>hî</i>	<i>hî</i>	<i>hî'</i>	<i>hîa</i>	<i>ye'eti</i>
Plural					
1 c. <i>anîni</i> <i>nîni</i>	'anaḥnan <i>ḥenan</i>	'anaḥnā	'anaḥnû <i>naḥnû</i> 'anû	<i>naḥnu</i>	<i>neḥna</i>
2 m. <i>attunu</i>	'antōn	'antūn	'attem	'antum	'antemmū
2 f. [<i>attîna</i>]	'antēn	'antēn	'attēn 'attēnnā	<i>antunna</i>	'anten
3 m. <i>šunu</i> <i>šun</i>	<i>hennōn</i> 'ennōn	<i>himmō</i> <i>himmōn</i>	<i>hēmmā</i> <i>hēm</i>	<i>hum</i>	'emūntū
3 f. <i>šina</i> <i>šin</i>	<i>hennēn</i> 'ennēn	<i>hennēn</i>	<i>hēnnā</i> <i>hēn</i>	<i>hunna</i>	'emāntū

Object forms in Babylonian Assyrian.

- 1 c. *yātu, yāti, yāši, aiši*
- 2 m. *kātu, kāti, kāša*
- 2 f. *kāti, kāši*
- 3 m. *šāšu*
- 3 f. *šāši*

¹ It is sometimes assumed by Hittitologists that Hittite borrowed from Babylonian-Assyrian the pronominal suffixes *šu* and *ša* (cf. R. C. Thompson in *Archaeologia*, second series, XIV, 59; cf. also Delitzsch, *Sumerisch-akkadisch-hettitische Vokabularfragmente*, Berlin, 1914, p. 40); but, if Hittite was an Indo-European language, as these scholars consider possible, the pronoun in the third person in *s* was not borrowed. Latin has *se*, Greek *é* (where *s* has been thinned to *h*, represented by the rough breathing, in accordance with a well known law), Sanskrit has a third fem. pronoun *sa* (Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, Boston, 1879, p. 171), old Persian has a third personal pronoun which in the dative is *he*, the *h* an original *s* (A. V. Williams Jackson, *Avesta Grammar*, Stuttgart, 1892, §§ 394, 395). If, then, Hittite belongs to this group of languages, it has no need to borrow the Semitic Babylonian pronoun in *s*.

Plural.

- 1 c. *niyati, niyašim, nāši*
 2 m. *kātunu, kāšunu*
 2 f.
 3 m. *šāšunu, šāšun*
 3 f.

If now for the moment we leave Egyptian out of account, the pronouns of the other Hamitic languages are as follows:—¹

Tamešeq	Schilḥisch	R'edamès
1 c. <i>nek, nekku</i>	<i>nki, nkin</i>	<i>nech, nechin</i>
2 m. <i>kai, kaiu</i>	<i>kii, kiin</i>	<i>chek, cheg</i>
2 f. <i>kem, kemmu</i>	<i>kimi, kimin</i>	<i>chem</i>
3 m. <i>enta</i>	<i>nta, ntän</i>	<i>nittou</i>
3 f. <i>entat</i>	<i>ntät</i>	<i>nittat</i>

Plural

1 m. <i>nekkenid</i>	<i>nkunne</i>	1 c. <i>nakkenin</i>
1 f. <i>nekkenetid</i>	<i>nukenti</i>	
2 m. <i>kauenid</i>	<i>kunne</i>	<i>chekouin</i>
2 f. <i>kametid</i>	<i>kunemti</i>	<i>chekmetin</i>
3 m. <i>entenid</i>	<i>netni</i>	<i>entenin</i>
3 f. <i>entenetid</i>	<i>netenti</i>	<i>nitentin</i>

Bedaue	Somali	Galla	'Afar	Saho	Bilin	Chamir
1 c. <i>ani</i>	<i>an, ani</i> <i>aniya</i>	<i>ani</i>	<i>anu</i>	<i>anu</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>an</i>
2 m. <i>barük</i>	<i>ad, adi</i> <i>adiya</i>	<i>ati</i>	<i>attu</i>	<i>atu</i>	<i>inti</i>	<i>kut, küt, kit</i>
2 f. <i>batūk</i>						
3 m. <i>barus</i>	<i>u, usaga</i>	<i>ini</i>	<i>ussuk</i>	<i>ussuk</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>ien</i>
3 f. <i>batūs</i>	<i>ai, ayada</i>	<i>išin</i>	<i>issa</i>	<i>issi</i>	<i>niri</i>	<i>nir</i>

¹ This summary is based on the following works: Leo Reinisch, *Die Sprache der Irob-Saho in Abessinien*, Wien, 1878; his *Die 'Afar-Sprache*, Wien, 1887; his *Bedaue-Sprache in Nordost-Afrika*, Wien, 1893; his *Bilin-Sprache in Nordost-Afrika*, Wien, 1882; his *Chamir-Sprache in Abessinien*, Wien, 1884; Friedrich Müller, *Grundriß der Sprachwissenschaft*, III, Wien, 1884; H. Stumme, *Handbuch des Schilḥischen von Tazerwalt*, Leipzig, 1899; A. de C. Motylinski, *Le dialect berbère de R'edamès*, Paris, 1904.

Plural.

	Bedaue	Somali	Galla	'Afar	Saho	Bilin	Chamir
1 c.	<i>hanan</i> <i>hanin</i> <i>hinin</i>	<i>anno</i> <i>annaya</i>	<i>unu</i> <i>nu</i>	<i>nennu</i>	<i>nānu</i>	<i>yin</i> <i>yinne</i> <i>yin</i>	
2 m.	<i>barak</i> <i>barakna</i>	<i>adin</i> <i>adinka</i>	<i>izin</i>	<i>usunni</i>	<i>atin</i>	<i>intin</i>	<i>küten, kiten</i> <i>kütentag</i>
2 f.	<i>batak</i> <i>batakna</i>						
3 m.	<i>baras</i> <i>barasna</i>	<i>aiyyo</i>	<i>izan</i>		<i>ussun naû</i>		<i>nay, nay-tay</i>
3 f.	<i>batas</i> <i>batasna</i>	<i>aiyaga</i>		<i>ussun</i>			

The Egyptian has two pronominal systems, an older and a younger, which are as follows:—¹

	Older Texts	Later Texts	Coptic
1 c.	<i>wy</i>	<i>'ink</i>	<i>anok</i>
2 m.	<i>tw</i>	<i>ntk</i>	<i>ntok</i>
2 f.	<i>tn</i>	<i>ntt</i>	<i>nlo</i>
3 m.	<i>św</i>	<i>ntf</i>	<i>ntof</i>
3 f.	<i>śy</i>	<i>ntś</i>	<i>ntos</i>
3 c.	<i>št</i>		
Plural.			
1 c.	<i>n</i>	?	<i>anon</i>
2 c.	<i>tn</i>	<i>nttn</i>	<i>ntōtn</i>
3 c.	<i>śn</i>	<i>ntśn</i>	?

An unprejudiced comparison of the above tables reveals the fact that the older Egyptian pronoun is no more Semitic than the later pronoun. Indeed with one exception the elements of this earlier pronoun all occur in similar positions in the Hamitic dialects. Their presence here argues, therefore, no more strongly for a Semitic than for a Hamitic origin. The one exception is the 1 personal pronoun *wy*, which finds its nearest parallel in the Babylonian *ya* of *yaši* or *ai* of *aīši*. Even if such remote resemblance as these pronouns present could be taken as proof of borrowing, there is no more reason to affirm that the Egyptians rather than the Babylonians were the borrowers. Indeed, if there be any kinship between them,

¹ Erman's *Ägyptische Grammatik*, 3te Aufl., Berlin, 1911.

it can only be that of a common ancestry in any early Hamito-Semitic stock, such as the writer predicated in his *Semitic Origins*, ch. I.

An examination of the verbs leads to a similar conclusion. It is well known that but two tenses are known to the Semitic languages,¹ one formed by affixing pronominal particles to a verb-stem, to express completed action, and one formed by prefixing pronominal particles, to express incomplete action. In the Arabic five forms of this second or imperfect stem are known, in Ethiopic and Assyrian two, while in Hebrew and Aramaic sporadic instances of a second form survive. In Babylonian-Assyrian the so-called perfect form—that which originally expressed completed action—has been relegated to the expression of states of being, and completed action is expressed by one of the imperfect forms. In other words, the Semitic Babylonian-Assyrian is an example of a language in which the so-called perfect form is in process of elimination.

In the use of these tenses the Hamitic languages differ. The Somali, Afar (Dankali), and Saho have preserved both the perfect made by affirmatives and the imperfect made by preformatives,² while the Galla has preserved only the perfect form, modifying it to express different shades of meaning,³ and the Bedauye,⁴ Shilbish⁵ and the R'edamès⁶ have eliminated the perfect, as the Babylonian-Assyrian was doing, and express the various shades of thought by modifications of the imperfect form. The perfect form has, however, been preserved in certain Berber dialects, as for example, the Kabylee.⁷ It would perhaps be more correct to say that those dialects which have lost the imperfect form have made forms for the expression of various shades of continuance and incompleteness by attaching to participles pronominal affixes after the analogy of the formation of the perfect. As the perfect itself was formed in the first place by the combination of pronominal suffixes with a verbal noun, the distinction is not a vital one.

If, now, we turn to Egyptian, we find in no stage of the language a form corresponding to the Hamito-Semitic imperfect.

¹ These tenses may be seen in tabular form in Zimmern's *Vergleichende Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, 112, 113.

² See F. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 291 f. ³ Ibid.

⁴ Reinisch, *Bedauye-Sprache*, 141 f. ⁵ Stumme, *op. cit.*, 52 ff.

⁶ Motylinski, *op. cit.*, 28 ff. ⁷ Stumme, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

Like the Galla, all its verbal conjugations are made on the analogy of the Semitic perfect. One of these, the so-called pseudo-participle, is the survival of a real perfect. Its conjugation is as follows:—¹

1 sg. <i>šedemkwy</i>	Plural 1 c. <i>šedemwyn</i>	Dual
2 m. <i>šedemty</i>	2 c. <i>šedemtywny</i>	
2 f. <i>šedemty</i>		
3 m. <i>šedemy</i>	3 m. <i>šedemw</i>	3 m. <i>šedemwy</i>
3 f. <i>šedemty</i>	3 f. <i>šedemty</i>	3 f. <i>šedemtywy</i>

This pseudo-participle is employed in the pyramid texts of the old kingdom as a transitive verb like the ordinary Semitic perfect. In the texts of the middle kingdom it has become an intransitive or passive. In the later Egyptian language it is often replaced by other constructions.²

The ordinary expression of thought in Egyptian is accomplished by a conjugation of the following norm the first element of which is a verbal noun:—³

1 sg. c. <i>šedemi</i>	plural 1 c. <i>šedemn</i>
2 m. <i>šedemk</i>	2 c. <i>šedemtn</i>
2 f. <i>šedemt</i>	
3 m. <i>šedemf</i>	3 c. <i>šedemsen</i>
3 f. <i>šedems</i>	

This conjugation expresses a future idea, "he will hear." By variations of this norm other shades of thought are expressed. *šedemnf* expresses the aoristic or past idea; *šedemwf*, the passive; *šedemynf*, another passive; *šedemh'arf*, a resultant action; *šedemk'f* expresses wishes. All these forms were, as Erman thinks,⁴ formed by a combination of the participle with pronominal affixes and other particles (*n* and *h'r* appear to be prepositions), but they are all formed on the analogy of the Hamito-Semitic perfect.

If now we view this verb broadly, it affords no basis for the supposition that the pseudo-participle in Egyptian is due to Semitic influence. Had there been such influence it is difficult to explain why it should not have imparted to the Egyptians the Semitic imperfect as well as the Semitic perfect, for there is no early Semitic dialect from which the imperfect

¹ See Erman, *Ägyptische Grammatik*, 3te Aufl., § 326.

² See K. Sethe, *Das ägyptische Verbum*, Leipzig, 1899, II, 1.

³ Erman, *op. cit.*, §§ 278—324. ⁴ *Ibid.* 277.

is absent. The presence of the perfect form in other Hamitic dialects and the analogy of the Galla language show that what we see in the Egyptian is a development without parallel in the Semitic languages, but which has a parallel in Hamitic. The imperfect has entirely vanished; the perfect is in process of elimination through the instrumentality of a participial conjugation.

Again, if we turn to the larger question of verbal stems, the result is the same. There are indications in Coptic that certain Egyptian stems formed an intensive by doubling the middle radical after the analogy of the Arabic IIInd stem and the Hebrew Piel. Instances of this have survived in Coptic.¹ This formation has survived in the Berber dialect of R'edamès, where it is employed to express habitual action,² and in Bilin³ and Chamir⁴, where it expresses intensity as in Hebrew by doubling the middle radical and by forming, in the case of short stems, Pilpels.

Again, Egyptian forms a passive conjugation by prefixing the letter *n* after the manner of the Hebrew Niphal, the Arabic VIIth stem and the Assyrian IVth⁵ stem, but *n* is similarly employed in Saho⁶ and the Shilhish dialect.⁷ In Tamesheq⁸ and the dialect of R'edamès⁸ the *n* is changed into *m* (in most groups of languages the two letters sometimes interchange) as it does also sometimes in Bedaüye⁹ and in Saho.¹⁰ In Bilin the *n* in such formations changes to the kindred liquid *r*,¹¹ but the formation is present in that dialect.

The Egyptian also forms a causative in *s* like the Semitic,¹² but this has parallels in Bedaüye,¹³ Bilin,¹⁴ Chamir,¹⁵ Saho,¹⁶ Tamesheq,¹⁷ R'edamès,¹⁸ and Shilhish.¹⁹ None of these formations, therefore, can be attributed to Semitic influence.

¹ Sethe, *op. cit.*, § 344.

² Motylinski, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

³ Reinisch, *Bilin-Sprache*, p. 21.

⁴ Reinisch, *Chamir-Sprache*, p. 46.

⁵ Erman, *op. cit.*, § 271, and Sethe, *op. cit.*, § 357.

⁶ Reinisch, *Saho-Sprache*, p. 7.

⁷ Stumme, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

⁸ F. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

⁹ Motylinski, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

¹⁰ Reinisch, *Bedaüye-Sprache*, p. 130.

¹¹ Reinisch, *Bilin-Sprache*, p. 27.

¹² Erman, *op. cit.*, § 270; Sethe, *op. cit.*, § 350.

¹³ Reinisch, *Bedaüye-Sprache*, p. 126.

¹⁴ Reinisch, *Bilin-Sprache*, p. 22.

¹⁵ Reinisch, *Chamir-Sprache*, p. 46.

¹⁶ Reinisch, *Saho-Sprache*, p. 6.

¹⁷ F. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

¹⁸ Motylinski, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

¹⁹ Stumme, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

One other line of evidence may be adduced—the evidence of vocabulary. Erman many years ago¹ had collected a list of fifty or more words which were identical in Egyptian and Semitic, and no doubt his later investigations have increased the list.² Many of these may be genuine Semitic loan words in Egyptian. At least, so far as the present writer has been able to test them by comparison with the vocabularies of other Hamitic languages, it appears that those languages employed non-Semitic roots in place of most of these words. In employing the evidence of loan words, however, three things should be borne in mind. Some of these Semitic words were introduced into the Egyptian vocabulary as late as the Hyksos period or later, long after the worship of Osiris was well established in Egypt. We have the Egyptian vocabulary of many centuries ago, but the vocabularies of the other Hamitic languages for modern times only. In all languages words become obsolete as time passes and drop out of use. This may explain the absence of some of these words. The borrowing of a word is among all peoples a much more simple process than the borrowing of a deity, and, even if a considerable number of Semitic words were borrowed, it does not follow that Osiris was borrowed, unless there is some other proof.

The linguistic phenomena already considered indicate that there is a real kinship between the Hamitic and the Semitic peoples, and suggest that Osiris may be as original a product of the Egyptian religious genius as Tammuz was of the Semitic religious genius. Wiedemann, de Morgan and Erman hold that Arabia was the original home of the Hamito-Semitic race, from which the Hamites migrated to Africa.³ On the other hand Palgrave, Bertin, Nöldeke, Jastrow, Keane, N. Schmidt, and the present writer have thought that the cradle land of these peoples was North Africa, from whence the ancestors of the Semites migrated to Arabia.⁴ On whichever hypothesis one works, he has a common origin for the two peoples, and in all probability a common origin for the

¹ Cf. *ZDMG*, XLVI, 1892, 107—126.

² See Erman, *Ägyptisches Glossar*, Berlin, 1904, *passim*.

³ In addition to the references cited in *Semitic Origins*, p. 8, see Erman's *Ägyptische Grammatik*, 3te Aufl., Berlin, 1911, § 1.

⁴ See references in *Semitic Origins*, pp. 6—8.

two gods quite apart from any theory of borrowing. In either case both peoples originated in a desert-oasis environment peculiarly favorable for the organization of matriarchal clans. Both peoples were forced by their hard environment from savagery into barbarism at a relatively early stage of the world's history. Similar physical environment would induce both peoples to deify the power of fertility, and the similar social organization of both peoples would lead them in the first instance to regard the deified pair as mother and son, or brother and sister. As the social organization was transformed to the patriarchal the relation would be changed to that of husband and wife. In the myths that have grown about both the Semitic and the Egyptian pair we find evidence of both relationships.

It now seems fairly well made out that Ishtar was a universal Semitic goddess, *i. e.*, that each early Semitic tribe had its Ishtar.¹ It is also probable that her male counterpart was also to be found among all the Semites, although he was not like the goddess universally known among all the Semites in the historical period by the same name. Thus among the Babylonians he was called Dumuzi, corrupted by the Hebrews to Tammuz, by the north Arabians he was called Dhu-'l-Sharā, and by the Phoenicians Eshmun and Adonis.² Now it might well happen that a pair of deities of fertility was worshipped by each of the Egyptian tribes that resided in each of the forty-two nomes of primitive Egypt, or in a majority of them, and that other epithets displaced in most cases the common name by which the deities in earlier time had been called. Indeed it is possible that among the Hamites there never was, as among the Semites, one universally employed name. The facts for Egypt are these. Osiris was worshipped at two nomes, Dedu, in the Delta, afterward called Busiris, and at Abydos, the capital of the nome of This in Upper Egypt. Egyptologists detect at Abydos the presence of another deity, whom Osiris displaced. This god was Khenti-Amentiu, "First

¹ Paton in the articles "Ashtart" and "Ishtar" in Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vols. II and VII, holds as the writer did in *Semitic Origins* that this is made out.

² For the Phoenician deities Graf von Baudissin's fine volume *Adonis und Ešmun* reinforces the earlier arguments of the present writer in *Semitic Origins*, 265 ff.

of the westerners.”¹ We also hear of a god Enhōr of This.² Must not these gods have been kindred to Osiris? Had that not been the case is it probable that he would have displaced them? Isis was the goddess of Philae,³ but she was also the mother of Horus, the local god of Edfu,⁴ whom she is pictured as suckling in the marshes⁵—a striking parallel to the Semitic myths of Ishtar and Tammuz. Egypt possessed also many other deities of fertility. There was the god Min of Koptos who was so intensely a god of fertility that he is usually pictured, as on the walls of the temple of Hatshepsut at Der el-Bahri, with phallus erect. There were Horus of Edfu, Atum of Heliopolis, and Amon of Thebes, who became sun-gods as expressions of the fact that they were gods of fertility. There was the goddess Opet, who presided over childbirth, and was in some places revered as the mother of Osiris. Hathor of Dendera and Aphroditopolis and Bast of Bubastis were goddesses of love and fertility.⁶ They were usually pictured as nude, and lewd ceremonies were celebrated in honor of Bast at her festivals.⁷ Hierodouloi existed in connection with the worship of the god Ptah of Memphis. When one takes into consideration all these facts, and remembers that Isis was a water goddess, and that Osiris is sometimes a water god and sometimes a god of vegetation, it seems difficult to escape the conclusion that this pair, like the other Egyptian deities named, are developments from primitive Hamitic gods and goddesses of fertility, which in origin and nature were similar to the primitive gods and goddesses of the Semitic peoples. If this be true, Osiris and Tammuz are but special independent survivals and manifestations of a primitive cult once common to both Hamites and Semites. This in our present state of knowledge seems at least a more plausible and historical view than to suppose that the Osiris cult was borrowed from Semites or from Babylonia.

¹ Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, 38, 143.

² Steindorf in Baedeker's *Egypt*, p. cxxvi.

³ *Ibid.* p. cxxvii.

⁴ Steindorf, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 107, and *Egypt*, p. cxxvi.

⁵ Erman, *Ägyptische Religion*, Berlin, 1905, p. 41.

⁶ Erman, *Ägyptische Religion*, 2 ed., pp. 200, 239.

⁷ Herodotus, II, 60, and *Encyc. of Rel. and Ethics*, VI, 676a.

The Eastern Iron Trade of The Roman Empire.—By
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In that encyclopedia of the Roman Empire compiled by the elder Pliny under the title of "*Historia Naturalis*", there is a passage about iron in the 39th book which deals with metals and metallurgy, paragraph 15, as follows: "Of all the kinds the palm is to the Seric iron. The Seres send this with their textile fabrics and skins. The second place is to the Parthian, and there are no other kinds of iron which are tempered into the true steel for they are mixed with other elements".¹ Although in Pliny's "*Natural History*" there are several references to the Seres and a very full account of the mining and smelting of iron in all parts of the world that were in communication with Rome, there is no other passage in that work in which the Seres and iron are brought together, nor is there in any other work that survives to us from the Roman and Greek period anything to connect the people known as the Seres with the production of or trade in iron. Yet upon this slender authority rests the assumption that steel was brought overland to imperial Rome from far-away China. It may be worth while to consider this question in some detail, and in so doing it seems clear that we shall be forced to conclude that the exportation of iron and steel by the central Asian caravan routes from China to Rome was most improbable, and that this chance reference in Pliny's text to the Seres involves a double confusion, and refers neither to the silk traders of Chinese Turkestan, nor to the silk trade itself.

The subject is of some present interest because by no less

¹ Ex omnibus generibus palma Serico ferro est. Seres hoc cum vestibus suis pellibusque mittunt. Secunda Parthico, neque alia genera ferri ex mera acie temperantur, caeteris enim admiscentur.

an authority than our much-respected fellow-member, Professor Hirth, it has been said: "We know that the iron industry of China assumed important dimensions during the following centuries. Chinese iron must have been of very superior quality, since not only the countries of central Asia drew their supplies from the far East, but even the Roman market, as is known from Pliny, who says that of all kinds of iron coming to Rome, the Chinese (*Sericum Ferrum*) is the best".¹ Again, in Rockhill's introduction to Professor Hirth's splendid edition of the mediaeval Chinese *Chau Ju-Kua*, it is said: "The first accurate information concerning China was supplied by the author of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, writing somewhere about 80 A.D. Although the author of the *Periplus* knew little of China's position, he supplied other reliable information concerning it. We learn from him that already things from there came from a city in the interior of that country, from which silk, both raw and spun into thread and woven into fine stuff, also furs and iron, were brought overland through Bactria, to various points on the western coast of India".² So too in *China and the Roman Orient* it is said: "Pliny speaks of iron and skins as articles imported from the Seres". Then follow several references to Chinese records, notably a list of trade products from Ma-Tuan-Lin, with the remark that "This list may give us an idea what goods may be drawn from the Chinese market provided there was demand for them in the West";³ although it is to be noted that the Ma-Tuan-Lin list as quoted does not include iron.

Swank, in his *Iron in all Ages* quotes the reference from Pliny with the observation that "This early reference to Chinese steel is historically very important".⁴ Then in so thorough a reference work as Speck's *Handelsgeschichte des Altertums* it is said: "Ausser Seide kamen noch Felle oder Tierhäute und vortreffliches Eisen aus China nach Indien".⁵ On the other hand, in another great monument of Chinese research, Richthofen's *China*, which deals at length with the trade and trade routes between China and Mediterranean lands, the passage in Pliny above quoted receives only passing reference,

¹ *Ancient History of China*, p. 204.

² *Chau Ju-Kua*, p. 5.

³ *China and the Roman Orient*, pp. 225—26.

⁴ P. 10.

⁵ III 2. B., p. 935.

and his mention of iron is entirely ignored, the chapter being devoted mainly to an examination of the silk trade.¹

It involves no denial of the early development of the iron industry in China to confess a doubt that Chinese iron found its way overland to Rome. The Chinese Annals contain many very important references to this industry. It is notable, however, that while in Professor Hirth's earlier work, *China and the Roman Orient*, he lays some stress on the iron industry of northwestern China,² in his more recent work, *Ancient History of China*, he emphasizes rather the iron industry and the extensive government control thereof in the kingdom of Ts'i,³ which is known to us of this day as the Shantung Peninsula on the eastern coast of China; that is, we should be obliged to assume not only the carriage of that iron across the central Asian desert, but actually across the entire land area of the Celestial Kingdom. We should be compelled also to account for the production of an unusually fine grade of native steel in China, whereas the passages quoted from the Chinese Annals refer to the industry as important because of its producing the household utensils and agricultural implements required by all citizens, and therefore easily taxed and monopolized by the Government. We are certainly led to infer from Professor Hirth's quotations that bronze long remained the metal preferred for edged tools, iron not having been tempered to such a point as to hold the required edge.⁴ And it is my impression that fine iron-working in China is of relatively recent development.

Something of the relative value and extent of distribution of Chinese iron may be gathered from Professor Hirth's *Chau Ju-Kua*,⁵ in which it appears that traders from Chinese ports to foreign countries took iron to Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula, Java, the Philippine Islands, Hai-nan and Formosa; but this iron consisted apparently of pots, censers, tripods, coarse needles and utensils, whereas particular reference is made in that very text to the excellence of the iron swords and other weapons produced in India, which apparently found their way to the same markets that took the coarse utensils

¹ Vol. I, ch. 10.

² P. 226.

³ P. 204.

⁴ *Ancient History of China*, p. 235.

⁵ *Chau Ju-Kua*, 1, 7, 10, 14, 15, 21, 38, 40, 43, 46.

of Chinese iron.¹ Again we get some idea of the value of Chinese iron in the travels of the Chinese Buddhist I-tsing at the end of the 7th century. In his account of a visit to the Nicobar Islands, which he calls the "country of the naked people", he says: "When the natives saw our vessel coming they hurriedly embarked in little boats, their number being fully a hundred. They brought cocoanuts, bananas and things made of rattan cane and bamboo and wished to exchange them. What they are anxious to get is iron only. For a piece of iron as large as two fingers one gets from five to ten cocoanuts".² A similar account we find in Reinaud's compilation of the early Arab voyages: "When a ship passes near, the men come out in boats of various sizes and barter ambergris and cocoanuts for iron".³

These are indications merely, but they suggest a manufacture of iron for domestic uses and not of the highest quality, certainly not of value sufficient to carry the cost of the tremendous journey across the Asiatic continent from northeastern China to the Levant, rather more than 5,000 miles.

From the Geography of Ptolemy we have a fairly trustworthy story of the silk caravans which traveled this ancient trade route, quoted from Marinus of Tyre, who gave the personal account of a Macedonian silk merchant named Maes, according to whom the silk traders left the Bay of Issus in Cilicia, crossing Mesopotamia, Assyria and Media to the Caspian Gates, thence through Parthia, Hyrcania, Aria and Bactria; thence through the "mountainous country of the Comedi and through the territory of the Sacae to the Stone Tower, the station of the merchants who trade with the Seres; thence to the Casii and through the country of the Thaguri until after a seven months' journey from the Stone Tower the merchants arrive at Sera metropolis".⁴ Under ordinary conditions, therefore, the entire journey between the Mediterranean and the Chinese capital of Singan-fu, (which is about 500 miles further west than the iron country of Shantung), would have

¹ Ibid. 15, 21.

² I-tsing's *Record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago*, Takakusu's ed., page xxx.

³ *Relation des Voyages faits par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde et à la Chine, dans le IX^e Siècle de l'ère chrétienne*, I, 8.

⁴ I, 11. 4—7.

taken the better part of a year in either direction. The camels and the drivers and the merchants must all eat, the "great kings of kings" and the lesser potentates through whose dominions they passed must all receive their tribute, and it is self-evident that the iron which to the sea-traders yielded five cocoanuts for two fingers' weight could not stand the cost of that great overland journey to Rome. The greatness of the cost appears in all the contemporary accounts of the silk trade. In the time of the Emperor Aurelian we learn that silk was worth its weight in gold, and that he neither used it himself, nor allowed his wife to possess a garment of it, thereby setting an example against the luxurious tastes that were draining the Roman Empire of its resources.¹ During the reign of Tiberius the Roman Senate had enacted a law "that men should not defile themselves by wearing garments of silk",² and Pliny speaks of it as "among the most valuable productions in the world",³ and vigorously declaims against the great drain on Roman resources by the export of specie in return for these luxuries of the East.⁴ The high cost was the natural result of the long overland journey and the systematic manner in which the trade was monopolized.

That the so-called Seres, who forwarded the silk to Rome, were not dealers in iron is clear also from other Roman descriptions of that people. Pliny himself speaks of them as "famous for the wool that is found in their forests", by which mistaken reference he means their silk. "They are", says he, "of inoffensive manners, shun intercourse with the rest of mankind, and wait the approach of those who wish to traffic with them".⁵ Ammianus Marcellinus gives us a more trustworthy account.⁶ East of Scythia is "a ring of mountains which surround Serica, a country considerable both for its extent and for the fertility of its soil. This tribe on their western side border on the Scythians, on the north and east they look towards snowy deserts, toward the south they extend as far as India and the Ganges The Seres themselves

¹ Cf. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., xxv, 97.

² Tacitus, *Annals*, II, 33.

³ XXXVII, 67.

⁴ VI. 26.

⁵ VI, 20. Compare Vergil, *Georgics*, II, 131: "Velleraque ut foliis depectant tenuia Seres".

⁶ XXIII, 6.

live quietly, always avoiding arms and battles; and as ease is pleasant to moderate and quiet men, they give trouble to none of their neighbors. Their climate is agreeable and healthy; the sky serene, the breezes gentle and delicious. They have numbers of shining groves, the trees of which through continued watering produce a crop like the fleece of a sheep, which the natives make into a delicate wool, and spin into a kind of fine cloth, formerly confined to the use of the nobles, but now procurable by the lowest of the people without distinction. The natives themselves are the most frugal of men, cultivating a peaceful life, and shunning the society of other men. And when strangers cross their river to buy their cloth, or any other of their merchandise, they interchange no conversation, but settle the price of the articles wanted by nods and signs; and they are so modest that, while selling their own produce, they never buy any foreign wares”.

The location of this land of the silk traders is thoroughly identified with the modern Sarikol in the Chinese Pamirs above Khotan and Kashgar,¹ the Casii of Ptolemy, and it will be observed that there is not the slightest reference to any trade in metals, only in silk.

If now we refer to the Periplus, which has been quoted by Mr. Rockhill as authority for a Chinese iron trade, we find that its only references to iron are the following:—in paragraph 6, which contains an account of the import trade of Adulis, the Red Sea port of Abyssinia, we find included: “Iron, which is made into spears used against the elephants and other wild beasts, and in their wars”;² while in the same paragraph it is said: “Likewise from the inland regions of Ariaca there are imported Indian iron and steel”.³ The same imports are noted at other seaports of the Horn of Africa. Turning now to the exports of India we find in the list of goods shipped from the mouths of the Indus, silk, precious stones, indigo, drugs and aromatics, but no iron; and in its account of the foreign trade from China in paragraph 64 the Periplus mentions silk, but has no reference to iron. It

¹ Stein, *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan*, pp. 67—68.

² σίδηρος ὁ δαπανώμενος εἰς τε λόγχας πρὸς τοὺς ἐλέφαντας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα θηρία καὶ τοὺς πολέμους.

³ Ὅμοίως δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔσω τόπων τῆς Ἀριακῆς σίδηρος Ἰνδικὸς καὶ στῶμαμα.

speaks of the city of Thinae, doubtless the "Sera metropolis" of Ptolemy, the great capital of Singan-fu, "from which raw silk and silk yarn and silk cloth are brought on foot through Bactria to Barygaza".¹ That is, in the only references contained in the *Periplus* to the iron and steel trade, it is distinctly referred to India and not to China.

We get the same negative indication from the *Christian Topography* of Cosmas Indicopleustes, who refers, in his 11th book on commercial matters, to China only as "Tzinista which sends silk cloth", no reference being made to iron.²

For the importation into the Roman world from some Eastern source of the finest grade of steel then known, there is ample evidence, and it all points toward central India and not China. *Ferrum Indicum* appears in the list of articles subject to duty at Alexandria.³ Indian iron and steel appears in the *Periplus* among the imports into Abyssinia, and from this text, as I have elsewhere pointed out,⁴ we get a curious indication of a long-standing trade monopoly, under which certain products of India in large demand in the Mediterranean world were handled only by South Arabian merchants and were not offered to ships of Roman registry which succeeded in finding their way to India. This was the case notably with cinnamon, which the Romans knew only as a product of the Horn of Africa, whither Arab and Tamil vessels brought it from Malabar, but where it never grew. And in the case of this Indian steel, the author of the *Periplus* locates it at the Red Sea port of destination, but fails entirely to mention it as an export of India. The South Arabian kingdoms seem to have separated the trade according to ports. The Himyarite port for general trade was Muza, but another port, Ocelis, was reserved for the vessels arriving from India, which the *Periplus* tells us was "not a market town, but the first landing for those sailing into the Gulf";⁵ and Pliny says that "Ocelis

¹ ἀφ' ἧς τό τε ἔριον καὶ τὸ νῆμα καὶ τὸ δάδνιον τὸ Σηρικὸν εἰς τὰ Βαρύγαζα διὰ Βάκτρων περὶ φέρεται.

² *Topographiae Christianae* XI, 337: καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἡ Τζινίστα τὴν μέταξιν βάλλουσα· ἧς ἐνδοτέρω, οὐκ ἔστιν ἑτέρα χώρα· ὁ Ωκεανὸς γὰρ αὐτὴν κυκλοῖ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς.

³ Rescript concerning Eastern Trade in the *Digest of the Roman Law*, XXXIX, 15, 5—7.

⁴ Schoff, *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* 88—89, 216—216.

⁵ οὐχ οὕτως ἐμπόριον ὡς ὕδρευμα καὶ πρώτη καταγωγὴ τοῖς ἔσω διαίρουσιν.

was the most convenient port for those coming from India",¹ and that the other chief ports, Muza and Cana, "were not frequented by Indian travelers, but were only for the merchants dealing in frankincense and Arabian spices". So effective was this trade understanding between the Arab and Dravidian merchants that the Roman vessels reaching the Malabar coast were permitted to trade in the cinnamon *leaf* as a product of that coast, but were not supplied with cinnamon *bark* that came from the same tree. Some indication of this trade we get also from the account of Phoenician commerce in Ezekiel: "Dan also and Javan going to and fro occupied in thy fairs; bright iron, cassia and calamus were in thy market".² We have here the same combination of Eastern iron and cinnamon as products passing through the hands of South Arabian merchants.

Early metallurgists knew little of artificial alloys, and the quality of their metals depended on the character of the ores they used and the effectiveness of their primitive methods of smelting. In Egypt, for instance, we find that some iron was produced from the native ore by smelting with papyrus, but the industry disappeared at an early date when it met the competition of better metals from Asia Minor derived from magnetic sand and forest timber, and from Elba, Spain and the Alps, where rich ores were also found together with ample timber. The Roman Empire had an abundant supply of ordinary iron from within its own borders, and its imports of that metal were limited to qualities beyond its own ability to produce. This iron which it imported from the East, as has been ascertained from examination of existing specimens, was really a good grade of charcoal steel yielded by native processes jealously held secret and unknown to the Romans.

Herodotus, in his catalogue of the troops of Xerxes, says that "The Indians were clad with garments made of cotton, had bows of cane and arrows of cane tipped with iron".³ Ctesias mentions two wonderful swords of Indian steel had from the King of Persia,⁴ and it is recorded also that the Malli and Oxydracae made a gift to the victorious invader Alexander of 100 talents of Indian steel.⁵ Salmasius, in his

¹ VI, 104.

² XXVII, 19.

³ VII, 66.

⁴ Müller's Ctesias, p. 80.

⁵ Curtius, IX, 24.

notes on Pliny, refers to an early Greek chemical treatise on "The Tempering of Indian Steel",¹ and Colonel Yule, in his notes on Marco Polo, has traced this trade from source to destination.² It was this same Indian steel which was used in the manufacture of the famous Damascus blades of the Arabs in the height of their prosperity, and which was regarded as essentially a different metal from ordinary iron, being called by the Arabs *Hundwānīy*, "Indian", whence the curious word "Andanic" or "Ondanique" of the mediaeval writers, the fine steel used for swords and mirrors. Cordier notes that this "Hindi" metal used for mirrors has passed into Spanish in the form of *alhinde* and *alinde*, first with the meaning of steel, then that of steel mirror, and finally with that of any metallic foil for making mirror-glass. From a modern Spanish dictionary I note the erroneous definition, *Alinde*, (obsolete) "quicksilver for mirrors"; meaning, of course, nothing more than "Indian metal". So the word "hint" or "al hint", Cordier notes, is used in modern North African dialects for steel, confirming again the statement of the *Periplus* that it was Indian steel which found its way to the African ports, and thus passed into their language. The Arab, Edrisi, says: "The Hindus excel in the manufacture of iron. They have also workshops wherein are forged the most famous sabers in the world. It is impossible to find anything to surpass the edge that you get from Indian steel".³ So Chardin says of the steel of Persia, "They combine it with Indian steel, which is more tractable, and is much more esteemed".⁴ Dupré says, "I used to believe that the steel for the famous Persian sabers came from certain mines in Khorasan, but according to all the information I have obtained, I can assert that no mine of steel exists in that province. What is used for these blades comes in the shape of discs from Lahore".⁵ Yule quotes an interesting distinction made by Avicenna, who makes a threefold classification of iron:⁶ 1st. That which is good for striking or bearing heavy strokes

¹ *Exercitationes Pliniana*, II, 763.

² Under Book, I, ch. 17.

³ I, 65—66.

⁴ Cordier's Ed. of Yule's *Marco Polo*, I, 94.

⁵ *Ib. id.*

⁶ *De Animâ*, book V.

(used for hammers and anvils). 2nd. That which is purer, better adapted to take an edge and to form cutting tools, but not malleable. (Steel). 3rd. Andena. Less known, he says, among Latin nations, the special character of which is that, like silver, it is ductile under a very low degree of heat.

Marco Polo, in his account of Persia, speaks of Kermán as "A kingdom having plenty of veins of steel and *ondanique*; the people are very skillful in making harness of war; their saddles, bridles, spurs, bows and quivers, and arms of every kind are very well made indeed according to the fashion of those parts".¹ Cordier identifies these mines with the Parpa iron mines on the road from Kermán to Shiráz,² which are no longer worked, and Pottinger names steel among the imports into Kermán from India,³ bringing us back again to the statement of Pliny that the first in quality was the "iron of the Seres, and the second that of Parthia", both of which were doubtless used by the armorers of the Levant.

The making of steel in early India has been very fully described, the methods ascertained and the sources of the industry located. A limited quantity was made in the southern Dravidian kingdoms, but the best and most plentiful supply, and that which was in constant demand from the Roman times through the middle ages and down to the British occupation of India, was that produced in Haidarábád. The method of smelting was practically the same throughout India. According to Watt's "*Economic Products of India*",⁴ there was a furnace built of clay three or four feet in height, more or less conical in form, with an orifice near the bottom, stopped with clay during the blast, and through which the bloom was removed at the end of the operation. Clay tubes inserted near the base conveyed the blast from two skin bellows worked alternately by hand, so as to keep up a continuous stream of air. The fuel used was charcoal from native timbers without flux, and after the furnace had been sufficiently heated, the ore, sometimes in the form of natural magnetic sand gathered from the beds of streams, but more commonly after having been pounded from rock ores to small fragments or coarse powder, was sprinkled in at the top in small quantities

¹ I, 17.

² Cordier's ed. of Yule's *Marco Polo* I, 93.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 94.

⁴ IV, p. 502.

at frequent intervals, alternating with native charcoal, to keep the charge nearly level with the top of the furnace. From time to time during the operation, which lasted several hours, the slag was removed through a hole which was then stopped with clay. The bloom produced was a pasty mass of malleable iron containing a good deal of slag, which was removed by immediate hammering. The expenditure of charcoal by this method was very great in proportion to the result—as much as fourteen tons of fuel, according to Mr. Ball, having been used to one ton of finished iron, and a large proportion of metal remained in the slag. Recent examination of ores thus used show that a magnetite containing 72% of metal yielded only 15% of its weight in bar iron. The amount of iron produced, as Mr. Ball remarked, “bore but a miserable proportion to the labor, time and material expended”. The bellows varied in form and size, but were usually made from goat skins or bullock hides and worked by hand. This labor, which was tedious and most exacting, apparently required more than one man to the blower, and there are curious pictures of recent steel-making by this primitive process showing the laborer pulling away at the cord, with the necessary extra weight provided, hours at a time, by the laborer’s wife standing behind him with her arms thrown around his body.

In the production of Indian steel, which was known in modern times as “wootz”, the iron which was smelted from magnetite, as already described, was refined by repeated heatings and hammerings and formed into bars measuring about $12'' \times 1-1/2'' \times 1/2''$. These were cut into small pieces, a number of which, aggregating perhaps two pounds in weight, were packed closely in a crucible, together with about a tenth part of dry wood chopped small, the whole being covered over with one or two green leaves, and the mouth of the crucible filled up with tempered clay rammed close. Some two dozen such crucibles were built up in the form of a conical arch in a small furnace which was lighted, the blast kept up for about 2—1/2 hours, when the crucibles were removed, cooled and broken and the cakes of steel shaped according to the bottom of the crucible, taken out. These cakes were then heated several hours at a temperature just below their melting point, turned over in the current of air from the bellows, the object being to eliminate excess carbon and

thus to produce the low fusing point already noted by Avicenna. When this operation was completed the cakes were ready for the market in circular form, or else were hammered out into short stout bars and so were sold to the traders.

The crucibles were made of a refractory red loam largely mixed with dry rice husk. The wood used was that of *Cassia auriculata*, and the leaves those of *Asclepias gigantea*, or *Convolvulus laurifolia*.

In some parts of India the ores used contained a small percentage of manganèse, and some of the black sand consisted apparently of titaniferous magnetic oxide, either of which would produce a native steel; but those of central India were principally a rock magnetite, and according to the above description, the steel produced was evidently a good grade of charcoal crucible steel ("cement steel"). Dr. Ball quotes a number of recent observers of the Haidarâbâd steel production, who tell of regular visits to the furnaces by Persian traders from Ispahan, who were in the habit of going backwards and forwards with the steel, and who, while making their purchases, personally superintended the operations, weighing the proportions of iron and testing the toughness of the steel. One such trader said that in Persia the same processes had been tried, but that the same quality of steel could not be produced from their ores.¹

The French gem merchant, Tavernier, who traveled India in the 17th century, mentions this steel industry in the "Kingdom of Golconda", and remarks: "They carry a broad sword like the Swiss, with which they both cut and thrust, and they suspend it from a belt. The barrels of their muskets are stronger than ours, and the iron is better and purer. This makes them not liable to burst. As for the cavalry, they have bow and arrow, shield and mace, with helmet and a coat of mail".² We are thus carried back by recent travelers both to the iron-tipped Indian arrows of Herodotus, and to the "bright iron" of Ezekiel brought by merchants "going to and fro".

It is sufficiently evident from these references that the fine iron of the Roman trade was Indian steel; and it remains to

¹ *Manual of the Geology of India.* Part III, ch. 8.

² *Travels in India.* Ball's ed., I, 157.

examine and interpret the vague references in Pliny to that trade. We must assume a time when all foreigners were considered as barbarians, and the exact location of their countries was a matter of little interest or importance. The silk traders, the people of Chinese Turkestan and the Pamirs, played an important part in the Eastern trade of Rome, and were correctly located and described as Seres. A totally different people, but of a name reducible to a similar Latin form, was also in active communication with the Roman Empire. These were one of the Tamil kingdoms of southern India—the Chēra, whose kingdom appears in the *Periplus* as Cerobothra, and whose chief port, Muziris, the modern Cranganore, was an active center of shipping from Arabia and Roman Egypt. Much of the Roman knowledge of India came apparently from Ceylon, and in Sinhalese the Tamil Chēra became *Sēri*. Pliny clearly refers to this people in his account of the trade of Ceylon with the "Seres" where he says: "Their accounts agree with the reports of our own merchants, who tell us that the wares which they deposit near those brought for sale by the Seres, on the farther bank of a river of their country, are removed by them if they are satisfied with the exchange".¹ In this passage there is both truth and confusion, the Chēra ports being located along a chain of thoroughfares, some on the beach and some on the mainland side, but the description being confused apparently with the Pamir river valley of the silk merchants.

While some of the Indian steel might have been shipped through the Chēra ports, it is probably true that most of it went through the port of Barygaza on the Gulf of Cambay, being carried thither by the overland trade route that traversed the great dominions of the Andhra dynasty, "the inland regions of Ariaca" of the *Periplus*, thence proceeding westward in native or Arab, and not in Greek or Roman shipping. The product was probably then, as in recent times, bought at the furnaces and the profits of the trade were great enough for the buyers to keep in full for themselves without dealing through third parties. In any case the total amount shipped westward from India must have been small indeed. In the accounts of early 19th century travelers given us by Ball and

¹ VI, 22. Cf. Schoff, *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, p. 209.

Watt, it is indicated that a single furnace might produce no more than a couple of hundred-weight of steel in a year, and 200 tons per year would probably be an outside figure for this export trade.

The various references to the Seres in the Roman writers cannot be harmonized for any one people, and it is certainly an unnecessary interpretation to identify them with the Chinese, or to transfer the "Seric iron" to China. I have already indicated that the Indian steel, although mainly an Andhra product, was attributed by the Romans to the Chēra Tamils, and then confused with the Seres of Turkestan; and I will close with a further identification of one of these ubiquitous Seres, not heretofore made, so far as I am aware. We have the connection through the Greek antiquarian Pausanias, who, after describing the Seres and the silk culture of China and Turkestan, says: "The island of Seria is known to be situated in a recess of the Erythraean Sea. But I have heard that the island is formed, not by the Erythraean Sea, but by a river called the Ser, just as the Delta of Egypt is surrounded by the Nile and not by a sea; such, also, it is said, is the island of Seria. Both the Seres and the inhabitants of the neighboring islands of Abasa and Sacaea are of the Aethiopian race; some say, however, that they are not Aethiopians, but a mixture of Scythians and Indians".¹ These Seres, from Pausanias' own description, we are forced to transfer to the southern coast of Arabia, and to identify their island with that mentioned in the Periplus as Sar-apis,² and still known as Mo-seir-ah; and the origin of the name we must refer to the ancient Arab tribe of Ausar, Ausal or Ausan, whom some of the writers on Arabian geography would identify with Uzal, son of Joktan of Genesis X, and more certainly at any rate with the port of Ocelis or Cella, already mentioned as the terminus of the Arab trade with India, and with the modern Zeila on the African side of the Straits. The glimpse of this island given by Pausanias is extremely interesting. The word Aethiopian, instead of having the wide significance now given it, seems to have meant,

¹ *Descriptio Graeciae*, VI, 26.

² Νῆσος Σαράπιδος λεγομένη . . . οἰκεῖται δὲ κώμαις τρισὶ καὶ ἀνδρώποσι πονερούς Ἰχθυοφάγων· γλώσση δὲ Ἀραβικῇ χρεώνται καὶ περιζώμασι φύλλων κουκίνων.

as Glaser showed, no more than "incense gatherer", and referred specifically to the tribes dwelling on either shore of the Gulf of Aden.¹ The "neighboring islands of Abasa and Sacaea" are the modern Kuria Muria, "Abasa" being the same tribe-name as "Abyssinian". The coming of the Scythians and Indians followed the Indian conquests by the Asiatic invaders at the epoch of Kanishka. We have a similar account in the description of the island of Socotra in the Periplus, where mention is made of a mixture of Arabs and Hindus and Greeks.² This people of Ausar at some period of Arab history, which we may perhaps place not later than the 7th century B. C., apparently dominated not only all south Arabia, but the opposite side of the Gulf of Aden and much of the east African coast. We have a reference to them in the Periplus which refers to this coast as far as Zanzibar under the name of "Ausanitic".³ Glaser, in interpreting South Arabian inscriptions discovered by him, indicates that the power of Ausan, like that of the later South Arabian tribes, was derived from their trade in incense, aromatics and oriental products, for which they found markets in Egypt, Syria and Babylonia, and that the power of Ausan was succeeded in order by those of Kataban, Saba and Himyar;⁴ and the Periplus gives another interesting glimpse of these struggles in South Arabia, where, describing the present Zanzibar coast, it states that it was governed by Himyarite Arabs "under some ancient right that subjects it to the sovereignty of the state that has become first in Arabia".⁵

We therefore gather that the Seres of the Romans were as ubiquitous as Prester John of the mediaeval Europeans, whose kingdom was located anywhere from the mountains of Abyssinia to the wastes of Mongolia; and it is not necessary

¹ *Itiopyavan*, from *atyôb*, incense: *Die Abessinier in Arabien und Afrika*, pp. 10. 27.

² § 30: εἰσὶ δὲ ἐπίξενοι καὶ ἐπίμκτοι Ἀράβων τε καὶ Ἰνδῶν καὶ ἔτι Ἑλλήνων τῶν πρὸς ἐργασίαν ἐκπλεόντων.

³ § 15: μετὰ δύο δρόμους νυχθημέρους πᾶρ' αὐτὴν τὴν Αὐσιελίτην ἥλινα ἡ Μενουδιάς ἀπαντᾷ νῆσος.

⁴ *Die Abessinier in Arabien und Afrika*, VI—IX. *Punt und die süd-arabischen Reiche*, pp. 16—18.

⁵ § 16: Νέμεται δὲ αὐτὴν, κατὰ τι δίκαιον ἀρχαῶν ὑποπίπτουσιν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῇ τῆς πρώτης γνωμένης Ἀραβίας, ὁ Μαφαρέτης τύραννος.

for us to carry the iron-trading Seres of Pliny to far-away China over a difficult, dangerous and expensive land-caravan route, when we know that Indian steel reached the Roman world by ocean-going sailing vessels, and that along that cheap and easy ocean route there dwelt at least two peoples, one in western India and the other in southern Arabia, to whom the name "Seres" was confusedly applied.

*Studies in the Veda.*¹—By FRANKLIN EDGERTON, Assistant Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

4. Chāndogya Upaniṣad 6. 2.

The first part of this section, whose interpretation is not open to serious question, may be translated as follows:

‘The existent only, my dear, was this universe in the beginning—quite alone and without a second. Now some say: the non-existent only was this universe in the beginning, quite alone and without a second, and from this non-existent the existent was born.

‘But how, in sooth, my dear, could this be? said he, How could the existent be born from the non-existent? No; the existent only, my dear, was this universe in the beginning, quite alone and without a second.

‘It desired: May I become many, may I be propagated. It produced heat (*tejas*). This heat desired: May I become many, may I be propagated. It created waters . . .’

Then comes a sentence which I interpret thus, differing from all previous interpretations: ‘Therefore wherever it is hot, there a man swets, on account of the heat; as a result thereof (i. e. of the heat) waters are produced’.

After this the section closes with another statement whose interpretation is likewise clear enough in general:

‘These waters desired: May we become many, may we be propagated. They produced (solid) food. Therefore wherever it rains, just there is the most food, on account of the waters; as a result thereof (i. e. of the waters) edible food is produced’.

The point of my new interpretation of the sentence about the production of waters from heat is the perfect parallelism

¹ The first three studies in this series were published in the *American Journal of Philology*, XXXV, 435 ff., under the following titles: 1. The instrumental with verbs of ruling, AV. 4. 27. 4, 5.—2. AV. 4. 5. 7 = RVKh. 7. 55. 1.—3. *Apaskambhā*, AV. 4. 6. 4.

in external form between it and the following one about the production of food from waters. This parallelism has never been noticed by any commentator, and as a result all have totally failed to get the point. It seems to me, however, so obvious that it only needs to be pointed out to be recognized. To make it clear I think I shall only need to quote the Sanskrit of the two sentences, side by side. For convenience I divide them into separate clauses or phrases, lettered a, b, c and d.

- (a) { 1. *tasmâd yatra kva ca çocati* —
 2. *tasmâd yatra kva ca varṣati* —
 (b) { 1. *svedate vâ puruṣas* —
 2. *tad eva bhūyishṭham annaṃ bhavaty* —
 (c) { 1. *tejasa eva* —
 2. *adbhya eva* —
 (d) { 1. *tad-adhy âpo jâyante*.
 2. *tad-adhy annâdyaṃ jâyate*.

Observe how perfectly the parallelism works out. Wherever so and so happens (a), then such and such a result is observed (b)—precisely on account of so and so (c, resuming a), for as a result thereof (*tad-adhi*) such and such is produced (d, resuming b). Again I say, I do not see how it is possible to question the parallelism, once it is pointed out. What has thrown the commentators off is the word *vâ*, in the phrase *svedate vâ puruṣas*. This word ordinarily means 'or', and is so taken here by all interpreters, thus making 'b' a correlative statement to 'a', and throwing out the parallelism completely. But *vâ* obviously cannot mean 'or' in this sentence. It would be comparatively simple to emend it to *vâi*, or to *eva* (*svedata eva* becoming corrupted to *svedate vâ*), either of which would make perfect sense; and it may be said in favor of the latter suggestion (the reading *svedata eva*) that it would make a more perfect parallel with 'b' of the parallel sentence, which is likewise connected with the preceding by *eva* (*tad eva bhūyishṭham* &c.). But no emendation is necessary. The particle *vâ* may be used precisely in the sense of *eva*: see the Petersburg lexicon s. v., meaning 4, and the places there quoted. At any rate, whether the reading *vâ* be kept or not, it seems to me there can be no doubt whatever of the meaning of the particle which originally stood here: it was simply a particle of emphasis, and did not mean 'or'.

The interpretations of Max Müller, Boehtlingk and Deussen, all of whom were misled by the word *vâ*, are as follows. Müller: 'And therefore whenever anybody anywhere is hot and perspires, water is produced on him from fire alone'. Boehtlingk: 'Deshalb entsteht, so oft ein Mensch Kummer hat oder schwitzt, aus der Glut Wasser'. Deussen: 'Darum wenn ein Mensch die Glut des Schmerzes fühlt oder schwitzt, so entsteht aus der Glut das Wasser (der Thränen, des Schweisses)'. It will be noted that both Boehtlingk and Deussen absolutely ignore the important *tad-adhi*. Max Müller takes it as meaning 'on him', i. e. 'on the man'. All of them ignore the obvious parallelism with the following statement.

5. Chāndogya Upaniṣad 6. 14.

This section contains the beautiful simile of the man brot to a strange land and left blindfolded to wander about aimlessly, until some one removes his eye-bandage and tells him in which direction to go; then he finds his way home. Just so a man in this world who has not received the true instruction in Upaniṣadic philosophy wanders about aimlessly, his mental eyesight dimmed by the eye-bandages of ignorance, until a teacher removes the bandage of ignorance and tells him in what direction to shape his life's course; then he will arrive at his true goal.

Tho the general sense of the passage has been correctly grasped by all interpreters, so far as I know, it seems to me that all their interpretations are open to objection in certain details.

I render the passage thus:

'As if, my dear, one should bring hither a man from the land of Gandhâra, with eyes bound tight, and should then turn him loose in a desert place; [as he would then drift about, eastward, or northward, or southward, having been brot hither blindfold, and having been turned loose blindfold];

'As if one should free him from the bandage (over his eyes), and should tell him: In this direction is the land of Gandhâra, go in this direction; he would ask (the way) from village to village, being a wise and intelligent man, and would actually arrive at the land of Gandhâra. Just so a man who has an instructor in this world knows. There is delay for

him only for so long a time as he is not freed (from the bonds of ignorance): then he will arrive (at his final goal)'.

Notes. (a) The sentence which I hav enclosed in [square brackets] above, in my translation, reads in the Sanskrit thus: *yathā tatra prāṇ vā, udān vā, adharān vā, pra dhmāyīta, abhinaddhākṣa ānītaḥ, abhinaddhākṣo viśṛṣṭaḥ*. No one seems ever to hav explaiend why only three directions—east, north and south—ar mentioned. Why not *west* too? Does it not mean that he would drift in *any and every* direction? So many readers must hav thot, among them one Hindu copyist, who inserts *pratyaṇ vā* 'or westward' after the words *adharān vā* 'or southward', to make it complete; and so likewise Boehtlingk, whose unimaginativ rationalism is carried one step further, for he inserts *pratyaṇ vā* between north and south, so as to hav the four directions in perfect order—east, north, west, south. These insertions simply spoil the sense of the passage. If Boehtlingk and his Hindu predecessor had stopt to think where the land of Gandhāra is, they would never hav made such a blunder. Gandhāra is the farthest *western* limit of Indian civilization, and if the blindfolded Gandhārese went westward, and kept it up long enuf, he would arrive at his own home. That is not contemplated by the simile. There ar of course three chances to one that he would go in some other direction; and it is this probability of error that the passage emfasizes when it says he would go 'eastward, or northward, or southward'.

(b) The verb *pra dhmāyīta* in this connexion certainly means 'be blown about (as by a wind)', 'drift'. Deussen comes closest to being right: he translates it 'verschlagen', that is 'start in the wrong direction'. Max Müller 'shout', so Hillebrandt Ved. Chr. 'laut ausrufen'; Boehtlingk 'sich aufmachen', apparently getting pretty close to the idea but not quite grasping it. The meaning seems to be made clear by the use of the activ of the same verb *pra-dham* in AV. 18. 2. 28, *agnīṣ tām asmāt prā dhamāti yajñāt*, 'Agni shal blow them away (scatter them) from this sacrifice', and AV. 3. 2. 2 *prā vo dhamatu sarvātāḥ*. 'Let him blow you forth (scatter you) in every direction'. Whether the form *pra dhmāyīta* be taken as middle (as Whitney Gr. 738b takes it) or as passiv (as I should prefer to take it, with reference to the *y*; the ending *-īta* is no more irregular in one case than in the other), it evidently means

something like 'be blown forth, be made to drift helplessly'. Certainly Müller and Hillebrandt are wrong in taking it as a verb of shouting—all the more since the following words, which they regard as a direct quotation depending thereon, are provided with no *iti* or other sign of quotation.

(c) The last sentence of the passage translated is in the Sanskrit: *tasya tâvad eva ciraṃ, yâvan na vimokṣye, atha saṃpatsya iti*. 'Of him so long only is (or, will be) there delay (longness), as he shall not be releast (i. e., until he shall be releast); then he will arrive'. The verb *saṃ-pad* parallels *upa-saṃ-pad*, which is used above of the man from Gandhâra 'arriving' finally at Gandhâra. So here, the enlivened man will 'arrive'—the destination being left to be supplied; it means, of course, he will 'arrive' at his true final goal in life, as taught by the Upaniṣadic philosophy. Max Müller translates: 'For him there is only delay so long as he is not delivered (from the body); then he will be perfect'. This translation is not very far wrong; only it is from 'the bonds of ignorance', which keep him from seeing clearly, like the blindfolded man in the parable, that he is to be freed, rather than 'the body'; and 'be perfect' for *saṃ-pad* fails to bring out the idea of 'arriving', 'attaining', which as I said is clearly contained in the verb. The other translators are farther from the mark. Deussen, whose philological sense is usually so keen, makes the bad mistake of failing to see that *tasya*, the first word, refers back to *puruṣa* in the preceding sentence (*evam evaḥcāryavān puruṣo veda*). He makes the whole depend on the preceding *veda*, as a direct quotation of the man's thought, and renders: 'Diesem (Welttreiben) werde ich nur so lange angehören, bis ich erlöst sein werde, darauf werde ich heimgehen'. I do not see how *tasya* could mean 'diesem Welttreiben'; that would be at best *asya*, and rather harsh at that.

That the word *ciraṃ* may be a noun is shown by Pāṇini 6. 2. 6. It appears to mean 'delay', i. e. delay in getting started in the right direction (keeping still in mind the parable of the blindfolded man).

Deussen's 'erlöst werden' for *vimokṣye* (similarly also Boehtlingk) is a little too strong. It does not refer to final salvation, in the usual later sense; that is rather meant by *saṃpatsye* in this sentence. Instead it refers, as I said, to being 'releast' from the blinding bandage of ignorance, so that one

can hav clear intellectual vision; only after this happens can one *start* in the direction of final salvation or 'attainment'. The parable of the blindfolded man is kept constantly in view, and the parallelism with it is scrupulously close. All translators hav faild to do justis to this circumstance.

6. Chāndogya Upaniṣad 6. 16.

The parable containd in this section is that of the trial of a man accused of theft, by the ordeal of the heated ax.

'Also they lead along a man, my dear, with hands tied, saying: He has stolen, he has committed theft, heat the ax for him. If he is the doer of it, then indeed he makes himself false; covering himself with falsehood (*anṛtābhisamdhā*), enwrapping himself in falsehood (*anṛtenātmānam antardhāya*), he takes holds of the heated ax; he is burnt, then he perishes.

'Then if he is not the doer of it, then indeed he makes himself true; covering himself with truth (*satyābhisamdhā*), enwrapping himself in truth (*satyenātmānam antardhāya*), he takes hold of the ax; he is not burnt, then he is releast.'

It seems to me that the term *abhisamdhā*, used as the final member of the compounds *anṛtābhisamdhā* and *satyābhisamdhā*, must mean 'covering', 'that with which one covers'. The frase is thus a synonym for the following *anṛtenā-(satyenā)-tmānam antardhāya*. This expressing of the same idea in juxtaposed doublets is one of the most familiar stylistic tricks of the Upaniṣads; it occurs, for instance, in this same section, in the first sentence: *apāhârṣît, steyam akârṣît*—'he has stolen, has committed theft'.

The word is generally taken as meaning 'speech, declaration' or the like: Deussen, 'Unwahres aussagend'; Boehtlingk, 'indem er eine unwahre Aussage macht'. Max Müller says, a little differently: 'the false-minded'. But the picture is of a *covering* by which the man seeks to protect himself from damage by the heated ax. If the covering he uses is falsehood, it is useless; he is burnt. If it is truth, then it protects him from the burning ax. The verb *abhi-dhâ* regularly has this meaning, and the derivativ of *abhi-sam-dhâ* is here used in the same sense. According to the most usual meaning of *abhi-sam-dhâ*, the word ought to mean 'purpose, intent'; but this is a long way from 'pronouncement, declaration', the meaning

assumed by Deussen and Boehtlingk, and not too close to Müller's 'mind'; and while wickedness of intention might have been predicated of the *prospectiv* thief, it is much less natural of the man who is about to submit to the ordeal.

It is interesting to observe that in the Râmâyana (5. 51. 21 Gorresio) practically the same compound occurs which is found in our Upaniṣad passage, viz. *satyâbhidhâna*, 'encased in righteousness'. Very significantly, as it seems to me, it is here also used with reference to virtue as a protection from the heat of fire; namely, it is applied to Sitâ, who, it is alleged, will be safe from the devouring flames started by Hanumat to destroy Râvaṇa's city, because of her spotless virtue—because she is 'enwrapped in righteousness'.—There are two other occurrences in the Râmâyana (1. 6. 5 and 5. 30. 7, Gorresio) of the compound *satyâbhisamdhâ*—this time the very same form as that found in the Chândogya Upaniṣad; but in both cases the word is a mere colorless epithet of King Daśaratha, and the context furnishes no evidence as to the real meaning.

Relations of Shah Abbas the Great, of Persia, with the Mogul Emperors, Akbar and Jahangir.—By CLARA CARY EDWARDS, New York City.

Abbas the Great came to the throne of Persia in 1586. He found his country in that condition of anarchy which in a despotic state is the invariable accompaniment of any weakening of the central power. In the ten years which had passed since the death of his grandfather, Shah Tahmasp, two kings, one a drunkard, the other blind, had seen their great kingdom become an agglomeration of petty principalities which acknowledged no allegiance to the Shah: everywhere khans, tribal chiefs, provincial governors had set themselves up as independent kings and princes.

Not only was Persia riven by internal quarrels; she was attacked by foes from without. A country holding the faith of the Shiah Moslems, she was surrounded by Sunni Moham-medans, who were ever ready to make difference of creed an excuse for aggression. The Uzbek Tartars on the North-East held the province of Khorasan in constant dread of their fierce raids. They were pensionaries and dependents of the Turks, and were bound to them by an agreement which provided that whenever the Turkish army should be engaged in war in Europe, the Tartars were to harass Persia and prevent the country from feeling the relief of peace¹. On the North-West, the one-time Persian provinces of Shirvan and Daghestan had been held by the Turks since the days of Suleiman the Magnificent, and Turkish armies were now waging victorious war in Azerbaijan.

Under these circumstances, it required no great political instinct for the king to see the wisdom of keeping in friendly relations with Akbar, the Sunni emperor of India, especially as that emperor had brought India to a height of power and

¹ Sherley, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, v. 2, bk. 9, p. 1390.

prestige never known before. Fortunately, it was not difficult. Akbar had already shown that he had no desire to add Persian provinces to his territory. Only half a dozen years before the accession of Abbas, he had replied to the ruler of Turan, who sent an envoy with a proposal that they should join forces against the King of Persia: "that the Persian royal family and his own had always been on friendly terms, and he did not consider differences of law and religion as sufficient ground for a war of conquest."¹

Shah Abbas even hoped that the good feeling of his brother emperor would lead him to restore to the Persian king the city and province of Kandahar, in accordance with an old promise.² Kandahar, a small city in itself, was by its position a place of real importance. Lying on the main trade-route between India and Persia, it was a focus of all the direct routes converging from the western frontier of India towards Herat and Persia; and the fortress of Kandahar, which in the hands of the Indian king would form an excellent base for an army of invasion, would, in the possession of Persia, lend security from attacks by way of the South. Abbas was not sufficiently powerful in the early years of his reign to press his claim to this stronghold, once the property of his family. He had patched up a temporary peace with the Turks, leaving in their hands all the territory they had conquered, and he was engaged in bringing order out of the chaos in Persia.³ One by one, the rebellious princelings were being subdued; some to be treated with harsh severity, others with a clemency surprising in a Persian monarch. It must have galled him, when he was thus engaged in civil wars, to hear (1593) that the Persian prince of Kandahar, who had been holding the province as a tributary of Akbar, had definitely made over the place to the Indian emperor, receiving in exchange the Subah of Multan and other dignities.⁴ Of such value was Akbar's promise!

¹ *Akbarnama*, v. 3, p. 297.

² The promise was made by Akbar in 1558. See *Akbarnama*, v. 2, p. 121. He renewed at that time a promise originally given by Humayun, but never carried out.

³ One curious provision of the treaty of peace with the Turks was that the Persians should no longer have the right to curse the first three Caliphs.

⁴ *Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, p. 257, note.

There are, unfortunately, very few references in contemporary documents to the relations between Abbas and Akbar. Those which we have show that the relations continued friendly, in spite of the Kandahar incident. Sir Anthony Sherley, writing from Persia in about 1599, mentions that sixteen slaves had been sent as a present by the Great Mogul to Abbas.¹ A little later, he writes:—"The Great Mogul, King of Lahore, sent a great ambassador to desire a marriage between his eldest son's daughter and Cephir Mirza (Safi Mirza), eldest son to the King of Persia, with a mighty present, and as mighty offers, both of ready money, and to pay 30,000 men in any war which the King of Persia should undertake for seven years."² Sherley does not tell us how this embassy was received, but it must have been welcome. Shah Abbas would feel that he was receiving a slight and partial return for the loss of Kandahar.³ The Persian king must have sent return embassies to the Indian court, but all we know of them is that on one occasion he sent Akbar, among other "fitting gifts", a horse so fine that it continued to be the best in the royal stables until Jahangir gave it away as a mark of his special favor, two years after his accession.⁴

Concerning the diplomatic passages between Abbas and Jahangir, who came to the throne of India in 1605, we have more sources of information. The most valuable is Jahangir's diary, kept with his own hand;⁵ and for amplification and comment on this, we have the writings of a number of European travellers to India and Persia. Among these, the most notable are Sir Thomas Roe, English ambassador to the court of the Great Mogul, and the letters of that most careful observer and delightful *raconteur*, the Italian Della Valle, who spent ten years in travel in Turkey, Persia and India. From these sources we may acquire a knowledge which, although fragmentary, is sufficient to give us a clear idea of the dealings between the two courts and of the reception and treatment of ambassadors.

¹ Sherley, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, v. 2, bk. 9, p. 1402. These slaves were stopped and held by the Governor of Hormuz.

² *Ibid.* v. 2, bk. 1, p. 1406.

³ In sending this embassy, Akbar followed his usual policy of conciliating a ruler from whom he had taken territory.

⁴ *Memoirs of Jahangir*, v. 1, p. 142.

⁵ I have used throughout the translation by A. Rogers, edited by H. Beveridge. 2 volumes, London, 1909 and 1914.

At this time, there was constant intercourse between the inhabitants of the two countries. The trade-route from Lahore to Ispahan by way of Kandahar was a well travelled highway, in spite of its difficulties and dangers.¹ Five months were required for the journey, but time counts for little in the East. According to one contemporary estimate, the long track over mountain and desert was paced yearly by from twelve to fourteen hundred camels, carrying loads of indigo, sugar, spices, cotton cloth, and the like.² The trade in turbans alone was considerable, for all the turbans used in Persia were imported from India.³ Della Valle notes that there was a very large number of Hindoo merchants living in Ispahan, many of whom were in business there as permanent residents.⁴ In India the Persian language was the speech of the Mogul's court and largely of his army;⁵ two of his intimates were the Persian scholars Faizi and Abu-l Fazl; and many of his best soldiers and officers were Persian by birth.⁶

The rulers of two countries so closely bound by ties of language and commerce could not ignore each other. To Jahangir there were only two monarchs who could even pretend to an equality with himself—the Persian Shah and the more

¹ An ambassador of the Shah to India experienced its dangers in 1620. He was robbed by the Afghans and all his suite were taken prisoners. He alone escaped and arrived empty-handed at the Indian court. Della Valle, *Viaggi*, v. 2, p. 208—209.

² See letter from Richard Steele to the East India Company, in *Register of Letters of the East India Company, 1600—1619*, p. 459. De Laet says of Kandahar: "Hic continuo commercia exercentur e Persia, India, Mesopotamia, e reliquis partibus orientis; nam septem aut octo millia camelorum in ambitu aluntur ad merces ultro citroque devehendas." —De Laet: *Persia, seu regni Persici status*, p. 286.

³ Della Valle, *Viaggi*, v. 1, p. 833.

⁴ *Ibid.*, v. 1, p. 485.

⁵ *The Travels of Pietro Della Valle in India*, Hak. Soc., p. 97; Herbert, *A Relation of Some Yeares Travaile*, p. 36. It is interesting to note in this connection that the Shah's soldiers were many of them Turks, and Turkish was the language of his court and army. Cf. Della Valle, *Viaggi*, v. 1, p. 507.

⁶ Della Valle, *Viaggi*, v. 2, p. 41; Herbert, p. 36; Terry, *A Voyage to East India*, p. 121. The Persian soldiers had gained by their bravery such a reputation for their king that it became a custom in India, if a man did a very valiant thing, to call out "Shah Abbas!", as much as to say that it was done as well as the Persian king himself could have done it. Terry, p. 152.

distant ruler of Constantinople.¹ The Persian, who lived the nearer his own territory, was in his eyes the more important. Indeed, by the time of Jahangir's accession, Shah Abbas had won for himself boundless fear and respect in his own country and fame throughout the civilized world.² He had effectually put down rebellion in Persia and had brought that country to a state of order and safety which astonished European travellers.³ He had renewed the wars with Turkey and had already won back much of the lost territory. He was a personality not to be disregarded by the Indian Emperor. Nevertheless, the kingdom of Persia, strong and united as he had made it, was far inferior in wealth, splendor, and population to that of the Great Mogul. If Jahangir must consider with respect the military preparedness of Persia, Abbas, in his poorer country, could not afford to endanger the immense economic advantages which he derived from Indian trade. In character the two monarchs were so different as to make any sympathy or understanding out of the question. Abbas, the warrior, scorned the effeminate and luxury-loving Indian; while Jahangir, naturalist and patron of the arts, despised the roughness and ignorance of the Persian king. Outwardly they displayed great respect and affection for each other; but with all their protestations of friendship, Jahangir always tried to place the Persian at a disadvantage, and Abbas never forgot the sting of the loss of Kandahar. To more than one European observer the secret enmity between the monarchs was apparent.⁵

Diplomatic representation of each ruler at the court of the other was necessary. And besides the exchange of formal embassies, it was the custom, when a prominent merchant started off with a large caravan, to send by him a letter and

¹ *Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, Introd. p. XXIX. Jahangir's journal makes frequent mention of Persian ambassadors, but makes absolutely no direct allusion to the English ambassador.

² Della Valle and Cartwright both note that the most binding form of an oath for a Persian was to swear by the head of Shah Abbas. And if one man wished well to another, he would say: "May Shah Abbas give you your desires." Della Valle, *Viaggi*, v. 1, p. 445; Cartwright, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, v. 2, bk. 9, p. 1433.

³ Della Valle, *Viaggi*, v. 1, p. 447—448; Cartwright, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, v. 2, bk. 9, p. 1431.

⁴ Della Valle, *Viaggi*, v. 2, p. 405.

⁵ *Ibid.*, v. 2, p. 11.

a present to the sovereign of the country he was visiting.¹ Sometimes the merchants would be commissioned to buy some particular object for their masters. Again, the king would send out an agent to buy him curios and rarities, much as museums do now. Jahangir gives an amusing account, recorded below, of the return of one such messenger, who had been sent to Persia and Constantinople to bring back jewels and curiosities.

This agent had paid his respects to the Shah, to whom he had presented a letter from Jahangir. At the Shah's request, he had shown him a list of the things he was to buy for his sovereign. The Shah, seeing that on the list were entered good turquoise, and *mumiya* (bitumen) from the mines in Ispahan, said that these two things were not to be bought. He would send them as presents. He therefore sent six bags of turquoise earth and a little *mumiya*, as well as four horses, and he wrote a letter containing "many, many expressions of friendship," in which he made many apologies for the inferior quality of the turquoise and the small quantity of *mumiya*. The turquoise earth proved indeed to be poor, since not a single stone could be had from it worthy of setting in a ring.² The *mumiya*, which was in those days considered a wonderful remedy, proved equally disappointing. Jahangir writes:—

"With regard to the effect of the *mumiya* I had heard much from scientists, but when I tried it no result was apparent. I do not know whether physicians have exaggerated its effect or whether its efficacy had been lessened by its being stale. At any rate, I gave it to a fowl with a broken leg to drink, in larger quantity than they said and in the manner laid down by the physicians, and rubbed it on the place where it was broken, and kept it there for three days, though it was said to be sufficient to keep it from morning to evening. But after I had examined it, no effect was produced and the broken place remained as it was."³

¹ Jahangir mentions receiving and sending several such messages. See *Memoirs of Jahangir*, v. 1, p. 310; v. 2, pp. 2 and 24.

² When Jahangir's letter was presented to Abbas, the Persian king was at Meshed, near which are situated the famous turquoise mines of Nishapur. I believe that it would have been easy for the king to send good turquoise from these mines, had he wished to do so. The sending of a very polite letter and of inferior stones was quite consistent with the rest of Abbas's policy towards Jahangir.

³ *Memoirs of Jahangir*, v. 1, p. 238.

The first mention of the King of Persia in Jahangir's journal has to do with Kandahar. A Persian force under the chief of Seistan had attacked the city, with the aid of the Governor of Herat. Jahangir, when he heard of the attempt, sent out an army to defend the place. The attack, he naïvely relates, was made entirely without the knowledge of the King of Persia, who, when it came to his ears, despatched an envoy to the Persian leader commanding him to withdraw.

"What seeker of occasion and raiser of strife," stormed Abbas, "has come against Kandahar without my order! If they by chance should have taken the country into their own possession, they should hand it to the friends and servants of my brother Jahangir Pādshah and return to their own abodes."¹

The Persians obediently retreated, and the envoy went on to Jahangir's court to offer apologies from his master. "He explained that the ill-fated army which had attacked Kandahar had acted without the order of Shah Abbas. God forbid (he said) that any unpleasantness should remain in my (i. e. Jahangir's) mind."

It is a little difficult to explain this incident satisfactorily. The suggestion that Shah Abbas did not know of the expedition against Kandahar may be dismissed at once as most improbable. Perhaps he believed that the Governor of the city would be overawed by the sight of an army and would surrender without delay; in which case he may have thought that Jahangir would not consider the position worth fighting for, once it had passed out of his hands. Or, possibly, he had no intention at that time of taking the city, but merely wished to make a demonstration, in order to call the matter to Jahangir's notice. This would be a typically Persian manner of dealing with the affair. For a Persian, the indirect method is always the best method.³ Jahangir would understand this, and he can have had no illusions about the love borne him

¹ Ibid., v. 1, p. 112.

² Ibid., v. 1, p. 85.

³ If, for instance, a Persian wishes to sell you a piece of land, he does not approach the transaction in the crude, unimaginative way common in Western countries. He sends you word that your horse has trampled down his crops, or he removes the land-marks between his property and yours, or in some other such subtle way brings the matter to your attention.

by Shah Abbas. But he chose to accept the explanation as it was given, and if Abbas had expected him to present him with Kandahar, he was disappointed.

He showed his displeasure at Jahangir's neglect in this matter by refraining for some years from sending an ambassador to his court. Perhaps he thought that the Indian might after all give up Kandahar if he saw that Abbas's mind was really set on having it. At all events, it was not until 1611, six years after Akbar's death and Jahangir's accession, that an ambassador arrived with the Shah's condolences for the one and congratulations for the other. He brought "good horses, cloth stuffs, and every kind of fitting present," together with a letter in which the Shah apologized for not having offered his congratulations earlier, saying that because of his war with the Turks some delay had taken place in the "accomplishment of this important duty." The war with the Turks may have seemed to Jahangir an insufficient excuse for failing to despatch an envoy; but he accepted the letter with much apparent satisfaction and gave its bearer "a superb robe of honour and thirty thousand rupees."¹ He took his revenge for the tardiness of the ambassador's arrival by keeping him a long while at court. Two years later he mentions him as the recipient of a gold mohur on New Year's day.² That the ambassador did not willingly make this long stay, in spite of occasional gifts, may be inferred from a letter written by an agent of the East India Company, in September 1613, who says: "Jahangir keepeth here two of the Emperor of Persia's ambassadors³ and will neither dispeed them nor license their departure, whereupon is likely to be wars between them. The Emperor of Persia demands Sinda (sic) to be given him, which the king will not grant."⁴

The Mogul finally gave the necessary permission, however, and friendly relations were continued between the two countries by means of frequent missions.⁵

¹ *Memoirs of Jahangir*, v. 1, p. 193—196.

² *Ibid.* v. 1, p. 237.

³ Only one is mentioned in Jahangir's journal.

⁴ *Letters received by the East India Company from its servants in the East*, v. 1, p. 278. The writer would seem to refer to the question of Kandahar, not to Sind.

⁵ Neither monarch maintained permanent diplomatic representatives at foreign courts.

One of the Shah's ambassadors to India was the Englishman, Robert Sherley, who strangely spent thirty years of his life in the service of the Persian king. He came to Jahangir's court in 1614, on his return from a round of diplomatic visits to the Christian princes of Europe, and was well received and sent on his way with two elephants and eight antelopes as presents to the Shah.¹ Another ambassador came in 1615 bringing horses, camels, stuffs from Aleppo, and nine large European hunting dogs.² In the autumn of 1618 an important embassy came from Shah Abbas which was observed and described by Sir Thomas Roe. As it is interesting to compare this with an Indian embassy which arrived in Persia at about the same time and was described by Della Valle, I will examine both in detail.

On the day of the Persian's arrival, Sir Thomas wrote:—

"The Persian ambassador, Mahomett Reza Beag about noone came into the Towne with a great troupe which were partly sent out by the king to meete him with 100 Eliphantes and musique, but no man of greater qualetye then the ordinary receiver of strangers. His owne trayne were about fifty horse, well fitted in Coates of Gould, their bowes, quivers, and Targetes richly garnished, forty shott, and some two hundred ordinary Peons and attenders on bagage." On presentation at court, the Persian made many salaams and even prostrated himself before Jahangir, earning Roe's scorn for his servility. He "presented the Shabas his lettre; which the kinge took with a little motion of his body, asking only: How doth my brother? without title of Maiestie; and after some few woordes hee was Placed in the seuenth rannck, . . . which in my Iudgment was a most inferiour place for his master's Ambassador, but that hee well deserved it for dooing that reuerence which his Predecessores refused, to the dishonor of his Prince and the Murmer of many of his Nation. It is said hee had order from the Sophy to give content, and thereby it is gathered his message is for some ayde in mony agaynst the Turke, in which kind hee often findes liberall succour, though it bee pretended hee comes only to treat a peace for the Deccans, whose protection the Shabas taketh to hart, envying the

¹ *Letters received by the East India Company etc.*, v. 2, p. 99, and Coryat, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, v. 1, bk. 4, p. 593.

² *Memoirs of Jahangir*, v. 1, p. 282—283.

increase of this Empire. The King, according to Custome, gaue him a handsome turbant, a vest of gould, and a Girdle, for which agayne hee made three Teselims and one Sizeda or ground curtesye. Hee brought for Presentes three tymes nine horses of Persia and Arabia,¹ this beeing a Ceremonious number among them, nine mules very fayre and lardg, seven camells laden with veluett, two sutes of Europe Arras (which I suppose was Venetian hanginges of veluett with Gould, and not Arras), two chestes of Persian hanginges, on cabinett rich, 40 Muskettes, 5 Clockes, one Camell laden with Persian Cloth of Gould, 8 Carpettes of silke, 2 Rubyes ballast, 21 Cammelles of wyne of the Grape, 14 Cammelles of distilled sweet waters, 7 of rose waters, 7 daggers sett with stones, 5 swoordes sett with stones, 7 Venetian looking glasses, but these soe faire, soe rich that I was ashamed of the relation His owne furniture was rich, leading nine spare horses trapped in Gould and silver; about his Turbant was wreathed a chayne of Pearles, rubies and Turquesses, and three Pipes of gould answerable for three spriges of feathers."² In presenting his gifts, "hee appeared rather a Iester or Iugler then a person of any Grauity, running up and downe, and acting all his woordes like a mimick Player Hee deliuered the Presentes with his owne handes, which the king with smiles and Cheerfull Countenance and many woordes of Contentment receiued. His toong was a great aduantage to deliuer his owne business, which hee did with so much flattery and obsequiousness that it Pleased as much as his Guift: euer calling his Maiestie King and Commander of the world, forgetting his owne master had a share in yt; and on euery little occasion of good acceptance hee made his Tezelims. When all was deliuered for that day hee prostrated himselfe on the ground, and knocked with his head as if he would enter in."³

Mohammed Reza Beg continued at Jahangir's court for some six months, during which time he was favored with many

¹ Roe notes elsewhere: "The horses eyther had lost their flesh or bewty, for except one or two, I Iudged them vnfit for to be sent or taken by Princes. Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, p. 301.

² Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, p. 295-297.

³ Ibid. p. 300-301.

presents—20,000 rupees on one occasion,¹ an elephant on another²—and entertained most honorably and “in every way valued as befits his place.”³ In return for all this favor, he displayed a subservience and humility which continued to fill the English Ambassador with scorn. “I would sooner dye,” he writes, “then be subiect to the slaverye the Persian is content with.”⁴

Apparently, however, his business did not progress so well as the gifts showered upon him would lead one to expect; for, at last, believing it impossible to get satisfaction in his affairs, “hee suddenly tooke leave; and hauing given thirty faire horses at his departure, the King gave in recompence three thousand *Rupias*, which hee tooke in great scorn; whereupon the King prized all that the Ambassadors had given him at mean rates, and likewise all that the King had returned since his arriual, even to slaues, Drinke, Mellons, Pines, Plantanes, Hawkes, Plumes, the Eliphant and whatsoever at extremely high rates, and sending both Bills made it up in mony.”⁵ The balance, of course, appeared very much in favour of the King. The ambassador was so much upset by the slight put upon him that he made no farewell calls, but gave out that he was ill with fever, and so departed secretly.

Something more than a year later, Shah Abbas was staying in Kazvin when he received word that Khan Alam, ambassador of the Great Mogul had arrived in Teheran and hoped shortly to wait upon him. This embassy had been long and eagerly expected, for it had been several years making the journey from Lahore.⁶ The Shah, annoyed that the Indian had not shown greater zeal in hastening to come to him, refused to receive him at once, and ordered him to wait in Kum, while

¹ Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, p. 300—301. Jahangir gave the ambassador this present at a feast, and the next day made good his liberality by imposing heavy fines on all the nobles who had been present because they had drunk wine. Roe says that Jahangir had given them permission to drink, but had himself got so drunk that he quite forgot this fact.

² Ibid. p. 394.

³ *Letters received by the East India Company*, v. 4, p. 310.

⁴ Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, p. 350—351.

⁵ Ibid. p. 400.

⁶ In 1613 Jahangir wrote in his journal that he had summoned Khan Alam to his court with the attention of sending him to Persia. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, v. 1, p. 248.

he himself went to spend the hot months in the hills near Kazvin.¹

Kum is a warm place in which to spend the summer, and its holy shrine would not give to a Sunni the compensation of merit to be acquired by living in its shadow; but we can picture Khan Alam, with oriental acceptance of the inevitable, making himself very comfortable and spending long days seated on a rug in his garden, smoking, and drinking innumerable cups of coffee. He had at least the satisfaction of smoking at a time when that pleasant vice was forbidden to all others. Both Jahangir and Shah Abbas, "in consequence of the disturbance that tobacco brings about in most temperaments and constitutions" and "aware of the mischief arising from it," had forbidden smoking in their kingdoms.² To Khan Alam, arriving in Persia, the publication of the Shah's edict against tobacco was a blow. But a friend at court³ represented to the Shah that "Khan Alam could never be a moment without tobacco," and the Shah graciously wrote this couplet in answer:

"The friend's envoy wishes to exhibit tobacco.

With-fidelity's lamp I light up the tobacco market."

Whereupon Khan Alam wrote and sent the following:

"I, poor wretch, was miserable at the tobacco notice.

By the just Shah's favour the tobacco market became brisk."⁴

In November the Shah returned to Kazvin and allowed the ambassador to come to him there. This he did, with all his following of from one thousand to fifteen hundred persons.⁵ The Shah received him very graciously, and sat all the first night drinking with him,—they two alone in the balcony of a house in the public square, while the courtiers waited wearily below, some eating and drinking to pass the time, others stretching themselves out to sleep on the bare ground. "Not caring for this discomfort, I left promptly," says Della Valle.⁶

¹ Della Valle, *Viaggi*, v. 1, p. 736—737.

² Herbert, writing in 1628 says that 30 camel loads of tobacco which arrived from India were publicly burned, and the unfortunate muleteers who had brought it had their ears and noses cut off. He says that the Shah's regulations about tobacco were constantly changing, p. 119.

³ Yadgar Ali Khan, who had been ambassador to India.

⁴ *Memoirs of Jahangir*, v. 1, p. 370—371.

⁵ Della Valle, *Viaggi*, v. 1, p. 835.

⁶ *Ibid.* v. 1, p. 830.

The ceremony of the presentation of gifts was impressive. An ambassador from Russia had just arrived with gifts from the Czar, and the Shah saw an excellent opportunity to display to the ambassador of each country his importance in the eyes of the other. The chief square of the town was prepared for the spectacle. Soon after noon, on one of those brilliant autumn days which go far in Persia to redeem the discomforts of the rest of the year, the gifts were brought in: first those from the Indian Emperor, which were placed in line along one side of the *meidan*; then those from the Russian king, placed opposite. The Russian ambassadors (two, in accordance with the custom of their country) followed, and dismounted to await the king. When all was in orderly array, the Shah and Khan Alam rode in side by side,¹ followed by a troop of the great men of the court, clothed in silk and brocade, wearing jewels in their turbans; (but the king was clothed simply, as usual, in cloth). They too dismounted, and the Muscovites came forward to present their letter. When the King had received it, with the accustomed words of welcome, he and the ambassadors went to a balcony overlooking the square to review the procession of gifts. First passing the King, the procession filed all around the square and then passed out. When we read the list of gifts brought from India, we cease to wonder that the journey from Lahore took several years to accomplish. With the menagerie which Khan Alam had to conduct, with the thousand followers whom he had to take care of, it is wonderful that he was able to make the journey and present all in order before the King. Della Valle, stationed at one end of the *meidan*, watched the parade and gives a very detailed description of the gifts, which I have abbreviated in the following account:—

“Twenty-nine camels, with loads of I know not what, but I imagine of fine cloths of Indian workmanship; a large and beautiful tent, with gilt poles, carried in many sections by many men; I know not how many jewelled swords and other arms; more than twenty cases (*bacili*) full of turbans, five or six turbans in each case; a great tooth of an animal, which must be the tooth of either an elephant or of a fish. Other

¹ Note that the Indian ambassador was not required to follow behind the Shah, as were the courtiers.

trifles (*bagatelle*) there were which I did not see well. After them, six Indian chariots, each of them with only two wheels, between which the chariot stands, small without seats, with a flat floor, for sitting as on the ground. And these chariots they sit in, leaning back on certain big round cushions which there are at the head, and at the foot too when necessary. All the chariots were covered with silk and gold, and to the pole of each were yoked two white, glistening (*pulitissimi*) bullocks, decked with cloths. After the chariots came a quantity of strange animals, namely:—two *chierghieden*, which I believe to be rhinoceroses, for I was told that they fight with elephants, and on the end of their noses were the marks where the horns will grow (which these, being young, have not yet got); an animal like a buffalo, with horns very large and strange; deer and strange stags of many sorts; wild asses of a fair color; a wild goat with three legs, two of which were in front in their place, and one behind. There were, finally, eight or ten elephants, two or three of the finest of them bearing turrets or palanquins, with men inside, which turrets were covered with silk and gold.”¹

By way of contrast, the Russians had brought sable pelts, a quantity of small pieces of ivory, lanterns, and, especially, a very large quantity of Russian brandy.² Della Valle thought the presentation of so much brandy a very tactless proceeding, for the Russians in giving this, treated the Shah as a very hard drinker. And “it is natural,” says he, “that everyone dislikes to be reproved for his real faults.”³ The Shah seems to have taken the same view of the matter for he kept only a very little of the brandy and returned the rest to the Russians, saying that he knew they were accustomed to drink it constantly. And when he left Kazvin for Ferhabad, shortly after, he took with him the Indian ambassador, but commanded the others to remain behind.⁴

The following June (1619) the King returned to his capital Ispahan, and arranged for a state entry of the ambassadors

¹ For this description of the gifts, see Della Valle, *Viaggi*, v. 1, p. 833—835.

² “Non so quanti camelli carichi di barili pieni pur di acqua vita”—Della Valle, *Viaggi*, v. 1, p. 836.

³ *Ibid.* v. 1, p. 837.

⁴ *Ibid.* v. 1, p. 835.

of India, Russia, and Turkey (the last named having arrived in the meantime). On the day before the ceremony, they all halted with their retinues at Dowlatabad, a village twelve miles outside the city. The next morning they found the road from that place to the capital lined on both sides with sixty thousand men armed with arquebuses, all in strange and brilliant garb. Some played on fifes and castanets, others danced to the music. The Indian ambassador had heard that the Shah would come to Dowlatabad to meet him, and for a long time he refused to start toward the city. He sent messenger after messenger out on the road to see if the king was coming, but at last he was forced to mount and follow the other ambassadors, who, less exacting, had already gone on. While the Russian and Turk rode very simply in the procession, Khan Alam displayed great magnificence and pomp. Following him were ox-chariots like those he had brought for the king, camel litters, great trumpets, huge cymbals, drums so immense that an elephant was required to carry each pair. His retinue stretched out so long that evening had fallen before its last member reached the city gates.

The scene must have been both picturesque and gay. The foreigners in their native dress, riding through the ever-moving lines of armed men, saw and heard nothing but the dancing and music. As they neared the city and the crowds grew larger, the noise of continual applause increased and they heard the shouts of the populace: "Dowlet-i-Shah Abbas ziadé bashad!"—"May the prosperity of Shah Abbas increase!"

The ambassadors were met outside the city by representatives of the different races living in Ispahan. First the Jews, chanting orisons, who carried a volume of the Law, and lighted candles;¹ then the Zoroastrians, also on foot, with many of their women, who danced as they went. The Christians of Julfa were given an honorable place among the arquebusiers. And lastly, as the customary mark of honor to a great ambassador, came a troop of about twenty of the most famous courtesans of the city, their faces uncovered, all in rank on horseback.

The King himself, allowing the other ambassadors to enter

¹ Della Valle says that they carried "something wrapped up" which he believed to be the Law. *Viaggi*, v. 2, p. 17.

the city first, came out by a side gate to meet Khan Alam just before the town. They had a collation together near the gate, and then rode on to the palace, where the others had been awaiting them for an hour and a half. The King felt proud of his sixty thousand arquebusiers, who were not soldiers of the regular army, but artisans and peasants armed for the occasion. But the Indian showed himself so little impressed with their number that he begged to be allowed to give each one a *toman*, to recompense them for the loss of their time.¹ Somewhat offended by this ostentation of liberality, the Shah refused.

That evening there were illuminations in the great square and a grand feast, at which Khan Alam had the place of honor at the King's right. Della Valle, watching him and the King together, felt that the Indian could not have been entirely pleased with the attentions shown him. The King treated him very familiarly, he says, "giving him an infinity of hard slaps on the back, which, since he was fat and wore in the manner of his country only a simple and very thin white robe, doubtless hurt him very much. Again, drawing him close to speak in his ear, the Shah took hold of both his ears and pulled them violently; at other times, laughing, he called him '*Pir ghidi!*—'old cuckold'—(for his hair was already becoming gray). In fine, he continually gave him such caresses, with the outward appearance of great familiarity, but really, inwardly, out of contempt and to make fun of him. Which perhaps the King did to repay him for his haughtiness and the scorn which he always displays for everything belonging to His Majesty."²

The next evening, when the Indian ambassador was summoned to see again the illuminations in the great square, at which the sixty thousand arquebusiers were to appear once more, he sent back a message that to have seen them once was enough, and that it was a pity to keep these poor men longer from their ordinary labors. This he did, says Della Valle, "to show that his eyes were satiated by the greater splendors of his own monarch. And above all, he gave the King to understand, in every way possible, that he thought nothing of the sixty

¹ A *toman* was worth at this time something over three pounds sterling.

² Della Valle, *Viaggi*, v. 2, p. 26—27.

thousand arquebusiers, since they were not soldiers, but all artisans of the city and peasants from the villages. The Shah, on the other hand, brought before him so great a number of armed men, not one of them a soldier of the regular army, the better to display his power, and to demonstrate that such was his country and his strength that even if some disaster were to occur, or his army to be entirely discomfited, in any case the city of Ispahan alone with its villages would be able to furnish sixty thousand men skilled in arms The Indian always pretended to esteem lightly everything of the King's, and the King, in exchange, always jokingly, lost no occasion to wound him; and although the favors he showed him were apparently great, there was really no good feeling between them either on one side or the other."¹

Della Valle did not learn what the purpose of the Indian embassy was. Shah Abbas's purpose, however, was known to all. One day, speaking to the Spanish ambassador, he pointed to Khan Alam and said:—

"Do you see the Indian ambassador who stands there? If his King, Shah Selim, does not give me back Kandahar, he will see what I shall do!" And he added that since God had taken him under his protection and had given might to his sword, he (Shah Abbas) did not intend to give up a single hair of his head, much less cities and territories, to any prince in the world!²

In August, 1619, Khan Alam took his leave of the Persian court. The Shah, because he knew that the Indian had been making secret arrangements to carry back many recruits for the armies of the Mogul, issued a public *firman*, prohibiting all Persians from going with him.³ It is not known what private instructions he gave to the ambassador, but Della Valle believed that the King, who had made frequent mention of the question of Kandahar, must have renewed his urgent

¹ For Della Valle's account of the entry and reception of the ambassadors, and of Khan Alam's treatment by the King, see his *Viaggi*, v. 2, p. 14—30.

² Della Valle, *Viaggi*, v. 2, p. 34—35.

³ It seems likely that the hiring of recruits was one of the chief objects of the Indian mission. If so, the great magnificence of the ambassador's retinue and his splendid gifts would have the double purpose of conciliating the Shah, and of showing possible recruits how rich and mighty a monarch they were asked to serve.

demands for the return of that fortress to Persian dominion. At any rate, the Indian ambassador departed little satisfied with the result of his mission, and there did not lack those who prophesied a war in the near future between India and Persia.¹

War there was not, however, nor any appearance of it for two years. Khan Alam returned to his royal master bearing rich gifts from Persia, and told him of the remarkable affection and favor which had been shown him by the Persian King. So great an impression did his report make on Jahangir that the latter wrote in his journal: "Of the favours and kindnesses conferred by my brother (Abbas) on Khan Alam, if I were to write of them in detail I would be accused of exaggeration."² The painter of renown whom Jahangir had sent with the embassy to Persia had brought back portraits of the Shah and of the chief men of Persia which were pronounced excellent likenesses by all the Persians at court. With Khan Alam had returned Zambil Beg as ambassador of the Shah, whose letter and gifts were graciously received.³

The journal does not mention that either the Persian or the Indian ambassador made any reference to Kandahar. Zambil Beg continued at court in apparent favor, receiving gifts on the feast days.⁴ Missions were evidently sent to Persia, for Jahangir mentions at different times the despatch of a zebra as a rarity for his "brother," and some "golden birds," which the Shah had desired.⁵

Shah Abbas, in the meanwhile, finding that no move was made by Jahangir towards the surrender—or the "return," as he preferred to call it—of Kandahar, grew tired of waiting. He started from Ispahan with a large force and marched towards the Afghan frontier.⁶ On the way his troops were increased by reinforcements from Khorassan,⁷ so that it was a formidable army which stood before the gates of Kandahar in the early Spring of 1622.⁸

¹ Della Valle, *Viaggi*, v. 2, p. 41—42.

² *Memoirs of Jahangir*, v. 2, p. 115.

³ *Ibid.* v. 2, p. 115—117.

⁴ *Ibid.* v. 2, p. 198, 201, 211.

⁵ *Ibid.* v. 2, p. 211, 221.

⁶ Della Valle, *Viaggi*, v. 2, p. 380.

⁷ *Memoirs of Jahangir*, v. 2, p. 233.

⁸ Della Valle, *Viaggi*, v. 2, p. 404.

A report of the expedition which was brought to Jahangir at Rawalpindi he professed to find incredible. He wrote that "it appeared very unlikely and beyond all calculations that such a great king should entertain such light and crude ideas," but at the same time he set about to prepare "a victorious host" with "elephants of mountainous hugeness," so that the King of Persia might "discover the result of breaking faith and of wrong-doing."¹

The mobilization of an army to serve in Afghanistan would be difficult at any time. On this occasion it was not nearly completed when definite information arrived of the siege and capture of Kandahar.² The capture seems not to have been a difficult matter. The fortress was defended by only a small force, which soon saw the inadvisability of holding out against the Persian troops. The city was evacuated and the army of the Shah marched in. Thereupon, the Shah advertised his capture of Kandahar as a signal victory. He sent a circular letter throughout Persia, to be read aloud in all the chief cities, to the accompaniment of music, in which the prowess of the army was lauded, and it was claimed that they had taken not only Kandahar but many other fortresses as well. "They counted," says Della Valle, "each turret and bastion of the walls as a separate fortress." Popular rumor had it that *Dellala Chizi*, a favorite dancing girl of the Shah, had taken the city in person at the head of a band of camp women; and this, Della Valle thought, was probably true. Since the city was empty, force was not needed for its occupation, and the Shah doubtless sent the women in ahead of the troops so that he might boast that even the women who rode with his army were stronger than the soldiers of the Great Mogul.³

It is hardly necessary to say that no reference to the women appears in Jahangir's journal. The King speaks of the immense number of the attacking force and of the few defenders of the place, and tells in detail of the preparations being made to send out an army which would be so furnished with

¹ *Memoirs of Jahangir*, v. 2, p. 230—231.

² Jahangir mentions the siege, but does not actually admit in so many words that the city had been captured. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, v. 2, p. 233.

³ Della Valle, *Viaggi*, v. 2, p. 403—405.

numbers and arms that there would be "no delay or hesitation until it reached Ispahan!"¹

But the Shah did not wish to have an Indian army invade his provinces. Having finally got Kandahar into his possession, he had no reason to fight with the Indian King; and he set his astute oriental mind to prepare an explanation of the incident which should prove that there was no cause whatever for unfriendly feeling between him and Jahangir. The resulting letter and its reply form a curious and interesting episode in diplomatic history.²

The Shah, in his letter, after many compliments and good wishes for "his brother dear as life," refers to the fact that Kandahar had formerly been the property of his family. He had expected that Jahangir would voluntarily turn over the city to him, and, when he failed to do so, had thought that perhaps "that petty country" was regarded as unworthy of the Indian emperor's notice; and had therefore repeatedly brought the matter to Jahangir's attention. Finally he decided to make a visit to the place and hunt there, so that the agents of his distinguished brother might entertain him. He therefore set off, without apparatus for taking forts, and sent word of his coming to the Governor of Kandahar. Unfortunately, the Governor showed "obstinacy and a rebellious spirit," so that the Shah was compelled to invest and take the fort. Because, however, of the "ties of love" between himself and Jahangir, he spared the garrison. At this point in the letter, Abbas's feelings of affection could find no outlet but poetry, and he wrote:—

"Between you and me there cannot be trouble,
There can be nought but love and trust."

Begging Jahangir to consider all his (Abbas's) dominions as his own, and to extend his friendship to everyone in Persia, he closed with a request that he should proclaim that Kandahar had been given to the ruler of Persia with no objection whatever, and that it was all a matter of no importance.

Jahangir, in his reply to the "loving letter," regretted that the "glorious Shah, the star of heaven's army, the fruitful

¹ *Memoirs of Jahangir*, v. 2, p. 234.

² For a translation of the two letters, see *Memoirs of Jahangir* v. 2, p. 240—245.

tree of the gardens of sovereignty, the splendid nursling of the parterres of prophecy and saintship" should have disturbed the "rose-garden of love and friendship." He said that there should be no need of physical contact between princes, still less of visiting one another's countries for hunting and sight-seeing. He lamented (in verse):—

"Alas a hundred times for the love passing thought."

He said that until the arrival of Zambil Beg (who had returned with Khan Alam), no mention had ever been made by the Shah of any wish for Kandahar. Zambil mentioned it only verbally, and Jahangir had replied that he made no difficulty about anything his brother wished. Zambil had not yet returned to his own country when news came that Shah Abbas had taken Kandahar. Jahangir was astonished. What could there be in a petty village that the Shah should care to possess it? The relation of brotherhood between them still stood firm, and Jahangir did not value the world in comparison therewith. But when Shah Abbas took such steps, to whom would mankind ascribe the merit of keeping contracts and preserving the capital of humanity and liberality?

Jahangir sent off this affectionate, if somewhat reproachful, letter, and immediately devoted all his energies to urging on a force to attack his "brother" Shah Abbas, in Kandahar. Unfortunately for his warlike intentions, just at this time news was brought of the first insurrection of his son Khurram, on whom he had counted to lead the expedition into Afghanistan. A pathetic entry in his journal contains his last reference to his difficulties with the Shah:—

"That which weighs heavily on my heart, and places my eager temperament in sorrow is this, that at such a time, when my prosperous sons and loyal officers should be vying with each other in the service against Kandahar and Khorassan, which would be to the renown of the sultanate, this inauspicious one (Khurram) has struck with an axe the foot of his own dominion and become a stumbling-block in the path of the enterprise. The momentous affair of Kandahar must now be postponed."¹

The affair of Kandahar was indeed postponed. The Shah could safely return to his capital to celebrate his victories

¹ *Memoirs of Jahangir*, v. 2, p. 248.

Jahangir spent the remainder of his reign struggling against his rebellious sons. Abbas continued correspondence with the Deccan kings, supporting them in their opposition to the Mogul;¹ but we hear no more of intercourse between Shah Abbas and Jahangir.

¹ *The Travels of Pietro Della Valle in India*, Hak. Soc. 1892, p. 152.

Lexicographical and Grammatical Notes on the Svapnavāsavadatta of Bhāsa.—By Dr. CHARLES J. OGDEN,
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The following notes on the language of the *Svapnavāsavadatta* contain the gleanings in the fields of lexicography and grammar obtained in a preliminary reading of this play in preparation for a more thorough study of the recently discovered works of Bhāsa. Included are: (1) all words or significations (marked °) not contained in either the smaller or the larger St. Petersburg lexicons (cited as pw. and PW. respectively); (2) all words or significations (marked *) cited only from Sanskrit lexicographers; (3) a few other words or meanings worthy of notice. Words occurring in the Prākṛit portions of the text have been included when the Sanskrit form can be inferred with certainty, since the difference between the Śāurasenī Prākṛit and the Sanskrit in the dialogue of the Indian drama is in the main phonetic and not lexical. A few grammatical peculiarities of the Sanskrit text only have been noted in conclusion, as the more or less corrupt state of the Prākṛit passages requires further and closer examination. References are to the pages and lines of the edition of the play in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. XV (ed. Gaṇapati Śāstrī, Trivandrum, 1912).

°*akalyavarta* [Pkt. *akallavatta*] (29, 12): 'without breakfast'. Cf. *kalyavarta*, which is cited, in the sense of 'breakfast', from lexicographers only.

°*akṣetravant* (10, 9): 'uncultivated'. Cf., however, 2. *akṣetra*, and Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, II, 1, § 53b.

°*adākṣinya* [Pkt. *adakkhiṇṇa*, v. l. *adidakkhiṇṇa*] (41, 15): 'impolite', 'inconsiderate'. Cf. *adākṣinya*, 'incivility', in Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, new ed.

adhikaraṇa (74, 10): 'witness to a legal transaction' (collective). Cf. the meaning 'court of justice', cited from *Mṛcchakatikā* and *Kādambarī*.

anahanikāra [Pkt. *aṇahanikāra*] (43, 3): 'without conceit'. Only as substantive in pw., *Schluss der Nachträge*.

**anirjñāta* [v. l. *avirjñāta*] (3, 1): 'unrecognized'. For *jñā + nis*, PW. and pw. cite Vedic examples only. Cf., below, *dhū + ava*, occurring in the same passage.

**abhilāṣitva* (5, 5): 'desirousness'.

**avidhavākaraṇa* [Pkt. *avihavākaraṇa*] (27, 3): 'not-widow-making', name of an herb used in the bridal wreath. Cf. *sapatnīmardana*, below.

**ādeśika* (5, 2; 76, 14): 'soothsayer'. Cf. *ādeśin* 2., 'astrologer', cited only in PW. from Hemacandra, *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, 482.

**ālambaka* [Pkt. *ālambaa*] (31, 13): 'string' (of pearls).

**āsavadattā* (1, 7): 'intoxicated woman'. Regarding the formation of the compound, cf. Wackernagel, *Aind. Gr.*, II, 1, § 116a.

**ujjayinīya* [Pkt. *ujjajñīya*] (20, 4; 21, 8; 72, 11): 'of Ujjain'.

**rjvāyata* (36, 9; 52, 12): 'stretched straight'.

**kākodara* [Pkt. *kāo(d)ara*] (52, 10; 53, 1): 'snake'. Also in *Harṣacarita*, p. 125, 2 (Bombay ed., 1892).

**grāmikṛ* [*grāmīkaroti*] (2, 12): 'to make vulgar', 'to profane'.

ghātay + abhi [*abhighātayitum*] (60, 8): 'to smite'. Only the past participle *abhighātita* is cited in PW. and pw.

**jūs* [*jūṣitam*, but v. l. *dūṣitam*] (71, 3): 'to injure'. Cited only from *Dhātupāṭha*.

dārūparvata(ka) [Pkt. *dārūpavvadaa*] (36, 5): name of a pavilion, adorned with frescoes, in the palace gardens. Cited only from *Veṇṣasāmhāra*.

dhar [*dhārayatu*, and Pkt. *dhāredu*] (69, 5; 44, 3): 'to bear up', 'to endure' (intransitive).

dhū + ava [*avadhūyante*] (3, 1): 'to drive away'. According to PW., only the gerund and the past participle are found in classical Sanskrit. Cf., however, *dhū + vyava*. Can this passage, *evam anirjñātāni dāivatāny avadhūyante*, be a Vedic reminiscence?

pad + abhyava [*abhyavapattukāma*] (12, 4): 'to rescue'. Cited only in pw., *letzte Nachträge*, from *Rāmāyaṇa* (Bombay ed.).

paryavasthāna [Pkt. *payyavatthāna*, v. l. *payyavatthāvaṇa*] (22, 10): 'cheerfulness', 'encouragement'. Cf. *sthā + paryava*.

**purobhāgitā* [Pkt. *purobhāḍā*, omitted in one Ms.] (40, 15): 'importunateness'. Cf. *purobhāgin*.

prṣṭham [v. l. *dhṛṣṭam*] (2, 2): 'backwards' (adverb).

prāvaraka [Pkt. *pāvaraa*] (55, 8): 'cloak'. Cf. *prāvāraka*.

proṣitabhartṛkū (7, 14): 'woman whose husband is on a journey'. Generally used as a technical designation of a kind of heroine; cf. PW., s. v., and *Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra*, 22, 205 (ed. Śivadatta and Parab, Bombay, 1894).

**maṇibhūmi* [Pkt.] (25, 11): 'floor inlaid with precious stones', 'mosaic'.

yoga (64, 16): 'stringing', 'tuning' (of a lute), in the compound *navayoga*, 're-strung'.

**lī + parinī* [Pkt. *parinīlīna*] (38, 6): 'clung to'.

vātaṣonita [Pkt. *vādaṣonida*] (29, 9): 'rheumatism', 'gout'. Cited only from medical works.

**vyapāśrayaṇā* [v. l. *vyapaśrayaṇā*] (8, 3): 'confidence', 'reliance'. Cf. 1. *vyapāśraya*.

**śiropadhāna* (53, 7): 'head-cushion', 'pillow'. For *śira-* instead of *śiraḥ-* as first element of a compound, cf. Wackernagel, *Aind. Gr.*, I, § 268, or II, 1, § 26 b.

**śīrṣābhighāta* (53, 7): 'headache'.

**sadākṣīṇya* [Pkt. *sadakkhiṇṇa*] (42, 1, &c.): 'polite', 'considerate'. Cf. *adākṣīṇya*, above.

**sapatnīmardana* [Pkt. *savattimaddana*] (27, 6): 'co-wife-destroying', name of an herb used in the bridal wreath. Cf. *avidhavākarana*, above.

**samudragṛha(ka)* [Pkt. *samuddagihaka*] (49, 3, &c.): 'bathroom with shower'.

**samudvahana* (64, 8): 'raising'. Cf. *samudvaha* in Monier-Williams, *Skt.-Engl. Dict.*, new ed.

**saviśrama* (14, 12): 'relaxed'.

sākṣimant (74, 9): 'before witnesses'. Cited only from *Yājñavalkya*, 2, 94.

**sāśrupāta* (46, 11; and Pkt. *sassupāda*, 45, 12): 'wet with tears'.

sthāpanā (2, 4): 'induction' (of a drama). The *sthāpaka*, 'assistant in the *sūtradhāra*', appears in the induction of the *Karpūramañjarī* (cf. Konow's comment in the edition by Konow and Lanman, p. 196, Cambridge, Mass., 1901), and is mentioned in the *Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra*, 5, 150—156 (ed. Śivadatta and Parab), and in the *Daśarūpa*, 3, 2 (ed. and tr. Haas, New York, 1912). Cf. also Lévi, *Théâtre Indien*, I, pp. 135, 379; II, p. 66.

svatā (5, 5; 68, 14): 'loyalty', 'devotion' (construed with locative).

The following nominal forms are also worthy of mention.

adeśakāla [*katham adeśakālo nāma*] (62, 10): 'wrong place and time', a masculine singular dvandva, also in Prākṛit in the preceding line, and cf. Pkt. *Govālaa-Vālaa* (69, 15): 'Gopālaka and Pālaka'. Cf. Wackernagel, *Aind. Gr.*, II, 1, § 70.

pārṣṇī [nom. *pārṣṇī*] (60, 12): 'rear of an army', rarer form of *pārṣṇi*.

yudh [*mahārṇavābhe yudhi*] (61, 4): 'battle', masculine!

In verbal forms the confusion of voices is a noticeable peculiarity. Thus we have the active used for the middle in *āprechāmi* (15, 10): 'I bid farewell'; *utkaṇṭhiṣyati* (16, 3): 'she will desire'; *samarthayāmi* (51, 14): 'I regard'. On the other hand, the middle occurs where the active would be normal in *kathayiṣye* (43, 7): 'I will tell'; and in *śliṣyate* (4, 9): 'it adheres' (perhaps passive). An anomalous middle form *dharate* (58, 13): 'she lives', is found instead of the usual passive *dhriyate* (cf. also Pkt. *dharaṭi*, -13, 6); and a passive *ruhyate* (69, 10): 'it grows', seems to have been formed on the analogy of *chidyate* immediately preceding in the same stanza.

On the Etymology and Meaning of the Sanskrit Root Varj.—By MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, Professor in Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

There is scarcely an article in the Sanskrit Lexicons which has been treated more variously than the root *varj*. It has a number of different aspects; among others it frequently occurs in connection with *barhis* (*vr̥ktā-barhis*); for such connection the Pet. Lexs. assume the meaning, 'abdrehen, aus-raufen'. Roth seems to me to have been inspired here by the Nighaṇṭu 2. 19 where *vr̥nakti* (followed by *vr̥ccati* and *kṛntati*) is counted as one of the thirty *vadhakarmāṇaḥ*. There are a few cases in the Veda in which grammatical forms of *varj* and *vraçc* coincide;¹ this probably accounts for the Nighaṇṭu's grotesque statement. Sāyaṇa at RV. 6. 11. 5, of course, takes up the Nighaṇṭu's idea (*vr̥jiç chedanārthaḥ, chid-yate*). This rendering ('trim') appears also in Müller's and Oldenberg's translations in SBE. xxxii. 84, 109; xlv. 155. Monier William's second edition follows the Pet. Lexs. under *varj*, but has, in sheer inconsistency, weaned itself from this translation in *vr̥ktā-barhis*, to wit, 'one who has gathered and

¹ Weak forms of the root *vraçc*, i. e. *vr̥çc*, lose their sibilant when followed by inflectional elements beginning with a consonant (t or s). See Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, I, p. 270, and from an hermeneutic point of view Ludwig, *Der Rig-Veda*, vol. iv, p. 249 ff.; Oldenberg *RV. Noten* to 1. 27. 13; 10. 87. 2. Resulting sound groups *vr̥kt-* and *vr̥kṣ-* are formally derivable from either *vraçc* or *varj*. Thus the forms *vr̥ktvī* in 10. 87. 2 (Sāyaṇa, *chittvā*) and *ā vr̥kṣi* in 1. 27. 13 (Sāyaṇa, *ovraçcū chedane*), both from *vraçc*, resemble forms from *varj*. They happen at the same time to coincide pretty closely respectively with *varj* in the sense of 'put down' (6. 18. 8; 26. 3) and *ā varj* in the sense of 'appropriate' (1. 31. 1). This is in all probability the fountain-head of the confusion between and the juxtaposition of *varj* and *vraçc* in the Nighaṇṭu and subsequent comments. Occasionally it does not seem possible to decide which root is in action. Thus in RV. 10. 153. 5, *āvr̥kṣam anyāsān vārcaḥ*; see Oldenberg, *RV. Notes*, whose indecision is entirely justified (cf. also AV. 1. 14. 1^a).

spread the sacrificial grass'. Grassmann, in his *Lexicon*, translates *vr̥j* 1), which involves *barhís*, by 'die heilige Streu umwenden, umlegen', contrasting this action with the more frequent one of spreading the *barhís*. But what warrant he has found for this unheard of trait in manipulating the *barhís* he does not tell. I am, for my part, totally unacquainted with the act of 'turning the *barhís*'.¹ Moreover the same lexicographer renders *vr̥ktá-barhis* by, 'der die opferstreu bereitet'.

The *Rig-Veda* translators do not follow the *Lexicons* at all, but introduce new notes into the interpretation of root *varj*. To illustrate we may start from a pair of parallel passages which require consistent treatment of the root. The translations will show even better how unstable is our information on this subject. In *RV.* 6. 11. 5^{ab} we have:

vr̥ñjé ha yán námasā barhír agnāu áyāmi srúg ghṛtāvati suvr̥ktīḥ. Grassmann translates this, 'da Streu dem Agni demuthsvoll geschmückt ist, gereicht der reine buttermolle Löffel'. He assumes here the meaning 'adorn' both for *vr̥ñje* and *vr̥kti* in *suvr̥ktī*. The parallel *RV.* 1. 2. 4^{ab} reads:

saparyávo bháramāṇā abhiñnú² prá vr̥ñjate námasā barhír agnāu. This he renders, 'die Andachtsvollen schmücken Streu dem Agni voll Ehrfurcht aus, sie bis ans Knie errichtend'.

Ludwig (377) renders 6. 11. 5^{ab}, 'wenn mit anbetung geschnitten wird (*Sāyana*), das *barhis* [am feuer], dem Agni dargereicht ward der *ghṛtavolle*, ser schöne³ löffel'. But he translates (778) *RV.* 7. 2. 4^{ab}, 'die dienstbereiten werfen ganz nah es bringend mit anbetung das *barhis* beim feuer nider'. Surely from 'ornament', to 'cut', to 'throw down' is a far cry. The two passages just mentioned contain a double association, namely with *barhís* and *námas*. Both may be followed some distance. *RV.* 1. 116. 1^{ab}:

násatyābhyāṁ barhír iva prá vr̥ñje stómān iyarmi abhriyeva vātaḥ. Grassmann, 'den Treuen treib ich wie der Wind die Wolken die Lieder zu und schmück wie eine Streu sie'. We observe that Grassmann (*pace* his own rendering of *vr̥ktá-*

¹ See, e. g., how the *barhís* is treated in the selections from the ritual practices collected by Geldner, *Ved. Stud.* 1. 153.

² *Yasna* 57. 6, *yo paoiryo barəsma frastarəta . . . ākhšnus ca maiḍyoi-paitištāṇaḥ ca*. The *barəsman* is here strewn knee-high just as in the *Veda*.

³ He thus separates wholly *vr̥ñje* and *suvr̥ktīḥ*.

barhis) holds to 'adorn' consistently. Ludwig (27) abandons his position of 6. 11. 5; 7. 2. 4, and turns to a new translation for *prá vṛñje*, namely 'prepare'. This raises to the number six the renderings for the verb, namely 'pluck', 'gather and spread', 'ornament', 'cut', 'throw', and 'prepare'. To wit, 'wie ein barhis richte ich her den Nāsatya lieder, treibe [sie empor] wie regenwolken der wind'. We may ask parenthetically, what else than 'prepare' can by any stretch of the imagination be the *tertium comparationis* between song and barhis? Perhaps 'adorn'; but this is impossible for varj; Grassmann himself, the author of this supposition, has entirely abandoned it in his Lexicon.

We have next, RV. 7. 39. 2, *prá vāvṛje suprayá barhír eṣām*. Grassmann, 'der Götter Streu hat schön geschmückt der Ordner'.¹ Ludwig, 'gesondert angewiesen ist [ihnen] das barhis diser [opfernden] mit treflicher Prayāj'. We have now: 'pluck', 'gather and spread', 'ornament', 'cut', 'throw', 'prepare', and 'assign' for combined varj and pra varj — a grand total of seven interpretations. To this we may add yet one more, namely Whitney's rendering of *barhiḥ . . . vṛjyate* at AV. 5. 12. 4 (= RV. 10. 110. 4) by 'the barhis is wreathed'. The association of varj with barhis can be seen in several other passages, and we need not follow their renderings any further: RV. 1. 83. 6, *barhír vā yāt svapatyāya vṛjyāte*; RV. 1. 134. 6, *ató vihútmātinām viçām vavarjūṣīnām* (where barhis is certainly to be supplied with *vavarjūṣīnām*, to wit, 'the people who have prepared the barhis');² RV. 10. 10. 4, *prācīnām barhiḥ pradīçā prthivyā vāstor asyā vṛjyate āgre áhnām*; MS. 4. 13. 8 : 209, 9; KS. 19. 13; TB. 3. 6. 13. 1 *barhiḥ . . . vāstor vṛjyeta*. Then comes the standardized bahuvrīhi compound *vṛktá-barhis* which most interpreters, with fine disregard of their own renderings of finite forms of varj in connection with barhis, translate by,

¹ Both here and in his Lexicon he takes *suprayás* as coming from root *yā* 'go'. Clearly, stem *su-prayás* 'preparing savory feasts'. Cf. *dádhati práyāṁsi . . . vṛktábarhiṣaḥ* in 10. 91. 9, and *vṛktábarhiṣo hitáprayasaḥ* in 8. 27. 7; 69. 17.

² AV. 7. 50. 2 has the curious formula *viçām ávarjūṣīnām* which is surely a corrupt echo of the RV. The *Pāippalāda* reads instead *devayatīm* (for *devayatām*) which is excellent support of our rendering of *vavarjūṣīnām*. So also Oldenberg, *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1890 (nr. 10), p. 414; Foy, KZ. xxxiv, p. 243.

'he who has prepared the barhís', or, 'he for whom the barhís has been prepared'.

The root varj meets again both barhís and námas in RV. 10. 131. 2^{cd}:

ihéhāṣāṃ kṛnuhi bhójanāni yé barhiṣo námovṛktim ná jag-múḥ. We translate, 'bring hither, aye hither, the food of them that did not come to the pious barhis act!' All at once we find the translators here in a most simple and correct mood with reference to barhiṣo námovṛktim. E. g. Ludwig (652), 'bring hieher die narungsmittel derer, die zu des barhis anbetungsvoller zurüstung nicht gekommen'. Grassmann, similarly. The Pet. Lex., however, explains námovṛkti by, 'die zu Ehren (der Götter) vollzogene Reinigung der Barhis', which, once more, obscures the true meaning of ṛkti, and does not tally with its own renderings of the finite verb.

The word námovṛkti in connection with barhís is pivotal for the interpretation of root varj in 6. 11. 5; 7. 2. 4: vṛñjé námasā barhír agnáu, and prá vṛñjate námasā barhír agnáu, 'prepare the barhís reverently at the (building of) the fire'. The Pet. Lex. quotes 6. 11. 5 under varj 2) 'abdrehen, ausraufen (das Gras zur Streu am Altar)', whereas, as we have just seen, it renders ṛkti in barhiṣo námovṛktim by 'reinigung'. This because the same authority (under varj 1) makes the false start 'wenden, drehen', which has become fateful for the interpretation of the root. I have advised the reader of the inconsistent handling of the same parallel passages on the part of Grassmann (Translation and Lexicon) and Ludwig. Geldner, *Ved. Stud.* i. 152ff. assumes two fundamental values for varj, to wit, a) 'fangen', 'packen', &c.; b) 'hereinlegen' (slang), 'zu Fall bringen', 'zu Boden strecken', 'legen'. In this way he secures the meaning 'legen' in a very roundabout way for the type of 6. 11. 5 (vṛñje ha yán námasā barhíḥ), but he does not mention barhiṣo námovṛktim in his citations, and I do not believe that he would advocate for námovṛkti something 'reverential laying' ('andachtsvolle legung'). Foy, KZ. xxxiv. 242, follows Geldner in interpreting varj in connection with barhís as, "nichts anderes als 'auf die Erde niederlegen, hinlegen' heißt varj and prá-varj in der verbindung mit barhís".

In every case discussed thus far varj means, 'work, do, perform, prepare'. The root in this sense is eclectically moribund

even in earliest Sanskrit; its primary, very broad meaning is restricted to a few turns of expression whose special aspects have enticed the interpreters to special renderings in closer verbal harmony with the situations than the word warrants. It is true (with Geldner and Foy) that the most natural thing to do with *barhis* is to lay it down (*barhiḥ śṛṇiḥ*, and *śṛṇāhi* in Concordance). But what the texts really say in *vṛñje* (*prā vṛñje*) *barhiḥ*, *barhiṣo nāmovṛktim*, and *vṛktābarhis*, is to prepare the *barhis*. Is it not curious that Foy who assumes 'auf die erde niederlegen', 'hinlegen', for *varj* and *pra-varj*, l. c., p. 242, renders on the next page RV. 10. 131. 2, *ihéhāiṣāni kṛṇuhi bhójanāni yé barhiṣo nāmovṛktiṁ ná jagmúḥ*, by, 'bring hierher die nahrungsmittel derer, die nicht zur verehrungsvollen zubereitung des *barhis* gekommen sind'?

There is yet another compound with *vṛkti*, namely *su-vṛkti*. Its *vṛkti* is the same as that of *nāmo-vṛkti*. The Pet. Lex. must here again be charged with a false start which has retarded the elucidation of *varj*. Roth, observing *suv-itā* = *sv-itā* in the sense of 'going happily', explains *su-vṛkti* as *suv-ṛkti* 'beautiful song'. In a report to the Petersburg Academy on the history of the Pet. Lex., printed in *Mélanges Asiatiques*, vol. vii (1876), p. 591ff. (still very interesting reading), he describes (p. 612) this find as a sort of egg of Columbus: 'das zu finden, war wenn man will gar keine Kunst. Aber warum sind so viele daran vorübergegangen?' But even Graßmann, who often follows the Pet. Lex., does not follow Roth, but hits the nail fairly on the head when he starts *su-vṛkti* with the meaning, 'schön zugerichtet, schön bereitet'. The word, in fact, means either 'skilful performance', or, 'accompanied by skilful performance', sc. in sacrifice and song.

Foy, l. c., p. 243, who follows others in rejecting Roth's interpretation, and, previously, Bergaigne, *Quarante Hymnes*, p. 18, narrow the meaning of *su-vṛkti* too much when they offer 'disposant bien le *barhis*', or '*barhis*-zurüstungen', and 'der schöne *barhis*-zurüstungen genießt oder damit verbunden ist'. The word, like the finite forms of *varj*, inclines to that kind of performance, but for the most part other typical acts of prayer and practises are meant. Thus in 6, 11. 5 *srúg ghṛtāvati suvṛktiḥ* means 'the ghee-holding, skilfully performing spoon' (preceded by *vṛñjé ha yán námasā barhír agnáu*, which has disposed of the *barhis*).

I have no doubt that the poets included in *suṽṛktī* the *barhīs* act and perhaps they sometimes had it specially in mind. We may suspect this in cases where *námas* occurs by the side of *suṽṛktī*, because *námas* seems to have associated itself technically with the combination *barhīs* and *varj* (see above). Thus 3. 61. 5, 12; 5. 41. 2; 7. 94. 4; 10. 63. 5.¹ But even this is not stringent; on the contrary it is important to note that the 45 *suṽṛktī*-passages do not a single time show the word *barhīs* by their side. So that Bergaigne's and Foy's essay to hold this word down to this one particular act ('*barhis-zurüstung*') is decidedly subjective, just as Roth's restriction of the word to 'beautiful song' is too eclectic, tho it strikes much more frequently the precise thought of the *Rishis*. Oldenberg, SBE. xlv. 203, is also much impressed with the association of the word with 'song', tho he does not therefore divide as *suṽṛktī*; cf. his remarks, ZDMG. lv. 298, where he hesitatingly suggests '*gute herbeziehung*', an idea which he himself later permits to become submerged.

If the finite verb-forms of *varj* were not moribund and specialized, we may say, I am sure, that no one would ever have regarded *suṽṛktī* in any other light than 'pious work', 'accompanied by pious works (of all sorts)'. Thus 1. 52. 1, *éndraṁ vavṛtyām ávase suṽṛktibhiḥ*; or 1. 168. 1, *á vo (sc. marutaḥ) ... vavṛtyām ávase suṽṛktibhiḥ*, express exactly the same idea as 8. 54 (Vál. 6). 2, *náksanta índraṁ ávase sukrṛtyáya*. In the following passages the restriction to *barhīs* preparation is too narrow: 7. 36. 2, *imám vāṁ mitrávaruṇā suṽṛktīm iṣam ná kṛṇve asurā náviyaḥ*. Grassmann, '*dies Loblied*² bring ich ... aufs neue'; Ludwig (221), '*die schöne zurüstung mach ich ... von neuem*'. Ludwig, *Der Rig-Veda*, vi. 187^b assumes '*zurüstung*' regularly; Grassmann's translation conflicts with his own, pat, '*schön zugerichtet*', etc. in his *Lexicon*. Of course in this passage *suṽṛktīm* means 'pious act', but it is the pious act of song as shows unmistakably *náviyaḥ*. See stem *náviyas* in Grassmann with *ukthá*, *bráhma*, *gāyatrá*, *sūktá*, *dhítí*, *matí*,

¹ See also 3. 14. 2 which contains *námaukti* and *barhīs*. See the item in the Concordance, *ye barhiṣo* (MS. *oṣā*) *namoṽṛktīm* (VS. VSK. MS. ÇB. *namauktiṁ*) *na jagmuḥ* (VS. ÇB. *namauktiṁ yajanti*) RV. AV. VS. VSK. TS. KS. MS. ÇB. TB. Also 6. 1. 6 seems to me to contain allusion to the *barhīs*.

² Following here apparently Roth's *suṽṛktī*.

gīh, suṣṭuti, and sumatī. Both scholars, it seems to me, if pressed, would have had to resort to a root varj = 'work', in order to explain their final stand on the word: Grassmann in his Lexicon; Ludwig at vol. vi. 187^b.

For the most part the Rishis have in mind the hymnal rather than the ritual suvṛktī. Thus 1. 62. 1, suvṛktībhi *stuvatā* ṛgmīyāya; 5. 41. 10, vīśno *astoṣi* bhūmyāśya gārbhaṁ tritō nāpātam apāṁ suvṛktī; 3. 51. 1, éndraṁ *gīro* bṛhatīr abhy ānūṣata . . . suvṛktībhiḥ; 8. 8. 22, prā vām *stómāḥ* suvṛktāyo *gīro* vardhantv açvinā; 7. 70. 7, iyām *manīṣā* iyām açvinā *gīr* imām suvṛktīm vṛṣaṇā juṣethām; 1. 61. 4, asmā id u *stóman* sám hīnomi . . . *girāç* ca gīrvāhase suvṛktī; 10. 64. 4, kathā kavī tuvirāvān kāyā *girā* bṛhaspātīr vāvṛdhāte suvṛktībhiḥ; 7. 96. 1, sárasvatīm in mahayā suvṛktībhi *stómāir* vasiṣṭha ródasi; 7. 97. 9, iyām vām brahmaṇas pate suvṛktīr *brāhméndrāya* vajriṇe akāri; 1. 61. 3, mánhiṣṭham *áchoktibhir* *matínām* suvṛktībhiḥ sūrīm vāvṛdhādyaī; 1. 61. 16, evā te hāriyojana suvṛktíndra *brāhmāṇi* gótamāso akran; 1. 184. 5, eṣā vām *stómo* açvināv akāri mánebhir maghavānā suvṛktī; 6. 61. 2, pārāvataḥnīm ávase suvṛktībhiḥ sárasvatīm á vivāsema *dhūtībhiḥ*; 7. 24. 2, viṣṣṭadhenā bharate suvṛktīr iyām índraṁ jóhuvatī *manīṣā*; 10. 80. 7, agnāye *brāhma* ṛbhāvas tataksur agnīm mahām avocāma suvṛktīm; 7. 31. 11, uruvyācase mahīne suvṛktīm índrāya *brāhma* janayanta viprāḥ. Especially pointed is 8. 89. 7, gharmām ná *sāman* tapatā suvṛktībhiḥ, 'do ye heat the ghárma (hot milk), as if at the sāman recital, with beautiful (hymn) performances'.

Three times suvṛktī is closely associated with root hū 'call': 7. 83. 9, hāvāmahe vām vṛṣaṇā suvṛktībhiḥ; 10. 41. 1, rátham . . . suvṛktibhir . . . havāmahe; 2. 4. 1, huvé vaḥ sudyótmānām suvṛktīm¹ . . . agnīm. These and the preceding passages show well enough (in Roth's exaggerated sense) the association of the 'pious performance' with the chiefest 'performance of songs'.

It is much less easy to demonstrate the ritualistic aspect of suvṛktī. RV. 3. 3. 9 is a good example: tāsya vratāni . . . vayām *úpa bhūsema dáma ā* suvṛktībhiḥ, 'let us tend in the house Agni's holy rites with pious practises!' 6. 10. 1, *pūro* vo mandrām divyām suvṛktīm prayatī *yajñe* agnīm *adhvaré dadhidhvam*; 8. 40. 10, tám çigītā suvṛktībhis (followed in the parallel stanza

¹ Here Grassmann in his Translation, 'gepriesenen'; in his Lexicon, 'schön gefeiert'; Ludwig (296), 'schön bereiteten'.

8. 40. 11 by *tām* *çiṭā svadhvarām*); 1. 61. 2, *asmā id u prāya iva prā yañsi bhārāmy āngūṣām bādhe suvrkti*. In the last passage *bādhe* 'I hold', or, infinitive 'to hold' seems perhaps to point to the *barhis* as the god's seat; there seems to be also intentional antithesis between *bhārāmy āngūṣām*, 'I bring song of praise', and *bādhe suvrkti* 'hold with good performance'. The hymn 1. 61 is a veritable nest for *suvrkti* (stanzas 2, 3, 4, 16); its occurrences there illustrate the double aspect of the word, as well as its very formulaic character. Thus especially in the cadences, which favor *suvrkti* at the end of 11 syllable lines (cadence $\cup - \cup$); *suvrktibhis* at the end of 8 and 12 syllable lines (cadence $\cup - \cup \cup$).¹

A certain amount of light comes from a quarter not altogether unexpected. Geldner and Foy have labored valiantly in their pursuit of all the tricks and turns of the root as they seem to see them. Geldner, l. c., p. 154, observes that *varj* in composition has 'frequently lost its fundamental meanings'. He discusses *āpa-vrj*, *prā-vrj*, *sām-vrj*, and *sva-vrj*. Why not the more common and settled *pāri-vrj*? I miss this also in Foy's treatment. In Avestan *varēz* means 'do'; *pairi-varēz* 'avoid'. Thus, Visparad 15. 1: *dāityanām rapṇyanām huvarštanām šynoṇnanām huvarštanām varēzāi*, *pairi adāityanām arapṇyanām dužvarštanām varēzāi*, 'to perform lawful, well-ordered, pious deeds; to avoid illegal, disorderly, sinful deeds'. Cf. with this 8. 47. 5, *pāri no vrñajann aghā durgāni rathyō yathā*; or 6. 51. 16, *yēna viçvāḥ pāri dvīso vrñakti*. I am not sure but what this parallel points to an etymological relationship between Avestan *varēz* and Vedic *varj*, notwithstanding the difference in the final consonants (we should expect Vedic **vrñasṭi* etc.)² Be this as it may, it secures in this composition a semantic, if not an etymological parallel to *varēz*. Similarly with preposition *ā* root *varēz* means 'get', 'secure' in Yasna 45, to wit: *tēm nō štāotaiš nēmanḥō āvīvarēšō* (desiderative), 'thou shalt

¹ For the convenience of the reader I cite the remaining occurrences of the word, which seem to me to be indeterminate: 1. 64. 1; 86. 9; 2. 34. 15; 5. 25. 3; 6. 10. 6; 15. 4; 7. 8. 3; 8. 8. 3; 96. 10; 10. 30. 1; 73. 5; TS. 2. 4. 7. 1.

² On interchange between I. E. palatals with gutturals see Collitz, *Bezz. Beitr.* iii, 194ff.; Joh. Schmidt. KZ. xxv. 114ff.; Wackernagel, *Alt-indische Grammatik* i, pp. 161, 225; Brugmann, *Grundriß*, I², pp. 544ff. The difference between *varz* and *vrñakti* is the same as between *bāešaza* and *bhiṣakti*, or in Sanskrit itself between *mudhā* and *mūdhā*.

try to secure him with songs of reverence!’ Cf. with this RV. 1. 33. 1, anāmṛṇāḥ kuvīd ā asya rāyó . . . āvārjate naḥ, ‘will uninjurable (Indra) then not secure for us (some) of his wealth?’ (Sāyana, āvarjate, adhikaṁ prāpayati).

The meaning ‘do’, or shades of that meaning, suit very directly the other prepositional compounds with varj, rather better than any other that has been assumed. Thus, pārā-varj ‘do away with’, ‘abandon’: RV. 8. 97. 7, mā na indra pārā vṛṇak; 8. 75. 12, mā no asmin mahādhanē pārā vark. Next, āpa-varj (very simple): 10. 117. 7, yānn ādhvānam āpa vṛṇkte caritrāḥ (cf. the German idiom ‘einen weg abtun’). Particularly to the point is anapavṛjyān ādhvanaḥ in RV. 1. 146. 3, in relation to ādhvā anantās in 1. 113. 3. In both passages this is the road or the roads which the sisters Day and Night, one or the other must travel by divine command (anyānyā carato devāḥ). In 5. 47. 3 another dual pair, Heaven and Earth, similarly relieve one another in traveling paths which have no end (anantāsaḥ pānthāḥ). What, we may ask, if not ‘not to be worked off’, does anapavṛjyān mean? The positive to anapavṛjyān ādhvanaḥ is contained in RV. 10. 117. 7, yānn ādhvānam āpa vṛṇkte caritrāḥ. The endless reciprocal activity of Day and Night gives rise to another figure of speech in AV. 10. 7. 42, where they are said to weave a woof ‘which they shall never finish nor come to its end’, nāpa vṛñjāte nā gamāto āntam. With another turn, AV. 3. 12. 6, āpa vṛṇkṣva çatrūn ‘do (drive) away the enemy’; AV. 13. 2. 9, āpāvṛk tāmaḥ ‘he has driven away darkness’.

The compound āpi-varj always goes with krātum, ‘set one’s mind upon’, (quasi, ‘work one’s will upon’): 10. 120. 3, tvé krātum āpi vṛñjanti viçve dvīr yād eté trīr bhāvanty ūmāḥ, ‘upon thee all set their mind, when (tho) twice and thrice the helping gods are available’; see also 10. 48. 3 (equally good), and cf., elliptically, 7. 31. 5, tvé āpi krātur māma; see Geldner, *Ved. Stud.* i. 10, note; Oldenberg, *RV. Noten*, to 10. 120. 3. Next, sām-varj ‘get together’, ‘obtain’; Germ. ‘zusammenraffen’: RV. 2. 12. 3, sāmvr̥k samātsu, ‘getting (booty) in battles’; 9. 48. 2, sāmvr̥ktadhr̥ṣṇum mādām, ‘intoxicating (soma) that makes bold for booty’; 10. 61. 17, sām yān mitrávaruṇā vṛñjā ukthāḥ, ‘when I get Mitra and Varuṇa by means of my songs of praise’. Cf. Kāuṣ. Br. Up. 2. 7, sām tad vṛṇkte. Next, ní-varj ‘throw down’ is common, easily derivable from the idea of

'work down'. Even tho it is not quite as direct as 'lay down' it furnishes a preferable start, because 'lay' is in any case not the fundamental idea of varj. E. g., ní duryoná āvr̥ṇāñ mṛdhrāvācam (or °vācaḥ) 5. 29. 10; 32. 8; pr̥thivyāñ ní krivim . . . avṛṇak 2. 17. 6. Finally, úd-varj in RV. 6. 58. 2: āṣṭrāñ pūṣā ḡthirām udvárivṛjat, 'Pūṣan vigorously sticking out his easily moved goad'.

For the history of the root's interpretation svavṛj and svá-vṛkti are very interesting. Sāyaṇa renders svavṛj at 10. 38. 5 by, svayam eva chettāram (after Nighaṇṭu; see above p. 273); but he blunders into something partially correct in glossing svávṛktibhiḥ at 10. 21. 1 by, svayañ *kṛtābhir* doṣavarjitābhiḥ *stutibhiḥ*. The Pet. Lexs. render by 'sich aneignend', and 'aneignung'. This reflects the meaning of the root in the middle in the sense of 'obtain', very frequent in the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras (see below, p. 286). That Roth was willing to separate so completely vṛkti in svá-vṛkti from vṛkti in su-vṛkti (his su-vṛkti) is one of the curiosa in the history of Vedic interpretation. Grassmann adopts Roth's rendering for sva-vṛj, 'in seine gewalt bringend, an sich reiẗend', but his experiences with the root elsewhere induce him to give svá-vṛkti its due by, 'eigene darreichung (an lied und opfer)'; cf. his article su-vṛkti.¹ Ludwig (1023) renders svavṛj in 10. 38. 5 by 'einer selbst sich rettend', but (425) svá-vṛkti in 10. 21. 1 by 'eigene zurüstung'. Geldner, *Ved. Stud.* I. 154 deals with svavṛj regardless of svávṛkti; he imports too much into the word when (with a view to the vihavá, 'rival call') he renders svavṛj 'einer der sich hat einfangen lassen'; this could not possibly be harmonized with svá-vṛkti. Foy, KZ. xxvi. 245 treats svávṛkti (without regard to sva-vṛj) as 'mit zurücksetzung der eigenen person'. But on p. 253 he renders svavṛj as 'selbsttätig', and thus joins me for the first and only time among all interpreters in a clear statement that the verb varj means 'perform'. I can not see any way of connecting the two words except by taking svá-vṛkti in the now established sense 'by own (pious) work': RV. 10. 21. 1, āgnīñ ná svávṛktibhir hótārañ tvā vṛṇīmahe, yajñāya stīrṇābarhiṣe, 'as is suitable for Agni, we choose thee with our (pious) work as Hotar for the sacrifice with the

¹ Perhaps he notes, as I do, that the verse in question, RV. 10. 21. 1 contains the word barhis (stīrṇābarhiṣe).

barhís spread'. The parallelism between svávr̥ktibhir and stīr̥nābarhiṣe is unmistakable. Hence sva-vr̥j in 10. 38. 5 does not mean 'der an sich reißt', nor 'der sich hat einfangen lassen', but, 'he who does for himself'. It is parallel to common Indra epithets like svá-tavas, svá- kṣatra, sát-pati, svá-pati, and svarāj. With *svavṛjān* tvām ṣuṣṛāva cf. turns like, ékaṁ nú tvā *sát-patīn* pāñcajanyaṁ . . . ṣṇomi, RV. 5. 12. 11; or, yuvām indrāgni *tavāstamā* ṣuṣṛava, 1. 109. 5. I particularly invite the reader to make any adjustment between sva-vr̥j and svá-vr̥kti which will elude the idea of 'work' as their common constituent.

At this stage we return to the simple root varj (without prefixes). We have found it hitherto in the sense 'work', 'do', 'practice' in the sense of the Rishis, 'practice hymns and ritual performance'. As regard the doing of ritual performance, the practice of doing the barhís has obtained a special hold on the word. Now the 'done' barhís lies in order, in line, in a row. This is certainly employed as a figure of speech for 'laying out' or 'destroying' in RV. 1. 63. 7:

tvām ha tyád indra sápta yúdhyan
púro vajrin purukútsāya dardah,
barhir ná yát sudāse vṛthā várk,

'Thou, O Indra with thy vajra (club) hast destroyed the seven castles, battling for Purukutsa, when like barhís easily (or, quickly, vṛthā) thou didst do them for Sudās.' That 'do them' is in effect here 'fell them' must not be used to argue that varj means primarily 'lay': it simply happens that performing the barhís act is inseparable from laying it on the ground. Foy, KZ. xxvi. 242, note 1, prettily draws attention to the fact that the barhís comparison occurs also with another verb for 'destroy' namely ní ṣiṇāti, RV. 7. 18. 11.

The same figure of speech implying the comparison with barhís is very certainly present in RV. 6. 18. 8, vṛnák pípruṁ ṣāmbaram ṣuṣṇam indrah, and in RV. 6. 26. 3, tvām kútsāya ṣuṣṇam dāṣuṣe vark. I prefer this to regarding varj here as detached from ní varj which occurs in similar connections (see above); or as in a totally primary sense 'to do one' (slang), that is, 'to destroy'.

I have reserved one instance of varj with barhís in the same verse because it shows perhaps better than other case

how difficult it is to operate with other assumptions than ours. RV. 1. 142. 5¹ reads:

str̥nānāso yatásruco barhís yajñé svadhvaré,
vr̥ñjé devávyacastamam indrāya çarma sapráthaḥ.

Geldner, *Ved. Stud.* i. 152, claims that varj with barhís is synonymous with star with barhís. In a general way that is true, of course, but this passage shows after all that varj adds to or refines the thought. On the other hand Foy, KZ. xxvi. 244, who is well aware of the special kinship that exists between varj and barhís, disassociates them here, makes vr̥ñjé govern Indra understood, and that in the sense of 'abfangen'.² The verse is quite clear: '(Priests) holding forth the sacrificial ladle, spreading the barhís at the well-arranged sacrifice, there is prepared most ample reception for the gods, broad shelter for Indra.' I take vr̥ñjé as = passive 3d sing., with Ludwig (773); cf. 1. 83. 6; 10. 110. 4; the dubious parsing of vr̥ñjé does not in the least interfere with its lexical sense.³

I have said before that uncompounded varj is moribund in the Mantras. Outside of the sphere of the barhís there are indeed surprisingly few cases. Now the fundamental meaning of the root under any reasonable assumption is so general as to preclude precise definition. In AV. 12. 5. 18 the Brahman's cow when withheld (brahmagavī) performs all sorts of injuries by means of her bodily actions: 'she is a thunderbolt when she runs; razor-edged when she looks'. In st. 22 she is total destruction, kárṇāu varīvarjáyantī. Whitney translates, 'when twisting about her ears'; Henry, p. 211, 'when she shakes her ears'. Neither of these renderings have any basis in the lexicology of varj: 'vigorously working her ears' would do just as well. Again at 7. 24. 4 Roth and others⁴ take várivṛjat as 'turning in'. The passage reads: várivṛjat sthāvirebhiḥ (sc. áçvāiḥ) suçīprāsmé dádhad vṛṣaṇaṁ çūṣmam indra 'turning in

¹ This is a barhís āprī; it is well to read the others of the same kind in the RV.: 1. 13. 5; 188. 4; 2. 3. 4; 3. 4. 4; 5. 5. 4; 7. 2. 4; 9. 5. 4; 10. 70. 4; 110. 4. Especially 7. 2. 4, and 10. 110. 4, both of which show varj like the present stanza.

² This is Geldner's initial meaning of the root.

³ Cf. Oldenberg, *RV. Noten* to 1. 142. 5. More convenient would be to take vr̥ñjé as third plur. = vr̥ñjáte, on the analogy perhaps of çére: çérate, and duhré: duhráte (Whitney, *Skt. Gr.* §§ 629, 935).

⁴ See Oldenberg, *RV. Notes*.

with his strong (bay horses)' etc. I miss the intensive feature of the word; Ludwig (576), 'ausholend (mit der waffe) in verein mit den starken'; Sāyana, ṣatrūn bhṛṣaṁ hiṁsan. I could conveniently make use of Sāyana for my proposition, but his is a guess like any other guess. It should be pointed out, however, that sthāvirebhiḥ may refer to vājāiḥ (6. 1. 11; 37. 5), and that vāja and ḡsma are companions in 4. 22. 3; 6. 32. 4, which makes it more probable that sthāvirebhiḥ in our stanza also refers to vājāiḥ. In that case vārīvrjat may mean 'acting mightily', something like prā vājebhis tirata in 7. 57. 5, vājebhir jigyuḥ in 8. 19. 18; kṣāyan vājāiḥ in 3. 25. 3. RV. 4. 7. 10: yād asya vāto anuvāti ṣocīḥ, vrñakti tigmām atasēsu jihvām. Ludwig (334), 'schlingt seine scharfe zunge er um das reisig'; Grassmann, 'er streckt die spitze zunge in das buschwerk'; Oldenberg, SBE. xvi. 344, 'he turns his sharp tongue among the dry brushwood'; Geldner (p. 152), 'dann klappt er seine zunge um in den hölzern'; Foy (p. 242), 'dann legt er seine spitze zunge in den hölzern nieder'. All renderings are of the general sort—'work his tongue into' would be just as good—except Geldner's who visualizes keenly, but whence does he get his 'umklappen', considering that he has nothing like it in the list of the meanings which he unfolds for varj on the same page? In RV. 8. 79. 5 occurs the locution, vavrjyūs tṛṣyataḥ kāmam. Grassmann, 'die begierde des durstigen stillen'; Ludwig, 'mögen sie des durstenden begierde erfüllen (beseitigen)'. Geldner, *ibid.*, p. 144, 'mögen sie das verlangen des durstigen (Indra) einfangen (!)', namely that he may quench his thirst with them; Foy, *ibid.*, p. 244, 'mögen sie das verlangen des durstigen (Indra) hemmen'. But why not, 'may they work the desire of the thirsty one', that is satisfy him? Cf. locutions like RV. 3. 50. 1: āsya havis tanvāḥ kāmam ṛdhyāḥ, 'may the havis satisfy the craving of his (Indra's) body'; or, RV. 10. 106. 11: ā bhūtāṅco aṣvīnoḥ kāmam aprāḥ, 'Bhūtāṅca has satisfied the craving of the Aṣvins'. Ludwig's 'erfüllen' shows that he had ā pr in mind. In any case most of the renderings just given are under the influence of 'turn', 'twist', the assumed start values of the lexicons, now generally discredited.

As regards the later uses of the root, prā-varj, 'to put a pot on the fire' (already RV. 5. 30. 15), and ādhi-varj 'to put over the fire' occasion no difficulty. The chief use of the simple

root in later times is in the Brāhmaṇas. There the middle is used in the sense of 'appropriate something (accusative), usually but not always belonging to somebody else (genitive)'. The appropriation is, of course, advantageous¹ to him that appropriates. Thus TB. 1. 5. 6. 4: *vāiṣvadevena caturō māso vṛñjata indrarājānaḥ*, '(the gods) whose king is Indra through the *vāiṣvadeva*-sacrifice appropriated the four months'. TS. 3. 1. 7. 3: *sa etaj jamadagnir viheavyam apaṣyat, tena vāi sa vasiṣṭhasyendriyaṁ vīryam avṛñkta*, 'Jamadagni saw this *viheavya* (rival call) hymn; by its means he appropriated the strength and manhood of *Vasiṣṭha*'. This use begins in a single instance in RV. 8. 76. 1: *imāṁ nū māyīnaṁ huva indram iṣānam ójasā, marútvantaṁ ná vṛñjāse*, 'I call Indra and the Maruts to secure them'.² It is scarcely necessary to say that the idea of 'appropriate for one's self', 'secure for one's self' may be derived from 'work for one's self'.

I would expressly ask the reader to weigh critically the instances of the simple root outside of its occurrences with *barhis*. In the sphere in which *svṛkti* is central there is no escape from the meaning 'work', 'perform'. But the reader should not forget that after this my interpretations are teleological, and that the idea of 'work' is immensely plastic. Among the prefixed forms *pári varj*: *pári varēz* is also very significant. But outside of these materials there are often other imaginable starting points. A careful perusal of earlier suggestions shows this, as well as the almost incredible divergence of the interpreters' mental operations. There may be other roots *varj* at the bottom of the variegated connections in which their forms occur. Comparative Etymology has brought in Lat. *vergo* and *urgeo*; Greek *ἐργω*, *παίβός*, and *πέμβομαι*; Goth. *vairpan* and *vraiks*; Middle High German *renken*; and many words of other languages, some one or other of which may be to the point. On the other hand the connection of some occurrences with the idea of work has flitted across the stage, as I found in the course of this investigation after

¹ See Pet. Lexs.; Ludwig, *Der Rig-Veda*, iv. 250 ff.; Delbrück, *Alt-indische Syntax*, p. 252.

² Ludwig (614) renders *ná vṛñjāse* by 'um ihn nicht mir zu entfremden'; in his commentary, 'ihn ganz gewiß zu gewinnen, zu eigen zu machen'; Grassmann, 'er weiche nicht'; Geldner, *ibid.* p. 144, 'daß er sich nicht (von andern) abfangen lasse'; Foy, *ibid.* p. 244, 'um ihn abzufangen'.

proceeding with my own idea. J. Darmestetter, *Ormazd et Ahriman*, p. 10, thought of the connection of *svṛkti* with Avestan *hvaršta* 'well performed'. Roth, in the article cited at the beginning of this paper, mentions that some scholars prior to him had connected *svṛkti* with *ἐργον*. Hillebrandt, in his *Vedachrestomathie*, assumes that *vrjána* in 7. 61. 4 and elsewhere means 'activity', being connected with Avestan *varəz*. Foy, *ibid.* p. 253, takes *svavṛj* as 'selbsttätig', and *ibid.* p. 247 connects other cases of *vrjána* = Avestan *varəzēna* 'yeomanry', from the same roots. Cf. also Collitz, *Bezz. Beitr.* iii, p. 196; Oldenberg, *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1890 (nr. 10), p. 415.

There is one derivation from a root *varj* in Sanskrit which may be easily and safely picked out of the list of its derivatives, namely *úrj* and related words. There is a certain misapprehension concerning the word, existing by the side of a perfectly sound conception of it. The misapprehension consists in associating it *primarily* with the idea of 'strength', 'act of strengthening', and consequent etymologies. From *Pet. Lex.* and *Grassmann* on the word has been connected with *ὄργαω* 'swell' (*ūrjā*, 'kraftfülle' = *ὄργή* 'passion', 'wrath' = Old Irish *ferg*, *ferc*, 'wrath').¹ This etymology strikes neither the average nor the fundamental idea of the word, as any lexical treatment of *úrj* must show. The word means 'food'; it represents the act of 'eating'; anything like 'strength', or 'manifestation of strength' is clearly secondary in the lexicology of the word.

In general the word is associated with words for 'eat' and 'drink': *pinv*, *duh*, *arṣ*, *kṣar*; *pitu*, *payas*, *pīvas*, and *ghṛta*. But we must trust most its constant association with *payas*, in the form *ūrjas-* which comes from a later time. This stem *ūrjas-* is a formal imitation of *payas*² with which it runs parallel to such an extent as to have settled finally into a close formulaic companionship: *ūrjasvantaḥ payasvantaḥ* AV. 7. 60. 2; HG. 1. 29. 1; *ūrjasvatī payasvatī* AV. 9. 3. 16; AÇ. 1. 9. 1; ÇÇ. 1. 14. 5; *ūrjasvatī ca payasvatī ca* MS. 4. 13. 9: 212. 3; TB. 3. 5. 10. 2; ÇB. 1. 9. 1. 7; ÇÇ. 8. 19. 1; *ūrjasvatī cāsi payasvatī ca* VS. 1. 27; ÇB. 1. 2. 5. 11; *ūrjasvatī ca me payasvatī cāidhi* TB. 3. 7. 6. 6; ApÇ. 4. 6. 2; *ūrjasvatyaḥ payasvatyaḥ* Nighaṇṭu 1. 13. The

¹ See Brugmann, *Grundriß* I², pp. 474, 554, 690.

² Congeneric assimilations of this sort have produced *sāhantama*, to match *vṛtrahāntama*; and *sāhuri* after *tāturi*.

meaning of ūrj is brought out most clearly in ūrjād, 'eating food' (Nirukta 3. 8 = annāda). The Nighaṇṭu 2.7 and Kāutsavya 88¹ list ūrk among the anna-nāmāni; cf. AB. 8. 8. 5.

Grassmann in his *Lexicon*, but not in his *Translation*, once thought that vrjāna in the refrain RV. 1. 165. 15⁴ff, vidyāmeṣām vrjānam jirādānum, was an equivalent of ūrj. I believe that the Nighaṇṭu's (2. 9) inclusion of this word among the words 'strength' (balanāmāni) is based upon the same belief. But the expression iṣo vrjāneṣu in 7. 99. 6 is of itself sufficient to show that vrjāna is not parallel to iṣ, but is something which may contain iṣ 'strength'; cf. most recently Foy, KZ. xxxiv. 248.

If I were better acquainted with the prehistory of Lithuanian valgyti I should derive ūrj and valgyti from an I. E. root ũelg or ũelg 'eat'.

¹ By the way, the item in Kāutsavya 115 (Bolling and von Negelein, p. 315, top) for which the MSS. have dhruvadrakṣam, dhuvadrakṣam, and dhruvaikṣam is surely dhruvarṣam, 'the polar and the bear', an interesting dvandva otherwise unknown to the literature.

Grammatical Notes on the Isinai language (Philippines).—

By CARLOS EVERETT CONANT, Professor in the University of Chattanooga, Tennessee.

1. Of the many minor idioms of the Philippine Islands that are rapidly becoming extinct owing to the encroachment of their stronger neighbors, the Isinai, also called Inmeas, is one of the least known. It is spoken only in three mountain towns, Aritau (Aritao), Bambang, and Dupax, in the old province of Nueva Vizcaya, central North Luzón, by a people resembling the Igorots of the adjoining province of Benguet.

2. *Bibliography.*

Rocamora, Fr. Francisco, *Catecismo de la Doctrina Cristiana en la lengua de Isinay ó Inmeas, corregido, añadido y redactado en mejor forma del antiguo manuscrito*. Manila, Imprenta de Santo Tomás, 1876, 176 pages.

This catechism is a reprint of an earlier edition whose date is not known, but supposed by Dr. Pardo de Tavera to have been between 1830 and 1840, at which time Padre Rocamora (d. 1851) was vicar of Dupax.

Conant, C. E., *Isinai-English Word List* (MS) compiled from the foregoing at Baguio, Benguet, P. I., 1907.

3. *The Indonesian vowels in Isinai.*

Indonesian *a*, *i*, and *u* regularly remain unchanged in Isinai, e. g., *ama* 'father', *ina* 'mother', *pitu* 'seven', *buna* 'fruit'. The indifferent vowel, *pepet*, regularly becomes *o*, e. g., *opat* (IN *épat*) 'four', *onom* (IN *ěněm*) 'six', *'anon* (Tagalog *kanin*, Bisaya *kan'on*) 'food'. But an unaccented *pepet* vowel of the root word is lost when a formative element is added, e. g., *Isn. napnu* (IN *na-pěnu*) 'full', *'atlunar* (= *'a-tlu-n-ar* to IN *katělu*) 'the third', *Isn. 'anomnar* (= *'a-nom-n-ar* to IN *ka-ěněm*) 'the

sixth'. In the last two examples the final syllable *-ar* is the postpositiv definit article (see 7), and the *-n-* connecting it with the root is taken by analogy from *maunar* (= *ma-una-ar*, cf. Tagalog *nauna*, Bisaya *nahauna*) 'first', where it is radical.

Any unaccented penultimate vowel of a dissyllabic root is regularly lost before *y* (<IE *l* by palatalization, see 4), after which process the *y* tends to vocalization, becoming *i* or *e*, e. g., Isn. *tiu* (IN *tělu*) 'three', Isn. *weu* (IN *walu*) 'eight', Isn. *piu* (IN *pulu*) 'ten'.

4. Indonesian consonants in Isinai.

With the exception of the changes about to be indicated, Indonesian consonants remain unchanged in Isinai.

Indonesian *k* regularly appears as *hamza*, e. g., Isn. 'anon (Tag. *kanin*, Bis. *kan'on*), 'food', Isn. *ana*' (IN *anak*) 'son, daughter, young', Isn. 'a (IN *ka*) 'thou', Isn. *a*' (IN *ak*) 'I', Isn. *lea'i* (Tag. Bis. *lalaki*) 'male'. But *k* appears in a few sporadic examples, like *kasalanan* 'sinner', doubtless borrowings from neighboring languages. In Arabic loan words both the *k* sounds, ك and ق, become a strong aspirate in Isinai, e. g., Isn. *ohom* (Ar. and Malay حكم) 'judge', Isn. *alah* (Ar. عرق, Malay ارق) 'arak, wine'.

Original *l*, when intervocalic and folloed by a tonic vowel, is palatalized, passing on to *y* (*l* > *ly* > *y*), which, after loss of the preceding atonic vowel, tends to vocalize, becoming *i* or close *e*, and uniting with the folloing vowel to form a dithong, e. g., Isn. *tiu* (IN *tělu*) 'three', Isn. *weu* (IN *walu*) 'eight', Isn. *piu* (IN *pulu*) 'ten', Isn. *lea'i* (Tag. Bis. *lalaki*) 'male'. This change of *l* to *y* by palatalization folloed by delingualization may be observd in the most diverse fields of speech evolution. Within Austronesian territory it is seen in the Palau language (Caroline Islands), where every *l* becomes *y* with subsequent partial or total vocalization to *i* or close *e*, e. g., Palau *im* (IN *lima* > *lyim* > *yim* > *iim* > *im*) 'five', Palau *búiel* (IN *bulan* > *bulyel* > *buyel* > *búiel*) 'moon'¹. For the Indo-European family, compare the *l* (*ll*) *mouillée* in French, and the change of Latin *ll* to Spanish *ll*, which is preservd in Castilian, but has become *y* dialectically in Spain

¹ For further examples in Palau, see Conant, *Notes on the Phonology of the Palau Language*, JAOS, vol. 35, part i.

and in Spanish America, e. g., Lat. *caballum* > Span. *caballo* > dial. *cabayo*. The same change occurs in certain of the Finno-Ugrian languages¹.

Isinai preserved the original *l* unchanged except under the conditions above stated, e. g., Isn. *lima* 'five', *tulid* (Tag. Bis. *tul'id*) 'straight'.

5. The *RGH* law.

The Indonesian *RGH* consonant appears in Isinai as *g* initially, as [a guttural spirant ʒ or ʁ medially (the Spanish orthography employing *g* or *j* interchangeably), and is lost in final position, e. g., Isn. (Span. orthog.) *gaijaya* (Bikol *gayagáya*, Ngaju Dayak *haihai*) 'rejoice, exult'; Isn. *dagat* (Tag. Bis. *dágat*, Pampanga *dayat*, Ida'an [Borneo] *rahat*) 'sea'; Isn. *dohe* (Bis. *duinug*, Tag. *dinig*, Mal. *denar*) 'hear'.

6. The *RLD* law.

The *RLD* consonant appears as *d* initially, as *r* medially, and as *d* or (much more commonly) *r* finally, e. g., Isn. *dua* 'two', but 'aruanar' 'the second', *danum* (IN *ranum*, *lanum*, *danum*) 'water'; Isn. *tulid* or *tulir* (Tag. Bis. *tul'id*) 'straight'; Isn. *bayar* (Bis. etc. *bayad*) 'pay'.

7. The Isinai postpositiv article.

The most striking phenomenon in Isinai speech is its treatment of the definit article. Its forms are *ar*, *ardari* and *war*. Of these, *ar* is both prepositiv and postpositiv, *ardari* postpositiv only, and *war* prepositiv only. All words requiring the definit article take a postpositiv, *ar* for the singular and *ardari* for the plural, e. g., *tahu* 'man (*homo*)', *tahuar* 'the man'; *tahuardari* 'the men'. A prepositiv, *ar* or *war*, accompanies the postpositiv under the following syntactic conditions: *War* is used when the word stands in the relation of subject of a copulativ verb, and *ar* when it stands in the relation of predicate. The following example will illustrate both cases: *War Espiritu Santoar ot ar atlunar personas* 'the Holy Ghost is the third person'. *Ar* and *war* are used for singular and plural alike, e. g., *ar* (or *war*) *bubayardari* 'the women', but, as explained

¹ See Szinnyei, *Finnisch-ugrische Sprachwissenschaft*, Leipzig 1910, p. 43.

above, they must always be accompanied by the postpositiv article. Under al other syntactic conditions, the postpositiv article only is used, e. g., *namalsat biopar on pio'ar* 'made the heven and the erth', *inan di Diosar* 'mother of God', *bendita at babayardarin lom'an* 'blessed among al women'. A noun and its dependent genitiv ar considerd as a unit in the treatment of the article, the postpositiv being appended to the last word of the group, and the prepositiv, if it be required, being placed befor the group, e. g., *benditar* (<*bendita* + *ar*) *buian di putumar* (<*putu* + *m* + *ar*) 'blessed (is) the fruit of thy womb' (lit. the fruit of womb-thy the).

The postposition of the article is a well-known linguistic fenomenon. Examples of it elsewhere in Indonesia ar the Sangir and Bugis *-e*, as in Sang. *asu-e*, Bugis *asu-w-e* 'the dog'¹.

For Indo-European compare Old Norse and Mod. Norwegian *land-et* 'the land' where, however, the article is also prepositiv when used with a qualifying adjectiv, e. g., ON *et storra land*, Norw. *det store land* 'the great land'. Moreover ON furnishes sporadic examples of the double article in striking analogy to the Isinai usage, e. g., ON *en litla ô-en* 'the little river', *en ofre hús-en* 'the upper house, i. e., story', *enn pripe maþr-enn* 'the third man'². With the last example compare Isn. *ar atlun-ar tahu* 'the third man', where, however, the postpositiv article is appended to the adjectiv insted of to the noun as in ON. The definit article is postpositiv in Bulgarian, e. g., *ayma-ta* 'the word'.

8. Conclusion.

This brief study of a few characteristics of a primitiv and moribund idiom spoken in the North Luzón mountains givs us further evidence of the independent development of identical fonologic and syntactic processes in widely diverse linguistic territories.

¹ See Brandstetter, *Sprachvergl. Charakterbild eines Indon. Idioms*, Lucerne 1911, p. 57, and *Der Artikel des Indonesischen*, Lucerne 1913, section 22 *et passim*.

² See Heusler, *Altisländisches Elementarbuch*, Heidelberg 1913, p. 142.

Deccan Parallels to the Burj-Namah. — By Dr. VICCAJI
DINSHAW, Mahaboobnagar, India.

Recently Dr. Louis H. Gray very kindly sent me a reprint from this Journal (Vol. 33, pp. 281-294), in which the section on Parsi-Persian omen calendars interested me very greatly, because in it I saw a very close parallel to the stanzas consulted by the Muhammadans here in the Deccan, when they see the new moon. On comparing these with the Burj-Namah, I find that out of the twelve omens mentioned in these Deccan stanzas about eight agree with those of the Burj-Namah. I will, however, first quote these Deccan stanzas, and show their parallelism.

ماه محرم زر بهیین — اندر صفر آینه
ماه ربیع آب روان — آخر غنم ای مه نگر
ماه جمادی نقره بهیین — پیری بهیین در آخرین
ماه رجب مصحف بهیین — شعبان گیاه سبزتر
شمشیر در رمضان نگر — شوال جامه سبزتر
ذلقعه بینی کودکی — دلخچه دختر خوب تر

TRANSLATION.

(In the) month (of) Muharram look on gold, in Šafar look on a mirror,

(In) the (first) Rabi' look on the running waters, in the last (Rabi') look on a lamb, oh! thou the moon-faced!¹

(In) the first Jumāda look on silver, look on an old man in the last (i. e. the second Jumāda).

¹ If in this line we read ماه for مه, we may translate, 'in the last Rabi' month, o (friend) look on a lamb'.

In Rajab look on the Koran, (in) Sha'bān look on the green (lit. greener) grass.

Look on the scimitar in Ramadān, in Shawwāl look on a green (lit. greener) robe.

(In) Dhu-l-Kā'da look on a young lad, (in) Dhu-l-Hijja (look on) a fair maid (lit. a fairer daughter).

PARALLELISM.

جمادى الثانى — پير = جوزا — پير
 ربيع الاول — آبروان = خرجنگ — آبروان
 صفر — آينه = ميزان — آينه
 محرم — زر = ميزان — زر
 جمادى الاول — نقره = قوش — سيم
 ذلعهده — بينى كودى = دلو — مبین كودى
 رجب — مصحف } = جدى — اشيم وهو
 دلو ايشا اهوويريو }
 شعبان — سبزه = خرجنگ — سبزه

These stanzas are believed in, and acted upon, by the Muhammadans of Persian descent and by pure Persians; other Muhammadans, such as the Arabs and the descendants of the Turks, who are also plentiful here, neither believe in them nor go by them; indeed, some of the latter think it against Islam to do so. It is true that the Hindus, too, have a superstition as to what articles or things are auspicious to look upon after seeing the new moon, but these are quite different to the Burj-Namah and the Deccan stanzas, and do not vary month by month as in them.

These facts show that the Burj-Namah has not originated from India, and that the Deccan stanzas have followed the Burj-Namah. Moreover, one cannot but feel convinced that Gray is right when he says that these Parsi-Persian calendar omens were incorporated into Zoroastrianism from the Babylonians. To my mind these omens were believed in by the Zoroastrians at the time of the Arab conquest; these and other superstitions formed part and parcel of their lives and were so firmly rooted in their hearts that even Muhammadanism was not able to eradicate them; the beliefs were cherished by the Persians

even after they had left the faith of their ancestors and had adopted that of Islam. On the other hand, the Arabs of that time never cared for them at all, being directly trained by their Prophet to believe in but One Power guiding the destiny of men. Again, the early history of the rise of Islam does not produce any proofs of the prevalence of any such superstitions; there was then only cheerful obedience to the will of Allāh. It is only after the conquest of Persia by the Arabs that we see these superstitions, because, as is well known, the Persians adopted the faith of Islam only outwardly, and in their heart of hearts they ever cherished a tender regard for the religion and customs of their ancestors.

The strongest proof, to my mind, is that had these beliefs been prevalent amongst the Arabs before the conquest of Persia, the present-day Arabs ought to have it still with them (which, as I have said above, is not the case); it is the exclusive belief of the Persian-Muhammadans or their descendants in the Deccan.

As I have said in my book, *The Date and Country of Zarathushtra* (Hyderabad, 1912), it is not the Semites alone (Babylonians) who tried to influence the Iranian mind. Long before the advent of the Semites one branch of the Iranians whom I have styled the Kyanians and who separated early from their brethren, the Medo-Persians, had arrived at the lands round about Urumiah and Van, by quite a separate route, ages before the other two. This branch lived in these parts, struggling with the inhabitants, the Hittites and the Sumero-Accadians, whom the Iranians included under the common appellation of "Turanians" because of a similar form of faith. Traces of this struggle are plentiful in the Yashts; a history unfortunately believed to be legendary, but which, I hope, will prove to be true if further excavations are carried out by experts round about Takht-i-Sulaiman, which was the rallying point, or rather, the haven of refuge for the kings of Iran in times of trouble and when hotly pursued by enemies.

Leaving aside the history of the Yashts, we find vivid earlier pictures of this struggle in the Gathas of Zarathushtra, because, as I have said in my book already mentioned, the deities of the Sumero-Accadians (Ishmu and Akkimu) are found under an evil aspect in the Gathas as Aēshma and Akoman; and

the only form of worship at this period — the worship of the evil spirits alone¹ (with the object of keeping them in good humor) — is vehemently denounced by Zarathushtra because he saw some of his tribes (the Kavis, Karpans, and the Usigs) adopting through fear this worship.

In conclusion, I would draw attention to the fact that this part of India (Deccan) is now what western Asia was in ancient times, a congery of nations, who have in most cases preserved the traditions of their ancestors intact. This region is, therefore, peculiarly important for tracing the origin of ancient traditions, etc., and I shall be only too glad to help scholars who may be in doubt as to the origin of any such.

¹ I say *alone*, because the Sumero-Accadians know nothing about the Benign Spirit or Spirits, this latter conception having originated with the Semites and Aryans.

Contributions to the History of Greek Philosophy in the Orient, Syriac Texts, IV: A Syriac Version of the λόγος κεφαλαιώδης περὶ ψυχῆς πρὸς Τατιανόν of Gregory Thaumaturgus.—Edited by GIUSEPPE FURLANI, Ph. D., London.

One of the manuscripts of chief importance for the history of Greek philosophy among the Syrians is the Add. 14,658 of the British Museum.¹ It contains the following tracts of philosophical contents.

(1) A work of the archiater Sergius of Rās'ain on the *Categories* of Aristotle (f. 1^a—61^a). It is not a work on Logic in general, as has been stated by Renan,² Wright,³ and lastly repeated by Anton Baumstark.⁴ As book I. of the tract is completely wanting and in the subscription the title is not repeated we are not able to say what was really the title Sergius had given it. As it is not—as already stated—a work on Logic in general, but only on a small part of it, the *Categories*, the title cannot have been **فقهة منطق**. It is therefore not identical with the **فقهة منطق** cited by Ebedjesu in his Catalogue.⁵ Besides that it must be emphatically denied that Ebedjesu cites here the title of a work of Sergius. He means only to say that Sergius has written some tracts on logical subjects, some ὑπο-

¹ William Wright: *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum, acquired since the year 1838*, [London] 1870, 1154—1160.

² *Lettre à M. Reinaud, sur quelques manuscrits syriaques du Musée Britannique contenant des traductions d'auteurs grecs profanes et des traités philosophiques*, *Journal Asiatique*, Avril 1852, p. 320; C'est sans doute le traité qu' Ebedjesu, dans son catalogue, désigne sous le titre de **فقهة منطق**, *Commentaires sur la Dialectique*.

³ l. c. p. 1154.

⁴ Baumstark: *Aristoteles bei den Syrern vom V—VIII. Jahrhundert. Syrisch-arabische Biographien des Aristoteles. Syrische Commentare zur εἰσαγωγή des Porphyrios*, *Erster Band*, Leipzig 1900, p. 160.

⁵ Assemani: *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, tom. III, pars 1, p. 87.

μνήματα λογικά. We have the same work in an abridged recension in the manuscript Petermann 9¹ of the Königliche Bibliothek at Berlin.² Here the title runs ܡܢܗܡܐ ܕܠܘܓܝܟܐ ܕܡܢܗܡܐ ܕܠܘܓܝܟܐ. I think there is no reason to doubt that the tract ܡܢܗܡܐ ܕܠܘܓܝܟܐ of the manuscript of the British Museum bore the same title.

(2) A Syriac version of the *είσαγωγή* of Porphyry (f. 61^a—75^a).³ It has been published by A. Freimann from the Berlin Manuscript Petermann 9.⁴ Part of it is preserved also in the Add. 14, 618. In a Syriac manuscript of the Vatican and in one of the Bibliothèque nationale there is another version of the *είσαγωγή* due to Athanasius II. of Balad.

(3) A *διαίρεσις* of ܡܠܐ (οὐσία). It occurs in nearly all the Syriac manuscripts of philosophical content.

(4) A Syriac version of the *κατηγορίαι* of Aristotle. Renan and Wright thought that it is due probably to Sergius of Rās'ain.⁵ R. Gottheil has given in the introduction to his edition of the translation of the *Categories* made by George, Bishop of the Arabic tribes (*Hebraica*, IX, 166—175), a general survey of the Syriac versions of this Aristotelian work. This version is by Sergius of Rās'ain.⁶

(5) A grammatical tract, which has lost its real title, as indicate the two words now prefixed to it: ܡܢܗܡܐ ܕܠܘܓܝܟܐ. It does not go over the same ground as the *περὶ ἑρμηνείας* of Aristotle,⁷ but is wholly grammatical in its content. Only at the beginning it starts from the concept of λόγος as laid down in the *περὶ ἑρμηνείας* (f. 92^a—94^a). I am not able to say whether Sergius is the author of it or not, but I would rather incline to the second part of the alternative.

¹ The publications concerning the philosophical works of this MS have been cited by me in *Contributi alla storia della filosofia greca in Oriente, testi siriaci*, I. *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, vol. XXIII, pp. 154—159.

² *Die Handschriftenverzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, XXIII. Band, Verzeichnis der syrischen Handschriften* von Eduard Sachau, Berlin 1899, Abt. 1, 327.

³ Wright l. c. 1156.

⁴ A. Freimann: *Die Isagoge des Porphyrius in der syrischen Übersetzung*, Berlin 1897.

⁵ Wright l. c. 1156.

⁶ Wright: *A short History of Syriac Literature*, London 1894, p. 91, n. 2.

⁷ Renan, *Journal Asiatique* l. c. 330.

(6) A tract beginning with the words **ܐܠܗ ܥܠܡ ܐܝܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܐܝܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܐܝܬܐ** . . . **ܐܝܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܐܝܬܐ**. Renan and Wright thought it treats about matters contained in the *περὶ ἐρμηνείας*.¹ I have examined it, but I cannot confirm their statement. It is a fragment of a work which deals with the *Analytica Priora* and gives a description of the syllogisms. It is not identical with the treatise "*on the Syllogisms in the Analytica (Priora)*" of Aristotle by Severus Sabocht preserved in the Add. 17, 156.

(7) A treatise by Sergius of Rās'ain on the Causes of the Universe, **ܕܡܢ ܥܠܡ ܕܡܢ ܥܠܡ ܕܡܢ ܥܠܡ**. It gives the chief ideas of the Aristotelian *περὶ οὐρανοῦ* (f. 99^b—107^b).

(7) A Syriac version of the pseudo-Aristotelian treatise *περὶ κόσμον πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον* made by Sergius, published by A. de Lagarde in *Analecta Syriaca*, Lipsiae-Londinii 1858, pp. 134—158. This translation has been analysed by Victor Ryssel in *Über den textkritischen Werth der syrischen Übersetzungen griechischer Klassiker, I. Teil*, Leipzig 1880, p. 5—48.

(9) A tract on the Soul, ascribed to Aristotle: **ܕܡܢ ܥܠܡ ܕܡܢ ܥܠܡ ܕܡܢ ܥܠܡ ܕܡܢ ܥܠܡ**. Wright says that it is not the well-known treatise *περὶ ψυχῆς*, but a wholly different work consisting of five short sections.³ But it has nothing to do with Aristotle, it is a Syriac version of the *λόγος κεφαλαιώδης περὶ ψυχῆς πρὸς Τατιανόν* by Gregory Thaumaturgus (f. 122^a—124^b).

(10) **ܕܡܢ ܥܠܡ ܕܡܢ ܥܠܡ ܕܡܢ ܥܠܡ ܕܡܢ ܥܠܡ** by Sergius (f. 124^b—129^a).

(11) The well-known **ܕܡܢ ܥܠܡ ܕܡܢ ܥܠܡ ܕܡܢ ܥܠܡ** by Bar-daišān (f. 129^a—141^a).

(12) Sergius of Rās'ain on the influence of the moon; it is an abridgment of Galenos *περὶ κρισίμων ἡμερῶν*. It has been edited by Eduard Sachau on p. ܡܡ—ܡܡ of the *Inedita Syriaca*, Wien 1870.

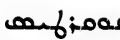
(13) On the motion of the sun, by the same author, published also by Sachau, l. c. p. ܡܡ—ܡܡ.

(14) The names of the Signs of the Zodiac, according to the school of Bar-daišān (f. 149^b), published by Sachau, l. c. p. ܡܡ.


¹ Renan, *Journal Asiatique* l. c. 330 and Wright, l. c. p. 1156.

² Wright, l. c. p. 1162.

³ See also Renan, *Journal Asiatique* l. c. p. 330—332, and *De philosophia peripatetica apud Syros commentatio historica*, Parisiis 1852, p. 28.


(15) A dialogue on the Soul entitled , edited by de Lagarde in the *Analecta Syriaca*, p. 158—167 (f. 150^a—155^a).

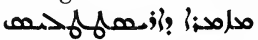
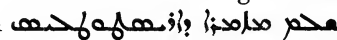
(18) Sayings by Menander, published by Land in *Anecdota Syriaca*, t. I., p. 64. Anton Baumstark has analysed them in *Lucubrationes syro-graecae*, p. 473—487 (*Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, XXI. Supplementband, Leipzig 1894).

(19) Some *ὁρίσμοι* and *διαρρέσεις* of  (f. 168^a—172^a).¹

(20) Sentences of Pythagoras (f. 172^a—176^a). See Rubens Duval: *La littérature syriaque*³, Paris 1907, p. 258.

(23—25) Sentences of Plato and Platonic definitions (f. 185^b—186^b).

(26) The Counsel of Theano (f. 186^b—188^b), [published by Sachau l. c. ] see Duval l. c. p. 258, 259 and 260.

This manuscript is on vellum, and is written in a good regular Estrangēlā of the VIIth century. Each page is divided in two columns.² The tract we now publish begins on the f. 122^b in the middle of the column. The title  is written with red ink. So also the headings of the single sections and the subscription  (f. 124^c near the bottom of the column), except sections II and III where only the cipher is red coloured (f. 122^c at the end and f. 123^a in the middle).

For our edition of the *λόγος περὶ ψυχῆς* we have kept quite closely to the text of the manuscripts before us, although one cannot say that it is a good text. But we thought that it was our duty to correct at least the most palpable and evident errors of the copyist, but without getting any help from the Greek text. Only in one case we were compelled to do so, and to take advantage also of the text published from a Sinaitic manuscript by Agnes Smith Lewis in *Studia Sinaitica* I, p. 19—26.³

We must yet remark that the headings of the sections are not written on separate lines. It seems to us that in the middle of f. 123^b some lines had been erased owing most probably to a fault in copying; some words had been omitted and there-

¹ They are not "*des remaniements du περὶ ἐρμηνείας*", as has been affirmed by Renan (l. c. p. 332).

² Wright, l. c. p. 1154.

³ *Studia Sinaitica* No. 1, *Catalogue of the Syriac MSS. in the Convent of S. Catharine on Mount Sinai*, compiled by Agnes Smith Lewis, London 1894.

fore the copyist was compelled to write there with smaller letters.

L = Add. 14,658 of the British Museum.

S = 16 of the Syriac MSS in the convent of S. Catharine on Mount Sinai.

۱۵۷ مامون؛ و انهم حاکم و حاکم و حاکم

L 122^b
S 140^a

[illegible]

۱۰ : ول الله بعد


























[illegible]

L 122^c
S 140^b

10

.15


20

1 , , L. 4 L repeats , it is crossed
by three strokes, I do not know whether of the same hand or of another.
7 ,  L. 9 ,  L. 10 ,  L. |
 L. 11 ,  L. 16 the second ,
 L. | the second ,  L. 17 ,  L. 18 the
first  omits L. | ,  L. | ,  L. 19 ,
 L.

141^b S 141^b 15
 20 20
 123^c L 123^c 15

5 5
 10 10
 142^a S 142^a 15
 123^d L 123^d

11 20, 20 L. 21 20, 20 L. 23 20, 20 L. IV 2 20, 20 L.
 3 20, 20 L. 4 20, 20 L. 5 20, 20 L. 5 20, 20 L. | L. 1, 1 L.
 8-9 both 20, 20 L. 10 both 20, 20 L. 17 20, 20 L. | 20, 20 L.
 is on the margin, by another (rough) hand. 18 20, 20 L.

philosophers" . She also did not know who is its author. Victor Ryssel translated the Syriac version already published in German in the „*Rheinisches Museum*”¹ of 1896 and expressed the opinion that it was probably the work of a „*spätere, griechische Schriftsteller*”. In the same year he was able to point to the real author of the tract and gave also, in the same review, some suggestions for corrections both of the Greek and Syriac texts.²

What Victor Ryssel has begun we try to accomplish. We regret to be hampered in our task by the lack of a critical edition, on which one could rely, of the Greek text, namely as the text of the edition of Migne (*Patrologia Graeca*, tom. 10, 1137—1146) gives absolutely no variants. But we hope to be even able to correct the Greek text by confronting it with the Syriac translation.

Mrs. Agnes Smith Lewis found it in the MS. 16 of the Convent on Mount Sinai. The manuscript dates from the seventh century, is written in Estrangelo and is on vellum. It contains (1) the lives of the Egyptian Fathers, fol. 1—86. (2) The Life of the Holy Nilus the Anchorite, fol. 87—93. (3) The Apology of Aristides on behalf of the Christians, fol. 93—105. (4) A discourse of Plutarch on the advantage to be derived from one's enemies, fol. 105—112. (5) A discourse of the same Plutarch about asceticism, fol. 112—121. (6) A discourse of Pythagoras, fol. 121—126. (7) A discourse of Plutarch about anger, fol. 126—132. (8) A discourse of Lucian that we should not readily believe slander against our friends, fol. 132—140. (9) Discourse of a Philosopher about the Soul, fol. 140—143. [9^a] The discourse of Theano is followed by [10] Sayings of the Philosophers, and these are apparently the same collection as is found in Sachau, *Inedita*, pp. 66; after which follows (11) [another collection of sayings of wise men]. (12) A commentary on Ecclesiastes by Mar John the Anchorite, fol. 151—214. (13) Commentaries of Chrysostom on Matthew, fol. 214 ad finem.

Her edition is apparently an exact copy of the manuscript. We can therefore rely upon it quite confidently.

¹ Neue Folge, Jahrgang 51; Zwei neu aufgefundene Schriften der graeco-syrischen Literatur, p. 2—3 and 4—9.

² l. c. p. 318—320.

The first difference we remark between the texts is the difference of the title. The MS. of the British Museum ascribes the text to Aristotle, while the Sinaitic speaks vaguely of "philosophers". Mr. Ryssel thought that this inscription comprehends also the immediately following sentences of the philosophers¹ and that one must read therefore: **ܐܪܝܨܬܐ ܕܐܪܝܨܬܐ**... **ܕܐܪܝܨܬܐ**. But it seems to me that the fact that the other MS. ascribes it to Aristotle points in another direction. To all those who have seen and worked with Syriac MSS. it is a very well known fact that the Syriac copyists were very careless in writing the diacritical points, especially the Seyāmē. It is therefore most probable that one has to read **ܐܪܝܨܬܐ**, and "the philosopher" in the Orient is nobody else than Aristotle.² Therefore I think that the translator of the λόγος did not find it in his Greek manuscript ascribed either to Gregory or to Aristotle, but to "a philosopher" or to nobody; that is to say, it was ἀδέσποτος. At all events it seems to me to be an incontrovertible fact, that the change from **ܐܪܝܨܬܐ** to **ܐܪܝܨܬܐ** has taken place on Syriac soil. Some copyist who knew perhaps a bit about Aristotelian psychology—of course, not more than a bit—substituted the name of the Greek philosopher for "a philosopher". There is also an Arabic paraphrasis of the λόγος in the MS. Add. 7453: **هذا مختصر من قول الحكيم ارسطوطاليس الفيلسوف في النفس وهو سبعة اقوال**. The same paraphrasis we find also in the Add. 23, 403. We shall publish this paraphrase in the *Rendiconti* of the *Reale Accademia dei Lincei*.

The quotation from the λόγος published by de Lagarde runs rightly: **ܐܪܝܨܬܐ ܕܐܪܝܨܬܐ ܕܐܪܝܨܬܐ ܕܐܪܝܨܬܐ**³. This fact could perhaps induce somebody to say that therefore there were Syriac manuscripts with the right title. But it must be remarked that this quotation is not from our Syriac version, but is a translation,⁴ quite independent from our version, of a part of a Greek *catena patrum*. The Syriac

¹ l. c. p. 2.

² Baumstark l. c. p. 22, n. 2.

³ The MS. Add. 12,155 has **ܐܪܝܨܬܐ**.

⁴ Ryssel is wrong in saying: ... Bruchstück einer alten syrischen Übersetzung, welches de Lagarde aus zwei Handschriften des achten Jahrhunderts veröffentlicht ... in *Gregorius Thaumaturgus, sein Leben und seine Schriften*, Leipzig 1880, p. 35.

translators or compilers of the *Catena* of the Add. 12,155 and Add. 14,532 MSS. have found in their Greek source this very brief excerpt from the *lógos* and have translated it. This quotation has therefore nothing to do with the integral version of the *lógos*. It alludes to the fourth chapter (in our edition, p. IV, 11). That it has really nothing to do with our version will appear evidently from the following confrontation of the passages alluded to:

Our version, IV, 11—13	De Lagarde's quotation (Analecta 31, 14—16)	The Greek text PG X 1144 A
مڤع ٲعلا ٲعلا مڤع ٲعلا ٲعلا مڤع ٲعلا ٲعلا مڤع ٲعلا ٲعلا مڤع ٲعلا ٲعلا مڤع ٲعلا ٲعلا	مڤع ٲعلا ٲعلا مڤع ٲعلا ٲعلا مڤع ٲعلا ٲعلا مڤع ٲعلا ٲعلا مڤع ٲعلا ٲعلا مڤع ٲعلا ٲعلا	οὐκ οὖν ἡ ψυχὴ ἀπλή οὖσα, καὶ μὴ ἐκ διαφόρων συγκειμένη μερῶν, ἀσύνθετος καὶ ἀδιάλυτος οὖσα, διὰ τοῦτο ἄφθαρτος καὶ ἀθάνατος ἔσται.

It is clear that the passage cited has been translated by a person different from the translator of the *lógos* and that the translator of the *Catena* was more accurate than the translator of the whole *lógos*.

I give now a list of the discrepancies between the texts of L and S, but I exclude all the differences which are due evidently to the carelessness of the copyists or the intentional inaccuracy of the translator.

L	S
I 1 مڤع ٲعلا ٲعلا	19 a 1-2 مڤع ٲعلا
1 مڤع	2 مڤع
2 مڤع	3 مڤع
2 مڤع	4 مڤع
2 مڤع	5 مڤع
2 مڤع	5-6 مڤع مڤع
3 مڤع	7 مڤع
5 مڤع	12 مڤع

¹ Add. 14, 532 has مڤع ٲعلا.

L	S
3 <i>لصحا</i>	12 <i>لصحا</i>
4 <i>نفعلا</i>	17 <i>نفعلا</i>
4 omits	18 after <i>نحو</i> inserts <i>نحو</i>
7 <i>نصحتهم</i>	25 <i>نحو نصحتهم</i>
8 <i>نفعلا</i>	22 a 2 <i>نحو</i>
8-9 both <i>نفعهم</i>	4 <i>نفعهم</i>
13 <i>ولا نفعهم</i>	19-20 <i>ولا نفعهم</i>
13 <i>لصحا</i>	20 <i>نحو</i>
14 <i>نحو</i>	24 <i>لا</i>
15 <i>ولا نفعلا</i>	b 1-2 <i>ولا نفعلا</i>
16 <i>نحو</i>	5 <i>نحو</i>
17 <i>لصحا</i>	6 <i>نفعلا</i>
18 <i>ولا نصحتهم</i>	8 <i>ولا نصحتهم</i>
18 <i>نحو</i>	9 omits
19 <i>نحو</i>	11 <i>نحو</i>
19 <i>لصحا</i>	12 <i>لصحا</i>
19 <i>لا لا نصحتهم</i>	12 omits
19 <i>لا</i>	13 omits
20 <i>ولا نفعهم</i>	16 <i>ولا نفعهم</i>
21 <i>لصحا</i>	18 <i>لصحا</i>
22 <i>لصحا</i>	17 <i>لصحا</i>
23 <i>ولا نفعهم</i>	20 <i>ولا نفعهم</i>
IV 1 <i>نحو</i>	25 <i>نحو</i>
2 <i>لصحا</i>	23 a 1 <i>لصحا</i>
3 <i>نحو</i>	4 <i>نحو</i>
3 <i>لا</i>	4 <i>نحو</i>
4 <i>لصحا</i>	7 <i>لصحا</i>
5 <i>لصحا</i>	12 <i>لصحا</i>
6 <i>لصحا</i>	13 <i>لصحا</i>
8 <i>لصحا</i>	22 <i>لصحا</i>
10 <i>لصحا</i>	b 2 <i>لصحا</i>
11 <i>لصحا</i>	4 omits
13 <i>لصحا</i>	8 <i>لصحا</i>
14 <i>نحو</i>	11 omits

L	S
5 مسمع	7 مسمع
5 سمع	9 جبتسمع
6 ؟	10 omits
7 حو محلا مسمع محلا	13 حو محلا مسمع محلا
7 لاسم	14 ؟ لاسم
8 مسمع محلا	17 مسمع محلا
10 لا مسمع	24 محلا
11 مسمع ؟	b 1 حو مسمع
12 مسمع ؟	3 omits
13 سمع مسمع	4 سمع مسمع
13 مسمع مسمع	4 مسمع مسمع
14 مسمع	7 مسمع
14 مسمع	8 مسمع
14 omits	9 مسمع after مسمع
14 مسمع	10 مسمع
15 omits	10 مسمع after ؟
15 سمع مسمع	12 سمع مسمع
16 مسمع سمع	14 مسمع
16 مسمع	15 مسمع
17 مسمع	17 مسمع
17 مسمع	18 مسمع سمع
18 مسمع	21 مسمع
19 مسمع	23 مسمع
20 مسمع	26 مسمع
20-21 مسمع مسمع	26 a 2 مسمع سمع
22 مسمع	7 مسمع
22-23 مسمع	9 مسمع
24 مسمع	b 3 مسمع
24 مسمع	5 مسمع
25 مسمع	6 مسمع
27 علم مسمع	10-11 علم مسمع
؟ مسمع مسمع	مسمع مسمع
مسمع	مسمع.

ܐܠܝܬܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܠܐ	ἀτελεύτητον
ܡܠܟܐ	ἐμμέμικται
ܝܠܐ	ζωτικόν
ܡܠ ܐܝܢܐ ܐܝܢܐ	ζωοποιούν
ܡܠ ܡܠܐܝܬܐ ܐܝܢܐ ܡܠܐܝܬܐ ܐܝܢܐ	τό ζωοποιούμενον
ܡܠܐܝܬܐ	λογική
ܡܠܐ	ὄγκον
ܡܠܐ ܡܠܐ	τὰ ὄντα
ܡܠܐ	γνωρίζεται
ܡܠܐ	νόησις
ܡܠܐ	εἰδήσις
ܡܠܐ	ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ
ܡܠܐ ܡܠܐ	φύσις
ܡܠܐ ܡܠܐ ܐܝܢܐ	τὸ μὴ ὄν
ܡܠܐ ܡܠܐ ܐܝܢܐ	τὸ ὄν
ܡܠܐ	ἀξίωμα
ܡܠܐ	ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ
ܡܠܐ	φυσικῶς
ܡܠܐ	λογική
ܡܠܐ	ἐγκέκραται
ܡܠܐ ܡܠܐ ܡܠܐ	πολυμερής
ܡܠܐ	λόγος
ܡܠܐ ܡܠܐ ܡܠܐ	τὸ ἀθάνατον
ܡܠܐ	ὅρος
ܡܠܐ	παρακείσθαι
ܡܠܐ ܡܠܐ	ἐμψυχον
ܡܠܐ ܡܠܐ	ἀκόλουθον
ܡܠܐ ܡܠܐ ܡܠܐ	τὰ ἄψυχα
ܡܠܐ ܡܠܐ	ἀποτελεσμα
ܡܠܐ ܡܠܐ	ἐναντία
ܡܠܐ ܡܠܐ ܡܠܐ	ἐνέργεια
ܡܠܐ	αἴτιον
ܡܠܐ ܡܠܐ	ψηφίς
ܡܠܐ ܡܠܐ	διαιρετόν
ܡܠܐ ܡܠܐ ܡܠܐ	τὸ ἀπλόν

אחל מבע א ח	τριχῇ διάστατον
מבחה	σύνθετον
לא מבחה	τὸ ἀσύνθετον
נעל	αἴσθησις
נחל	ἀξίωμα
מל	λόγος
מליל	διαλυτόν
מעתל	ἐναντία

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NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

The articles printed in the following pages, 321-398, constituting Part 4 of Volume 35 of this Journal, were submitted to the Editor for publication in the spring and summer of 1915, and were all put in type by W. Drugulin in Leipsic, Germany, in the summer and fall of that year. Part of the proof was received and returned in October and November; the remainder, sent from Leipsic early in 1916, was detained in transit and did not reach this country until May, 1917, coming into the hands of the Editor June 1st. On consultation with the Treasurer of the Society and the present Editors of the Journal it was decided, in view of the probability that the war would not end soon, and also because of the manifest obligation of the Society to its members and the subscribers to its Journal, as well as to those who had contributed the aforesaid articles, to issue the long-missing number in this country at once.

The Editor, the printers, the Treasurer of the Society, and the agents employed to distribute the Journal, have received many letters of complaint in regard to the broken file of the Journal and the delay in completing it. Information as to the reason for the delay was given in circulars sent out in March and July, 1916, and in the Editor's Report presented at the meeting in Washington and printed in Volume 36, page 435. In replying to queries and complaints the Editor of Volume 35 promised that the gap should be filled, without undue loss of time, as soon as circumstances should permit. This promise he has done his best to fulfil.

NEW HAVEN, CONN., November 9, 1917.

*Studies in the Old Persian Inscriptions.**—By ROLAND G. KENT,
Professor in the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

§ 1. The extreme care with which monumental inscriptions are cut should be a constant warning to their interpreters not to take liberties with the established text, once that text has been carefully read and verified; and now that Rawlinson's work on the great inscription of Darius on the Rock at Behistan has been verified, or corrected, as the case may be, by Jackson and by King and Thompson, scholars should beware of emending for the sake of getting a more easily explainable text. Where any alteration in the recorded reading is attempted, it should be along the accepted lines of textual criticism, which are coming more and more to regard errors as due to mechanical imperfection, rather than as due to the operation of the human mind. Any emendation of the Old Persian inscriptions should therefore be based on such processes as dittography, haplography, accidental omission of one or more of the strokes forming the character, partial obliteration of signs by the action of the elements, and the like. From this conservative standpoint, some passages in the Behistan inscription are here examined.

§ 2. For convenience, an index, according to sections, of the main words and topics discussed, is here presented:

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* This article was in type in the fall of 1915. See page 319.

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I. Avahyarādiy.

§ 3. *Avahyarādiy* 'on this account' occurs Bh. 1, 51—52; 4, 47; a 9—10; and in mutilated form 1, 6—7; 4, 54. 62. Inasmuch as *avahyā*¹ (wherein the length of the final vowel² is graphic merely, not phonetic) is the regular gen. masc. and neut. of the pronominal stem *ava-*, there would seem to be no reason for departing from the old view that the word is a compound

¹ Occurring Bh. 1, 29; 3, 70; 4, 48—49.

² Foy's disquisition, KZ. 35, 2—12, on the rationale of the OPers. script does not convince me; I feel strongly that this script has been conventionalized in certain points, such as *-ā* for final short *-a*, *iy* and *uv* for final and postconsonantal *i* and *u*, and the combinations *hi* and *hu* (see § 24); observe the stem *tya-* for **tiya-* by the influence of the writing *hya-* (not **hiya-*).

equal to the Greek phrase *τούτου ἕνεκα*, both in form¹ and in meaning, and to the Latin *huius rei causā*.² It is therefore a little surprising to find that Bartholomae³ interprets the word as **avahyā rādīy*, where the prior member is a loc. fem. sing. in agreement with the noun which is the second element. It is, he says, an early compound which kept the old form of the pronoun, for which as an independent word **avahyāyā* came into use later. Both the earlier **avahyā* and the later **avahyāyā* are based upon the extension of the *-hy-* element,⁴ seen in the Skt. pronominal forms *tasyāi tasyās tasyām* &c.

§ 4. This *-hy-* element, on the testimony of the pronouns in Skt. and in Av., is found in the gen., dat., abl. and loc. cases of the fem. sing.⁵ Of such forms we actually have, in OPers., only the genitives *ahyāyā* (written also *ahiyāyā*) and *hamahyāyā*, and the locative *ahyāyā*. In the gen., corresponding to the Skt. *asyās*, we have an OPers. **ahyā^h*, which would be written *ah^ay^aa*, identical with the masc. neut. *ahyā* = Skt. *asya*; for in OPers. absolutely final short *a* is written with the separate letter, not expressed merely by the vowel inherent in the preceding consonant. For distinction perhaps, or even merely for assonance to the nominal *-ā-* stems in the same case, fem. *ahyā* was made over to *ahyāyā* (cf. subst. gen. *taumāyā*); the process is the same with *hamahyāyā*. But for the loc. *ahyāyā* the development is more complicated. Skt. has *asyām*, with an *m* suffix not found in other languages; were we to compare the substantival loc. *senāyām*, we should be tempted to divide *senāy-ām*, and similarly *asy-ām*, and to make the added element of uncertain origin the entire *-ām*. In this way, we have perhaps **asī-i* as the basic form of the case, cf. masc. and neut. *asm-i-n*; **asīi-ām* would automatically become the actual Skt. *asyām*. The Avestan *aⁱbhe* stands for an earlier **asyā*; this may be interpreted as **asīi* plus the postposition *ā*, so commonly attached to the Iranian locative as a formative element. The Iranian **ahyā* may then have been made over to *ahyāyā* in imitation of the loc. of fem. *-ā-* stems,

¹ Except that *ἕνεκα* is instr. in form, while *-rādīy* is loc.

² *Huius rei* is merely the gen. of neut. *hoc*, used because the simple pronoun *huius* would be ambiguous with both of the other genders.

³ *AiW.* 179, s. v.

⁴ Bartholomae, *Grundriss d. iran. Phil.* I, § 239, 2.

⁵ And of course in the gen. sing. masc. and neutr., from which it may have started; Brugmann, *Grundriss d. vgl. Gram.* II², 2, p. 360, § 357.

such as *Aθurāyā* and *Arbairāyā*. The probability of this loc. **avahyāyā* must be admitted, especially as the Av. shows the extension of the *-hy-* element in the gen., dat. and abl. of this stem *ava-*, though the locative unfortunately does not occur.

§ 5. We must note that in Bartholomae's assumed form **avahyā-rādiy* the prior element contains the postposition *ā*, though the posterior element lacks it. With regard to the appearance of this postposition as a formative element of the loc. in OPers., an examination gives the following results:

Postpositive *ā* appears

in fem. proper names which are *-ā-* and *-ī-* stems:

Aθurāyā, *Arbairāyā*

Baxtriyā, *Harauvatiyā*¹

in common nouns except those used as adverbs:²

uzmayā-patīy, *dastayā*, *duvarayā*

dīpiyā, *āpiyā*, *būmiyā*¹

gāθavā, *dahyauvā*

viθiyā, *drayahyā*³

in pronouns:

ahyāyā

in all plurals:

Mādaišuvā, *maškāuvā*, *dahyušuvā*, *aniyāuvā*

Postpositive *ā* does not appear:

in masc. proper names which are *-ō-* and *-ū-* stems:

Arminiyaīy, *Asagartaīy*, *Uvajaīy*, *Pārsaīy*, *Mādaīy*,

Mudrāyaīy, *Hagmatānaīy*

in locative forms used as adverbs:

ašnaīy, *paruvaīy*, *dūraīy* *dūraiapiy* (variously spelled)

ni-padiy, *-rādiy*, *vasiy*

nāma *nāmā*⁴

¹ If it be taken, with Brugmann, *Grundriss d. vgl. Gram.* II², 2, p. 181, as with *-yā* by haplology for *-yāy-ā*. If however, this *-iyā* stand merely for *-(i)īē+i*, > *-(i)īēi*, with later loss of the diphthong-forming element (Brugmann, *Gdr.* I², § 223), the fact that these forms also ended in *-ā*, despite a difference of origin of that *-ā* (*ib.* II², 2, p. 181), might throw them into the same category as those with real postpositive *-ā*, so far as the feeling of the speaker was concerned.

² On *ufrastādiy*, Bh. 4, 69, cf. § 64—69.

³ *Māhyā* may belong here, but is better to be taken as gen. of the thematic stem, with Gray, *AJP.* 21, 13—14.

⁴ *Nāma* shows by its final short *a* that a weak consonant, an earlier *s* or *t* or *n*, is implied; in this word it can be only *n*. As *nāma* is always

§ 6. Now in Bartholomae's **avahyā-rādiy*, we note that the prior element has the postpositive *ā*, while the second lacks it. This is not fatal to his explanation, for the *ā*, according to our theory of the history of the pronominal loc. fem., is earlier there than in nouns; but the great difficulty is the length of the final *a* of **avahyā*, and its consistent shortness in the compound *avahyarādiy*. Foy¹ attempts to explain this on the ground of lawless writing of the final vowel before an enclitic and before the second element of compounds. Let us see how far the phenomena bear out his claim.

§ 7. The possible graphic finals before enclitics are *m š u i ā a*. Words ending in the consonants offer no peculiarities. Final *u* is regularly written *uv*; before enclitics and in compounds² we commonly find this form, but also the plain *u*:

hauv-maiy Bh. 2, 79; 3, 11; *hauv-taiy* Dar. NRa 57; *hauv-ci-y* Dar. Pers. e 23—24; *hauv-am* Bh. 1, 29; but also *hau-šaiy* Dar. Pers. d 3

paruvzanānām Xerx. Pers. b 15—16, da 11 = db 15—16, *paruv zanānām* Xerx. Pers. a 8, ca 7 = cb 11—12; Xerx. Van 12; *paruzanānām* Dar. Elv. 15—16; Xerx. Elv. 15—16; cf. also *paruvnām* and *parūnām*, gen. plur. of *paruv*.

§ 8. Final *i* is written *iy*, except after *h*, where we have *y* alone; before enclitics the *y* ordinarily disappears, so that final *hy* becomes *-ha-*:

naiy-diš Bh. 4, 73. 78; *nai-maiy* Bh. 4, 64; *nai-šim* Bh. 4, 49
tyai-šaiy Bh. 1, 57; 2, 77; 3, 48. 51. 74. 90. 91
imai-vā Bh. 4, 71. 73. 77

used to denote specification, it must be *nāman*, a suffixless loc. in adverbial use. This form is used when the generic noun is masc. or neut. (as in Bh. 3, 12, *martiya Frāda nāma*, 3, 22 *Tāravā nāmā vardanam*), but is written with the final vowel long when the generic word is fem. (as in Bh. 2, 27—28 *Karṇpada nāmā dahyāuš*, 2, 39 *Tigra nāmā didā*); Tolman's formulation, *Lex.* 105, seems to be the best, that the *nāmā* has taken the final long vowel because of the association with a feminine noun, and thus secures apparent agreement with it. This variation in the final vowel shows that the word was no longer felt to be distinctly a living case-form in the paradigm, but rather a word of an adverbial use. But cf. Gray, *IF.* 11, 307—313.

¹ KZ. 35, 8—10.

² In the following lists compounds are included only so far as they present features of interest. In nominal compounds, the prior element is usually a stem in stem form, or a prefix which is indeclinable. In verbs, the prefix is always in the correct phonetic form.

dūrai-apiy Dar. NRa 12; *dūray-apiy* Dar. NRa 46; cf. *dūraiṽ apiy* Xerx. Pers. a 9, b 18—19, da 13 = db 18—19; Sz. c 6; Dar. Elv. 18—19, Xerx. Elv. 18; Xerx. Van 14

raucapati-vā Bh. 1, 20

yadi-patiy Dar. NRa 38

ni-padiy Bh. 2, 73; 3, 73

abiy-para(?; written *ab^ayap^ara*) Art. Sus. a 4

paribarāha-diš Bh. 4, 74

vikanāha-diš Bh. 4, 77

§ 9. Before taking up those combinations in which the sound before the enclitic (or second element of a compound) is short or long *ā*, certain tentative conclusions may be drawn, as follows: Before an enclitic, vowels may keep their writing just as when in the final position, or may be written as when medial in a word; -*hy*, being written -*h^ay^a* and not -*h^ai^y*, becomes the illogical -*ha*- on losing the *y*. In accordance with this we should expect to find that a final -*ā*, whether absolutely final or supported by a weak consonant, retains its length before an enclitic; that a final -*ā*, written without length because supported by a weak consonant, appears as a short before an enclitic; that a final -*ā*, written with length because absolutely final, before an enclitic appears sometimes as long and sometimes with its etymological shortness. The instances follow:

§ 10. Final -*ā*, supported by a weak consonant:

ā^h: *Auramazdā-maiy* Bh. 1, 24—25. 25. 55. 87. 94; 2, 24. 34. 40. 45. 54. 60. 68. 86. 96; 3, 6. 16—17. 37. 44—45. 61—62. 66—67. 87; 4, 60; Dar. NRb 49. *Auramazda-maiy* Dar. NRa 50 is a dubious reading; Tolm. *Cun. Sup.* 58 indicates that it was written *Auramazdā-(ma)iy*, with length of the *ā* and accidental omission of the next character.

Auramazdā-tay Bh. 4, 58

Auramazdā-taiy Bh. 4, 78

ufraštā-diy Bh. 4, 69¹

Ariyā-ramna Bh. 1, 5: a 7 (the first element nom. plur.²)

ā^t:³ *hyā-param* Bh. 3, 43. 64—65; cf. § 36 ftn.

§ 11. Final -*ā*, not supported by any weak consonant:

¹ See § 64—69.

² Bartholomae, *AW.* 199 (or accusative plural?).

³ I use the supposed *t* to indicate both *t* and *d* in this position.

hacā-ma (for length, cf. Skt. *sacā*) Bh. 1, 19. 23; 2, 6. 12. 16.

93; 3, 27. 78. 81; 5, 5; Dar. Pers. e 9; Dar. NRa 20

yathā-šām (cf. Skt. *yathā*) Bh. 1, 23

avaθā-šaiy (with the same ending as the preceding) Bh. 2, 30. 50; 3, 14

avaθā-šām Bh. 2, 20. 27. 36—37. 42. 47. 56. 62. 83. 98; 3, 8. 19. 40. 47. 57. 63—64. 69. 85

avaθā-diš Bh. 5, 17. 33

mā-tya (cf. Skt. *mā*) Bh. 1, 52; 4, 43. 48. 71

tyā-diš (neut. plur., cf. Vedic *tā*) Bh. 1, 65

loc. -ā (identical with the Skt. prep. and verbal prefix *ā*):

duvarayā-maiy Bh. 2, 75. 89—90; *uzmayā-patiy* Bh. 2, 76. 91; 3, 52. 92

viθā-patiy (instr., cf. Skt. *viṣā*) Bh. 3, 26

duvitā-paranam (cf. Skt. *dvitā*) Bh. 1, 10; a 17

§ 12. Final -a, supported by a weak consonant:

a^h: in the nom. sing. masc. of -ō- stems:

kāra-šim Bh. 1, 50; *haruva-šim* Bh. 2, 75. 90; *apanyāka-ma* Art. Sus. a 3

*hya-šām*¹ Bh. 2, 13; *h[ya-šaiy]* Bh. 2, 95; *hya-vā* Bh. 4, 68
in an old combination retaining the *s*:

kaš-ci-y Bh. 1, 49. 53

in [*ta*]ra-draya Dar. NRa 28—29 (cf. Skt. *tiras*)

in the acc. sing. neut. of -es- stems:

rauca-pativā Bh. 1. 20

in the stem form of the same, in compounds:

a late compound: *zūra-kara* Bh. 4, 64. 68

an early compound: *Vahyaz-dāta*- Bh. 3, 22. 27—28. 35. 38—39. 41. 46. 48. 50. 54. 60. 70—71; 4, 26; h 1—2

a^t: all pronominal neut. sing.:

tya-maiy Xerx. Pers. a 19—20, b 24. 30, ca 13 = cb 22—23, da 19 = db 28; Dar. NRb 48

tya-taiy Dar. NRb 53

tya-šām Bh. 1, 19; Dar. NRa 20, 36—37

tya-patiy Xerx. Pers. a 15

mātya-mām Bh. 1, 52

aita-maiy Dar. Pers. d. 22—23; Dar. NRa 54—55

ava-taiy Bh. 4, 76. 79

¹The pronoun **sjo* has manifestly taken on the nominal ending *s* in OPers., as is shown by the independent writing *hya*, without length of the final vowel; cf. Skt. *syas sa-s*, Av. *hō* (< **so-s*).

ava-diš Dar. NRa 21

ava-parā Bh. 2, 72; 3, 72—73

pasāva-dim Dar. NRa 33; *pasāva-šim* Bh. 2, 76. 90; *pasāva-saiy* Bh. 2, 88

old combinations, showing the final *d* of the prior element:

avaš-ciγ Xerx. Pers. a 20, ca 14 = cb 24

ciš-ciγ Bh. 1, 53

aniyaš-ciγ Bh. 4, 46; Xerx. Pers. a 13

§ 13. Absolutely final *-a*, written *-ā* when no enclitic follows.¹

utā-maiγ (cf. Skt. *uta*) Bh. 4, 46; Dar. NRa 52—53, NRb 7

uta-maiγ Xerx. Pers. a 15. 18—19, b 29, da 18—19 = db 27

utā-taiγ Bh. 4, 56. 58. 73—74. 75. 77—78. 79

utā-šaiγ Bh. 2, 74—75. 89

utā-šim Bh. 5, 13. 26—27

utā-šān Bh. 3, 57; 5, 15

ada-kaiγ (cf. Skt. *adha*) Bh. 2, 11. 24; 4, 81. 82; 5, 15

ada-taiγ Dar. NRa 43, 45

xšapa-vā (acc. sing. fem. of consonantal stem²) Bh. 1, 20

mana-cā (vowel quantity as in Skt. *mama*) Dar. Pers. d 9—10

avada-šim (vowel quantity as in *ada*-) Bh. 1, 59

avadā-šim Bh. 3, 74

avada-šiš Bh. 3, 52

avada-ša Bh. 1, 37; 3, 42. 80³

Ariya ciθ'a (a compound written as two words) Dar. NRa 14—15

fra-haravam (cf. Skt. *pra*) Bh. 1, 17

¹ Nothing inconsistent with what has been found, would be discovered by a listing of the rather uncertain interpretations *kamna-ma* Bh. 2, 19; *duvitiya-ma* Bh. 3, 24; *apara-ma* Bh. 4, 37. 68. 87 (42. 48. 70); nor by the inclusion of the passages where enclisis is expected, but the words are separated before *di[š]* Bh. 4, 34. 35. 36, and *daiγ* Bh. 5, 11.

² Nothing is gained by Bartholomae's assumption, *AiW.* 548, that we are to understand *xšapah-* in riming assimilation to the following *raucah-*. In Dar. Pers. e 13—14, a riming pair consists of a gen. and a loc.: *tyaiγ uškahyā utā tyaiγ drayahyā*, "those who (are) of the mainland and those who (are) by the sea". In this also the rime is graphic merely, for the gen. *uškahyā* really has a short final vowel, while the loc. *drayahyā* ends in the etymologically long postposition *ā*. But in both the difference in sound would have been slight, even if there was no actual phonetic assimilation in practice.

³ The main exception to this graphic length seems to be when the

§ 14. The results are precisely what we anticipated: an etymologically long final *a* remains long before an enclitic; an etymologically short final *a* remains short if absolutely final in the separate word, and if graphically long in the separately written word, may keep that graphic length before the enclitic or may have its proper short quantity. It is therefore quite out of the question for *avahya-rādiy* to represent **avahyā-rādiy*, for an etymologically long final vowel in this position never shortens before an enclitic or in compounds. The first element of the word is therefore gen. sing. neut. of the pronoun, and the comparisons with the Greek *τούτου ἕνεκα* and the Latin *huius rei causā* are valid. But Greek presents a still closer parallel, even to the fusion of the two words into one, in *τοῦνεκα οὕνεκα*.

II. Taumā.

§ 15. The word *taumā* 'family' has always offered a certain amount of difficulty. It is natural to equate it with late Avestan *taoxman-* N. 'Same, Keim, (Plur.) Verwandtschaft', and Skt. *tókman-* M. 'young blade of corn, esp. of barley, malt'. The problem appears when we observe that modern Pers. has *tuhm*, showing the survival of the *x*, and that even in OPers. we have the *x* before *m* in the proper names *Taxmaspāda* and *Ciθra^rtaxma*, both containing the element seen in Avestan *tazma-* 'fortis, tapfer, tüchtig, energisch, heldenhaft', of which the modern representation in Persian is *tahm*.

word with such an ending forms a unit with the following word. The examples are:

Gen. of a month name in *-ahya* before *māhyā* Bh. 1, 37—38. 42. 89. 96;

2, 26. 36. 41. 56. 61—62. 69. 98; 3, 7—8. 18. 39. 46—47. 63. 68.

Gen. of a personal name in *-ahya* before *puōra* Bh. 3, 79. 81; 4, 14. 30;

d 5—6; i 7—8; Seal a 7—8; but more often *-ahyā* is written, Bh. 1,

3. 74. 77—78. 79; 4, 83. 83—84. 85; a 3; Dar. Pers. a 4—5, &c.

Uvaxštrahya taumāyā Bh. 4, 19. 22; e 7—8; g 8—11; but also *Uvax-*

štrahyā taumāyā Bh. 2, 15—16. 81.

Aurahya Mazdāha Xerx. Pers. ca 10 = cb 17; the word is elsewhere a compound declinable only in the second element.

Besides these, there is a set of examples in the third column of the Behistan inscription within a few lines of each other, which seem to rest upon the carelessness or wilfulness of the scribe who cut the words. We have *Vahyazdātahya* 3, 38—39. 46, *āhanta* 3, 49. 51; but within the same passage there are numerous examples of finals which are graphically long though phonetically short, so that no real inference may be drawn.

Both of these sets of examples I take as an indication that the length of the absolutely final short *a* is purely graphic.

§ 16. The problem is farther complicated by the fact that in certain passages the word *taumā* appears not to mean 'family', but 'power, strength, possibility'; this, if a word of separate etymology, as seems certain, is a derivate of the root *tu-* 'be strong', found in Skt. and in Avestan, and in practically all of the Indo-European languages. The meaning 'power' is claimed for the word in Bh. 4, 74. 78, and 5, 19. 35; in the last two passages the word rests upon restorations, though they seem quite certain.

§ 17. The best argument for the meaning 'power' seems to be given by Hoffmann-Kutschke, in a letter to Tolman (quoted *Lex.* p. 91): "Es kann doch nicht bedeuten, *du bewahre, so lange deine Familie lebt*; man kann doch nur schützen, so lange man selbst lebt. Übrigens steht im Elamischen nicht das Ideogramm GUL, Familie".

§ 18. Perhaps it would be well to see to what persons or groups of persons the word *taumā* is applied, and in what cases: The *taumā* of Darius:

Nom. 1, 8; 4, 64; a 13

Abl. *taumāyā*, 1, 61—2

Gen. *taumāyā*, 1, 9. 28—29. 45. 49; a 15

The *taumā* of Uvaxštra or Cyaxares:

Gen. *taumāyā*, 2, 16. 81; 4, 19—20. 22; e 8; g 10—11

The *taumā* of anyone who does certain things:

Nom. 4, 56, 58—59. 74. 75. 78. 79; 5, 19. 35

Acc. 4, 88 (restored, but apparently [*tau*]mām).

§ 19. The word 'family' is manifestly an *-ā-* stem, though the corresponding words in Skt. and Av. are neut. *-n-* stems;¹ but the word for 'power' occurs only in the nom., and may be a neut. *-n-* stem, with purely graphic length of the nom. *-a*, and it is so interpreted.² The loss of the *-x-* in the word 'family' has been explained³ on the supposition that *x* before *m* was lost after diphthongs but not after short vowels, so that we have *taumā* and *taxma-* corresponding to Av. *taoxman-* and *taxma-*; modern Pers. *tuhm* would come from the dialect represented by Avestan, not from a dialect which lost the *x* in this position.

§ 20. Possibly, however, another factor entered into the loss of the *x*; for it is notable that the word 'family' is used very

¹ J. Schmidt, *Pluralbildungen*, 94.

² Foy, *KZ.* 35, 47; Bartholomae, *AW.* 623; &c.

³ Foy, *KZ.* 35, 6.

largely of one or the other of the two royal lines of the country, that of Cyaxares and that of Darius himself. Granted **tauxmā* 'family' and *taumā* 'power', the frequent use of the former in the sense of 'royal family' might cause it to lose one sound, the *x*, and assimilate itself to the form of the word for 'power.' In this way we have two identical words of different meanings and of different origins, whose approach to one another in meaning has drawn them together in form as well. For a parallel development in meaning, we might cite the English word *dynasty* 'a race or succession of kings, of the same line or family', which has developed from an older meaning, now obsolete, 'sovereignty, lordship, dominion', which accords with the meaning of the Greek original.

III. Apariyāya, Bh. 1, 23.

§ 21. Bh. 1, § 8, 20—24:

	<i>θātiy [Dāra]yava-</i>	20
<i>uš xšāyaθiya antar imā dahyāva martiya hya āgar[tā] āha avam u-</i>		21
<i>bartam abaram hya araika āha avam ufrastam aparsam vašn[ā] Auramazdā-</i>		22
<i>ha imā dahyāva tyanaa¹ manā dātā apariyāya yaθāšām hacāma aθah-</i>		23
<i>ya [a]vaθā akunavayantā</i>		24

"Says Darius the king: Within these countries what man was watchful him well esteemed I esteemed; who was an enemy, him well punished I punished; by the grace of Ahura Mazda these countries respected my laws; as it was commanded by me to them, so they did".—Tolman's translation, *Lex.*, p. 5.

§ 22. The verb in 23, given above in literal transcription of the syllabic characters, and rendered 'respected' by Tolman, is somewhat troublesome. There can be no doubt that it is a third plural of the imperfect tense, with *dahyāva* as subject and *dātā* as object; and there is little variation in the interpretation: cf., in addition to Tolman's version, the following:

Bartholomae, *AiW.* 1765, "diese Länder bezeugten meinen Gesetzen Ehrfurcht".

King-Thompson, "These lands have conformed to my decrees".

Weissbach-Bang II, " . . haben sich diese Länder nach meinem Gesetze gerichtet".

§ 23. Yet the normalized spelling is a matter of dispute. Bartholomae, followed by Tolman, writes *āpariyāya* for **aha-*

¹ For *tyā*; see § 45.

*pariyāya*ⁿ, with loss of the intervocalic *h*; cognate, Skt. *saparyati* 'serve attentively, honor, worship, adore'. King-Thompson write *apariyāya*, without comment. Weissbach-Bang¹ suggest *upariyāya*, under the influence of Bh. 4, 64—65 *upariy-[āyam]*, and this emendation is retained by Weissbach, in his *Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*; but Tolman's conjecture² *upariy-[axšayaiy]* seems better in 4, 64—65. At any rate, since the examination of the inscription by Jackson and by King-Thompson, we should be very slow in altering the reading of actually preserved signs. In the present instance, no doubts are recorded as to the identity of the actual signs on the rock; and Weissbach-Bang's *upariyāya* may therefore be left out of consideration. As for *āpariyāya*, from **ahapariyāya*, two objections may be made.

§ 24. First: Is the loss of intervocalic *h* in such combinations a well attested phenomenon? It is true that for some mysterious reason the character for *h^a* (there was no special sign either for *hⁱ* or for *h^u*) was never written before *u*, but merely omitted; and that even when the *u* was purely graphic in the group *uv* representing postconsonantal *u*, the *-hv-* is written *-uv-*. Before *i*, also, there was a reluctance to employ *ha*; final *-hi* is always written *-h^ay^a*, = *hy: āhy, vikanāhy, xšnāsāhy, θahyāmāhy, patiparsāhy, paribarāhy, vaināhy*. In accordance with the regular writing of final *i* as *iy*, we should have expected *-hiy* in these words. Similarly, though postconsonantal *y* is written *iy*, we find the unaltered *-hy-*, not *-hiy-*: *hya, dahyāva, avahyā*, &c. By way of exception, *ah^aiy^aay^a* = *ahiyāya* is written Xerx. Pers. b 17, da 12 = db 17, Xerx. Elv. 17; but there are about a score of occurrences of *ah^ay^aay^a* = *ahyāyā*. The only other real example of *hi* is in the initial position: *h^aid^uuš^a* = *hiⁿduš*. Medially, the sign *h^a* seems to do duty for *hi*: *anahata* = Av. *anāhita-*, Greek (transliteration) 'Αναίτης; *parikarāhadiš, vikanāhadiš, paribarāhadiš*, containing the ending *-hy* (graphic for *-hi*) plus the enclitic pronoun *diš*. *Aištātā* is unique, representing *a^hištātā*; here, apparently, the vowel quality was more important for the understanding of the word than was the consonant, and the latter was accordingly omitted as before *u*.

¹ II, p. XI.

² *Lex.* p. 28, p. 85, with discussion.

§ 25. With the combination *-aha-* the procedure is somewhat different. This occurs unaltered in the following positions:¹

When the *h* is initial in the second element of a compound:

fraharava-, avahar- + (2, 94)

When the *h* is the final element of a nominal stem:

-mazdāhā-, -mazdāha-, nāham

When the *h* is part of the double plural ending:

aniyāha-, bagāha-

When the *h* is final in a root before a formative suffix:

āvahanam-, vahauka-, θūravāharā-

When the *h* is final in a verbal root before the ending:

āham-, āha-, āhaⁿ-, āhaⁿtā-, aθaham-, aθaha-

When the *h* is initial in the personal ending of verbs:

maniyāhaiy

When the *h* is initial in the verbal root after the augment:

*frāhaⁿjam-, = *fra-ahaⁿjam*

§ 26. Over against these examples we must set certain ones in which, apparently, the *h* has fallen out and contraction has resulted:

āhy 'sit' = **ahahy*

θāhy 'dicis' = **θahahy*

θātiy 'dicit' = **θahatiy*

māhyā gen. 'mensis' = **māhahyā²* (stem as in Av. *māⁿhah²*;

Skt. *māsa-*)

Vivāna proper name = **Vivahana³*

āpariyāyaⁿ = **ahapariyāyaⁿ*

§ 27. But of these six examples, it is notable that three, *āhy*, *θāhy* and *māhyā⁴*, contain the succession *-ahah-*, so that either dissimilative loss of the sound *h* or of the group *ah* might take place. In connection with *āhy*, it is striking that the third person, *ahatiy*, suffered no loss of the *h*; this suggests that the proportion (ind.) **barahy*: (subj.) *barāhy* = (ind.) **ahy*: (subj.) *āhy* had an influence, while in the third person the ind.

¹ Two words of doubtful interpretation should be listed: *aθahaya* (probably = *aθahya*); *aθahavaja* (read by King-Thompson, Bh. 4, 90).

² With Gray, *AJP.* 21, 13—14; the other interpretation, as a loc. sing. to *māh-*, with postpositive *ā*, removes it from this category.

³ So Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, 374, comparing Av. *vīvāhāna-*, patronymic adj. to *Vivahvant-*, = Skt. *Vivasvant-*.

⁴ Cf. second footnote preceding.

astiy does not lend itself to the development of an **ātiy* for *ahatiy*. *Ātiy* is a better example, but may merely have followed its own second singular. As for *Vivāna*, other etymologies from a root *vā-* or *van-*, with the prefix *vi*, must be admitted as possible. Yet even if these examples be recognized as valid occurrences of loss of *h* in the group *aha*, we are confronted with the fact that in *āpariyāya*ⁿ there is the influence of the present **hapariya-* to resist the tendency to the loss of *h*; in *frāha*ⁿjam, the nearest parallel, the *h* has not disappeared. Even apart from that, there are many more instances of the retention of *h* than of the loss. Thus an explanation of *āpariyāya*ⁿ as from **ahap-* is unlikely.

§ 28. Besides this, no one, so far as I am aware, has attempted to explain the doubled *-ya-* of this verb. To a Skt. *asaparyan* we should expect, if for purposes of argument the loss of the *h* be admitted, a corresponding OPers. **āpariya*ⁿ, not an *āpariyāya*ⁿ. It is difficult to see how this extra syllable could be explained.

§ 29. Because of these two difficulties I suggest that we read, with King-Thompson, *apariyāya*ⁿ; and that we interpret as a doubly augmented imperfect of the root *i-* 'go', with the prefix *pariy*. No alteration in the meaning is suggested. The phonetic and formal equivalent in Greek would be **ἐ-περιῆεν*, in Skt. **a-pary-āyan*.

§ 30. Compound verbs which become separated from their simple forms, either in form or in meaning, are liable to take the augment, not where it belongs, just before the uncompounded verb, but before the prefix, or in both places. The following examples are quotable from Greek:¹

Present	Regular Augment	Initial Augment	Double Augment
ἀμπίσχομαι		ἡμπίσχόμεην	ἡμπεσχόμεην ἡμπειχόμεην
ἀμφιγινώω		ἡμφιγινόεον	ἡμφεγνόεον ἡμφεγνόησα
ἀμφιέννυμι		ἡμφίεσα	
ἀμφισβητέω		ἡμφισβήτουν	ἡμφεσβήτουν
felt as ἀμφι- σβητέω			
ἀνέχω		ἡνεσχόμεην	ἡνεσχόμεην ἡνειχόμεην
ἀφίημι	ἀφίην		ἡφίην

¹ Goodwin, *Greek Grammar*², § 544.

ἐνοχλέω

ἡνώχλουν

ἡνώχλησα

καθέζομαι

ἐκαθεζόμην

καθεύδω

καθηῦδον

ἐκάθευδον

καθίζω

ἐκάθιζον

καθίσα

ἐκάθισα

Hom. καθεῖσα

In Skt., Whitney¹ quotes *apalāyīṣṭhās*, *apalāyata*, *apalāyanta* from *palāy*, a disguised compound of *parā*+*i-*, with initial augment instead of augment after the prefix; Brugmann² cites *apīdayat* and *asambhramat*, with initial augment, and *aprāṣīt*, with double augment, from **a-pra-āṣīt*. Irregular or double augment, then, is a phenomenon appearing to a certain extent in the commoner verbs when the feeling for the composition has become more or less obscured.

§ 31. For a semantic parallel to our assumed OPers. *pariy-ay-* 'go round', hence 'respect, observe', we may draw not only upon the compounds of *i-* 'go', but upon other roots of the meanings 'go', 'be', 'sit', 'lie', all of which are frequently colorless and tend toward a mere copula, so that in composition the main portion of the meaning is given by the prefixed element. We find:

pari+i- (Skt.), 'circumambulate' (MW.³), 'umgeben, bittend umwandern, in seine Gewalt kommen' (Gr.⁴)

pari+ā+i- (Skt.), 'roam about, go round, circumambulate' (MW.)

pari+ah- (Av.), 'um Jemand (abl.) sein, ihn begleiten' (Bthl.⁵)

pari+ās- (Skt.) 'sit or assemble around anyone (acc.)' (MW.); 'um Jemand (acc.) herumsitzen, ihn umlagern, besonders verehrend' (Gr.)

pari-sad- (Skt.), 'sit around, besiege, beset' (MW.)

pari-sād- (Skt.), subst. fem., 'assembly, meeting, group, circle' (MW.)

¹ *Sanskrit Grammar*³, § 1087 c.

² *Comparative Grammar*, trans. into Eng., IV, 25, § 477.

³ Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit English Dictionary*.

⁴ Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rigveda*.

⁵ Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*.

Cf. also Greek *περίκειμαι* in *Iliad* XIX, 4,

εἶπε δὲ Πατρόκλῳ περικείμενον ὄν φίλον υἷόν.

§ 32. I therefore hold that *ap^aariy^aaya^a* is not to be read *āpariyāyaⁿ*, cognate to Skt. *saparyāti*, because the loss of the intervocalic *h* would have been prevented by the analogy of the unaugmented present form, if it would have occurred at all, and because this does not explain the repetition of the *-ya-* syllable at the end; and that it is to be read *apariyāyaⁿ*, a doubly augmented compound of *i-* 'go' with the prefix *pariy¹*.

IV. *Hacā darš^am^a*, Bh. 1, 50.

§ 33. Bh. 1, § 13, 48—53:

<i>ōātiy Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya naiy āha martiya</i>	48
<i>naiy Pārša naiy Māda naiy amāxam taumāyā kašciy hya avam Gau-</i>	49
<i>mātam tyam magum xšāgram dītam caxriyā kārašim hacā darašama a-</i>	50
<i>tarsa kāram vasiy avājaniyā hya pāranam Bardiyam adānā avahyar-</i>	51
<i>ādiy kāram avājaniyā mātyamām xšnāsātiy tya adam naiy Bard-</i>	52
<i>iya amiy hya Kūrauš puθra</i>	53

"Says Darius the king: There was not a man, neither a Persian nor a Median nor any one of our family, who might make that Gaumāta the Magian deprived of the kingdom; the people feared him for ???, (saying) he would slay the many people who formerly knew Bardiya; for this reason he would slay the people, 'lest they know me, that I am not Bardiya the son of Cyrus.' "

§ 34. The crux is in the sentence *kārašim hacā dar^aš^am^a atarsa* "the people feared him for ???." The word *dar^aš^am^a* may be normalized in writing, in various ways. Bartholomae²

¹ Or possibly *pari + ā + i-*, either with double augment or with initial augment only.

² *AiW.* 700; *Hdb. d. altiran. Dial.* 86; *Grundriss d. iran. Phil.* § 216, 2, § 403. But a better case could be made out for *daršmah* < *-ans (for this gen.-abl. ending, cf. Reichelt, *Avest. Elementarbuch*, p. 167 infra). The only place where we find this *-ans* in OPers. is the acc. plur. of *-o-* stems; but these appear with *-ā*: *patikarā*, *martiyā*, *Bābiruviyā*, and not with *-a*. This is not a phonetic development of *-ans* (despite Foy, *KZ.* 35, 66, and Lorenz, *BB.* 21, 184, cf. Reichelt, *Av. Elementarbuch*, p. 176 fn.), but the nom. form in *-ās* used as acc.; such an extension of the nom. form to the acc. use in the plural appears also in the only *-u-* stem found in the acc. pl. in the OPers. inscriptions, *dahyāva*, and in all the

reads *daršma*^a, and explains as a suffixless gen.-abl. sing. form of the neuter *-n-* stem; he translates "Die Leute fürchteten von seiner Gewalttätigkeit". Tolman adopts his reading, and translates "The people feared him for his tyranny". King-Thompson, rather non-committally, transliterate *daršama*, and translate "The people feared him exceedingly". Weissbach reads *daršam*^a.

§ 35. In every interpretation of the passage, the disputed word must be made the object of the preposition *hacā*, since *hacā* is not used independently as an adverb, and cannot govern the preceding *-šim*.¹ *Hacā* occurs in a number of passages on the OPers. inscriptions, always with the ablative case or with an adverb of ablatival meaning except in a few instances easily explainable, later discussed. Further, the phrases denote place from which, separation, cause, agent, and time from which. The table shows the distribution:

	Place From	Sepa- ration	Cause	Agent	Time From
ō-stem abl. in <i>-ā</i> ²	2	8			
ā-stem abl. in <i>-āyā</i>	2	3			
u-stem abl. in <i>-auš</i>	1				
Pronominal abl. <i>ma</i>		7	2	3	
Abl. adverb in <i>-ša</i>	3				
" " " <i>-ta</i>					5
<i>aniyanā</i> (see below)			2		
<i>rauta</i> (" ")	1				
<i>darāšam</i> ^a			1		

masc. pl. pronouns of the third person: *avaīy*, *imaiy*, *imai-*, *daīy*. Since the acc. plur. of fem. *-ā-* stems is like the nom. plur., and the neut. always has the same form in the nom. and acc., it appears that there are no forms of the acc. plur. in OPers. which can be regarded as distinctively acc. in origin, except the enclitic pronouns *šiš* and *diš*, to which, properly, there is no nom. form; for *daīy* (nom. form in acc. use) is clearly analogical in origin. Where therefore the nom. and acc. plur. did not fall together in OPers. by the working of phonetic processes, the nom. form drove out the acc. and was used in its stead. We may compare the extension of the instr. plur. form to nom. usage (*raucabiš*) and to acc. usage (*viṭabiš* Bh. 1, 65).

¹ Cf. Bartholomae, *AltW.* 700, s. v. *daršman-*, Note 1; despite Foy, *KZ.* 35, 31—32.

² I take *dušiyārā*, acc. *-ram*, as not a consonantal stem (Bartholomae, *AltW.* 754), but an *-o-*stem; for the change of the declensional class in compounds, cf. Brugmann, *Gdr.* II², 1, p. 60.

§ 36. Of these, only the last three items are even in appearance other than ablative.¹ *Aniyanā* (Dar. Pers. d 11. 20) has the form of an instrumental, cf. Av. instr. *kana*; but it may be rather an ablative built upon the instrumental case suffix, just as the locative adverb *yanaiy* is built upon the instr. **yanā*.²

§ 37. Matters are different with *rauta*. The passage reads: Suez c 8—10:

	8
<i>adam ni[yaš]tāyam imām [yuviyā-]</i>	
<i>m kantaniy hacā Pirāva nāma rauta tya Mudrāyay danu[vatīy ab-]</i>	9
<i>iy draya tya hacā Pārsā aitiy</i>	10

“I commanded to dig this canal from the Nile by name a river which flows in Egypt, to the sea which goes from Persia”.—Tolman’s translation, *Lex.* p. 51.

§ 38. The syntax of the naming phrases is peculiar, for the OPers. avoided using them in any case but the nominative, except in the carelessly and incorrectly written Art. Pers. a 19.

¹ The forms in *-ā* may be instr., those in *-āyā* may be gen. or possibly even instr., that in *-auš* may be gen.; but *ma* and the forms in *-ša -ta* are distinctly abl. So long as other evidence fails, it is better to regard them as all of the same case, rather than as of several different cases.

² Cf. Fr. Müller, *WZKM.* 7, 112; Foy, *KZ.* 35, 10. It is fairly to be questioned whether the weak final consonants *s t d n* were utterly lost, since they prevent graphic length of a preceding short vowel in the OPers. inscriptions. When the masc. and neut. abl. sing. **aniasmād* became OPers. **aniyamād*, it may easily have become *aniyanād* by the influence of the instr. **aniyānā*, with the help of abl. *-ād*, instr. *-ā* in *-o*-stems. In the same way the loc. **yamiy* (<**iasmī*) may have become either *yanaiy* (as commonly read) by the influence of instr. **yanā* and the loc. *-aiy* of *-o*-stems, or even *yaniy* (an equally possible reading of *yanaitya*), after the pronominal form only. Against this is the absence of the postposition *ā* in all these forms at the time when the remaking of *yanaiy* must have occurred, although the conditions for such remaking are not present until the *h* before *m* has disappeared, a distinctly OPers. phenomenon not common to Av.

The scanty appearance of the gender-showing pronouns in the instr., abl. and loc. sing. masc. and neut. allows us to conjecture that the instrumental *-nā* may have had a considerable extension to the two other cases; we have only instr. masc. *anā* (Dar. Pers. e 8). and the ablative adverbs *avā* (Bh. 4, 51) and *hyā* in *hyā-param* (Bh. 3, 43. 64—65; but *hyā*, Dar. Pers. e 22, is surely nom. sing. fem., see Foy, *KZ.* 37, 561, and not an ablative adverb, despite Bartholomae, *IF.* 12, 127 and *AtW.* 1844).

With reference to *hyā*, the scope of the *tya*- and the *hya*-stems is the same in OPers. at that of *tya*- and *syā*- in Skt., or of *ta*- and *sa*-, Av. *ha*-, in Skt. and Av. Thus we have in OPers.:

20 = b 25. 26. Elsewhere the phrase stands in the nominative, except for the *nāma*¹; a pronoun or adverb then follows,² setting the phrase into its proper syntax, as follows:

The naming phrase has the copula verb expressed:

Bh. 1, 30, not followed merely by a pronoun.

Bh. 1, 36; 4, 8, followed by the pronoun *hauv*.

The naming phrase has no verb expressed; but is taken up by

hauvam Bh. 1, 28.

hauv Bh. 1, 74. 77; 2, 8—9. 14. 79; 3, 11. 22. 78; 4, 10. 12—13. 15—16. 18. 20. 23. 26. 29; 5, 4.

avam (acc. masc.) Bh. 2, 19. 29. 49. 82; 3, 12. 31. 56. 84; 5, 5. 8. 27.

avadā (adv. 'there, thither') Bh. 1, 58. 58—59. 92; 2, 9. 22. 27—28. 33. 39. 44. 53. 59. 65. 95; 3, 5. 22. 23. 34. 44. 51. 61. 66.

hacā avadaša (adv. phrase 'thence') Bh. 1, 37; 3, 79.

avaparā (compound adv. 'along there') Bh. 2, 72; 3, 72.

The naming phrases are appositives to a preceding nominative with a verb expressed:

Bh. 4, 83 bis. 84 bis. 85. 86.

The naming phrase is nominative by anacoluthon for the accusative:

	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Sing. nom.	<i>hya</i>	<i>hyā</i>	<i>tya</i>
acc.	<i>tyam</i>	<i>tyām</i>	<i>tya</i>
Plur. nom.	<i>tyaiy</i>	<i>tyā</i>	
acc.		<i>tyā</i>	<i>tyā</i>
gen.	<i>tyāišām</i>		

The *hya*-stem is thus restricted to the nom. sing. masc. and fem., as in other languages, except that it appears in the adverbial *hyā*- in *hyā-param*; but similar extension in adverbs appears in other languages also, as in Greek *ōs* 'thus', though the *so*-stem was in Greek under the old restriction in the paradigm, but for an extension to the same forms of the plural in a few dialects.

The two OPers. ablative adverbs show no sign of the instr. suffix, and for this reason: being adverbs, they are outside the paradigmatic stress. Consequently they do not prove that the extension of the instrumental *-n*- may not have taken place in OPers. in certain cases of the pronominal masc. and neut. sing., just as the *-sy-* element was extended in the fem. sing. But for *tyanā*, Bh. 1, 23, cf. § 45.

¹ For the form and syntax of this word, see § 5 ftn.

² Except in the brief Seal Insc. a.

Bh. 3, 12—14.	<i>pasā-</i>	12
<i>va adam frūišayam Dādaršiš nāma Pārsa manā bandaka Bāxtriy-</i>		13
<i>ā xšaθrapāvā abiy avam</i>		14

“Afterwards I sent forth a Persian, Dādarši by name, my kinsman, satrap in Bactria, against him (= Frāda)”. It need not surprise us then that in Suez c 9 the apparent object of the preposition *hacā* is, by the same anacoluthon as in Bh. 3, 13, really a nominative.¹

§ 39. Thus the preposition *hacā* governs in OPers. only the ablative case, or possibly the abl. and the instr., if *aniyanā* is really an instr. The same preposition in Skt., *sacā*, means ‘with’ and governs the instr., rarely the abl.; the transfer of meaning from ‘with’ to the Iranian ‘from’ has been explained by Fay² as a development from hostile association. In Avestan, *hača* has the same meaning as in OPers., with the addition of ‘concerning, according to’, and governs regularly the ablative, less often the instr. or acc. We should therefore seek in Bh. 1, 50 an ablative immediately following the *hacā*.

§ 40. But before going farther along this line of thought, there is another peculiarity in the sentence *kārašim hacā dārašama atarsa* which has attracted attention. No other instance of this verb in the OPers. inscriptions governs the direct object. The passages are:

Bh. 2, 12, *pasāva hacā[ma atarsaⁿ Uva]jiyā*

Bh. 5, 15: *a[dakaiy Uvaj]iyā [atarsaⁿ]*

Dar. Pers. d 11—12: *hacā aniyanā naiy tarsatiy*

Dar. Pers. e 9: *tyā hacāma atarsaⁿ*

Dar. Pers. e 20—21: *hacā aniyanā mā [ta]rsam.*

§ 41. Excepting the very doubtful second citation, in all of these the object of the fear is expressed by a phrase with *hacā*, while in Bh. 1, 50 we find a direct object, the enclitic pronoun *-šim*, in the accusative, followed by *hacā* and another word of somewhat doubtful interpretation. But the explanation of the direct object in this passage lies in the fact that no other of the passages contains both the personal cause of the emotion

¹ Thumb, *KZ.* 32, 129; Bartholomae, *BB.* 14, 249—250; wrongly Foy, *IF.* 12, 176—177, and *KZ.* 35, 31—32; cf. Tolman, *Lex.* 111. Cf. also the anacoluthon in the nom. *martiya* Bh. 4, 38. 65. 68, *kāra* Bh. 2, 31. 51, despite *kāram* Bh. 2, 84.

² *JAOS.* 31, 403—410.

and the quality or characteristic of that person which raises the fear, but only the personal cause. Either one singly is put in the abl. with *hacā*; but if both are expressed, we must have the acc. of the person and the abl. of the thing with *hacā*.¹

§ 42. Again, we find the same combination of characters *daršama* in Bh. 4, 37 in quite a different meaning from that which it seems to have in 1, 50. The particular sentence is *hacā draugā daršam patipayauvā* "protect thyself strongly from the *Lie*"; where *daršam* is an adverb to the root in Skt. *dhars-*, Greek *θρασὺς θέρσος*, Eng. *dare*, &c. For the bearing on 1, 50, a summary of the thought of 4, 1—40, is pertinent. Darius summarizes the rebellions with which he has had to deal, and lists the rebel leaders, in this way "These was one, Gaumāta by name, a Magian; he *lied*: thus he said: I am Bardiya the son of Cyrus; he made Persia rebellious". Listing them all after this model, with the districts in which they revolted, he says, "These are the provinces which became rebellious; the *Lie* made them rebellious so that they *deceived* the people. Afterwards Ahuramazda delivered them into my hand; as was my will, so I did unto them". In the next section, he goes on, "O thou who shalt be king hereafter protect thyself strongly from the *Lie*; the man who shall be a *deceiver*, him do thou punish well(-punished) if thus thou shalt think, 'May the country be assured unto me'".

§ 43. The italicized words in these various sections are in the OPers. all derivatives of the one root *draug-*, that which appears in the Av. *Druj*, the *Lie* or evil power opposed to *Aša* or the spirit of right. Rebellion is attributed to the power of the *Lie* or *Drauga*. Now just as in the summary at Bh. 4, 8 Gaumāta is stated to have *lied* (*[ad]urujiya*), so in 1, 34 there is the statement that after Cambyes went to Egypt, the *Lie* (*Drauga*) was abroad in the land, in Persia, in Media, and elsewhere. Then, with reference to Gaumāta himself, Darius

¹ Cf. the similar state of affairs in Greek with *ἀκούω*, which sometimes governs a genitive of the thing, as in Xen. *Anab.* 4, 2, 8 *ἀκούσαντες τῆς σάλπιγγος*, 5, 7, 21 *ἐξαίφνης ἀκούομεν θορύβου πολλοῦ*, and sometimes the genitive of the person and the accusative of the thing, Xen. *Anab.* 1, 2, 5 *ἐπεὶ ἤκουσε Τισσαφέρους τὸν Κύρου στόλον*, 2, 5, 16 *ἤδομαι . . ἀκούων σου φρονίμους λόγους*; though *ἀκούω* may govern singly the acc. of the thing, and various other combinations of construction as well.

writes, 1, 39, that when he rebelled, "to the people thus he lied (*[a]durujiya*), (saying) 'I am Bardiya the son of Cyrus, (and) brother of Cambyses' ". The *Lie* therefore, the *Drauga*, was the force which impelled Gaumāta to rebellion.

§ 44. It seems a little harsh to take the word *d^ar^aš^am^a*, occurring just twice, if we exclude the occurrences in Dar NRb because the passages are too illegible to give a connected meaning, as representing two entirely separate words.¹ I therefore propose to read in Bh. 1, 50, *karāšim hacā (draugā) daršam atarsa* "the people feared him excessively on account of the Lie". This is in accord with the whole attitude of Darius toward the *Drauga*, both in this passage and more manifestly in column 4. The idiom is given in Bh. 4, 37. Paleographically, the loss is an easy example of haplography; for in the copy from which the inscription was cut, the successive characters of the three words were *h^a c^a a / d^a r^a u g^a a / d^a r^a š^a m^a*. It would be simplest of errors to pass from the *d^ar^a* of *draugā* to that of *daršam*. Possibly we should rather write as our corrected text *h^ac^aa / d^ar^a(ug^aa / d^ar^a)š^am^a*.

§ 45. In carefully cut inscriptions, as we have said, it is just such mechanical errors as this that will occur, if any at all are present. Two excellent examples of haplography occur in the bronze tablet containing the Treaty between the Naupactians and the Hypoenemidian Locrians:² at the end of line 11, ΑΠΟΝΤΙΟΝ stands for ἀπ' Ὀ(πὼ)ντίων, and in line 22, ΝΑΥΠΑΚΤΙΣ stands for Ναυπάκτι(ός τε)ς. In our OPers. inscriptions, three examples of the converse fault, dittography, may be cited: Bh. 1, 23 *t^ay^an^aa* for *t^ay^aa = tyā*, by the influence of the immediately following *m^an^aa = manā*³; Bh. 4, 44 [*up^aav^a*]*r^at^ai^ay^ai^a* for [*up^aav^a*]*r^at^ai^ay^a* = [*upāva*]*r^taiyā*⁴; Dar. Sus. b 8 [*ah^ay^aa*]*y^aay^a* for [*ah^ay^aa*]*y^aa = [ahyā]yā*.

§ 46. Haplology, the spoken analogue of haplography, is a frequent phenomenon in Avestan,⁵ and is found in at least three

¹ Foy, KZ. 35, 31—32, does indeed read *daršam* in Bh. 1, 50, but goes astray in his interpretation of *hacā*.

² Buck, *Greek Dialects*. 215f.; *Insc. Graecae* IX, 1, 334.

³ Benfey, *Pers. Keilinschr.* 9; Tolman, *Lex.* 94.

⁴ Tolman, *Lex.* 26.

⁵ Reichelt, *Awest. Elementarbuch*, § 164; Brugmann, *Gdr. d. vgl. Gr.* I², § 984.

OPers. words: *hamātā*, = **hama-mātā* (Bh. 1, 30), cf. *hama-pitā*; *arštām* = **aršta-tām* (Bh. 4, 64), cf. Av. *aršta* 'upright'¹; *dīdiy* = **didīdiy* (Dar. NRa 41)²; perhaps also in *duvarθim* (Xerx. Pers. a 12), = **duvar-varθim*.³

V. Ušabārim, Bh. 1, 86—87.

§ 47. Bh. 1, 86—87:

pasāva adam kāram maškāuvā avākanam aniyam uša- 86
bārim akunavam aniyahyā asam frānayam 87

Darius is describing his passage of the Tigris in the campaign against Nadintabaira: "afterwards I transported the army on floats of skins; one part I made camel-borne, for the other I brought horses".

§ 48. The word *ušabārim* was long a stumbling block, but the establishing of the reading as *uša-* has rid us of a numerous crop of emendations of the text⁴; and the true meaning was recognized long ago by Oppert⁵, who interpreted the word as 'borne by camels', by a comparison with the Elamitic version. The problem remaining is, how may we reconcile OPers. *uša-* 'camel', with Av. *uštra-* 'camel'?

§ 49. Bartholomae⁶ thinks that two signs, *t^{ra}a*, failed to be cut on the stone, possibly because at the turn of the line the engraver missed them, and reads *uš[tra]bārim*. Jackson⁷ has suggested a connection with Skt. *ukṣan-*, Av. *uxšan-*, giving a meaning 'borne by oxen', which is inherently improbable. Weissbach⁸, supporting the meaning 'camel-borne', thinks it a by-form for *uštra-*, or an error for it.

§ 50. For comparison, the two forms of the word for 'horse', IE. **ekyo-*, Skt. *açva-*, Av. *aspa*, may be drawn upon. In the OPers. inscriptions we find both *aspa-* and *asa-*:

¹ Brugmann, *l. c.*; and perhaps in the loc. sing. of stems in long *i*, cf. § 5 ftn.; but not in *asabāri-*, which is to be read thus and not as *asbāri-* for **aspabāri-*, cf. § 50.

² Bartholomae, *AiW.* 725.

³ *Ib.* 766; not haplography, as Tolman, *Lex.* 102, cites him.

⁴ Cf. Tolman. *Lex.* 78—79.

⁵ *ZDMG.* 10, 804.

⁶ *AiW.* 421.

⁷ Tolman, *Lex.* 78.

⁸ *ZDMG.* 61, 725; cf. also Hüsing, *KZ.* 38, 259.

aspa- in *Aspa-canah-*, *uv-aspa-* *Vištāspa-*,
asa in *asa-*, *asa-bāri-*, perhaps in *Asa-garta-* *Asagartiya-*.¹

This double development of IE. *kṛ* in Iranian is now a recognized phenomenon², as for example also in *vispa-* *visa-* = Skt. *viçva-*, and the OPers. personal name *Ašpabāra* (in an Assyrian transcription)³ compared with *asabāribiš*, Bh. 2, 2. 71; 3, 41. 72, cf. Dar. NRb 44. 45.

§ 51. The suggestion is therefore made that the doublet *asa-aspa-* 'horse' had an influence upon the words **uša-*⁴ 'ox' and *uštra-* 'camel', in such a way that *uša-* came to be felt as a by-form of *uštra-*, standing in the same relation to it as *asa-* does to *aspa-*; the meaning 'ox' was lost, being taken up by other available familiar words, and the meaning 'camel' was acquired, which it has in the passage of the Behistan inscription.

VI. Šim, Bh. 4, 6.

§ 52. Bh. 4, 2—8:

	<i>θātiy D-</i>	2
<i>ārayavauš xš[āyaθi]ya ima tya adam akuna-</i>		3
<i>vam vašnā Aura[mazd]āha hamahyāyā θar-</i>		4
<i>da pasāva yaθā x[šayaθiya] abavam XIX hamaran-</i>		5
<i>ā akunavam vašn[ā Aura]mazdāha adamšim a-</i>		6
<i>janam utā IX xš[āyaθiy]ā agarbāyam I Gaumāta</i>		7
<i>nāma maguš āha [hauv ad]urujīya avaθā aθaha . . .</i>		8

Darius is summarizing the suppression of the rebellions: "Says Darius the king: This (is) what I did; by the grace of Ahuramazda, in one-and-the-same year after that I became king, I fought nineteen battles; by the grace of Ahuramazda I smote him and took captive nine kings. One was a Magian, Gaumāta by name; he lied; thus he said . . ."

§ 53. The difficulty lies in the *šim* of line 6. Apparently its only possible antecedent is the *hamaranā*, which is a neuter plural. The text is assured, so that there is no longer room for

¹ For another etymology, see Bartholomae, *AiW.* 207.

² Gray, *AJP.* 21, 6 ff.; Bartholomae, *AiW.* 1457, s. v. *visa-*.

³ Bartholomae, *Zum AiW.* 121, who still reads *asbāri-* despite this.

⁴ The Skt. *ukṣan-* and the Av. *uxšan-* are *-n*-stems, and it is even possible that this proportional working upon the meaning, *aspa* 'horse': *asa-* 'horse' = *uštra-* 'camel': *ušan-* 'ox', changed the stem-class as well.

emending to a gen. plur. *šām*¹ or to an acc. plur. *šiš*². Tolman³ keeps *šim* and translates "I waged them and seized nine kings", making the pronoun refer to the battles. Weissbach⁴ emends to *šiš* and regards the pronoun as referring to the enemies of Darius, = "meine Widersacher". King-Thompson keep the *šim* and cut the Gordian knot by omitting the troublesome pronoun entirely: "I overthrew nine kings and made (them) captive".

§ 54. Accepting *šim* as the correct reading, we may proceed to seek its antecedent. And here various peculiarities of OPers. use of pronouns must be taken into account. The enclitics especially are instructive:

§ 55. *šim*: acc. sing., masc. ordinarily, but fem. Dar. NRa 36. In Bh. 1, 62, it is probably neuter, with *xšaθram* as antecedent, but possibly fem., referring to *taumāyā*.⁵ But in Bh. 1, 96, it refers to *aniya*,⁶ a logical

¹ So Weissbach-Bang II. Bartholomae, *AW*. 1726, accepts this and considers it a gen.-dat. replacing the acc., though this construction does not occur elsewhere in OPers. On [*šām*, Bh. 5, 15, see § 56 fn.

² So Weissbach, *Keilinschr. d. Achäm.* He quotes a private communication from King-Thompson, that the sign for *ma* is not perfectly sure. But the signs *ma* and *ša* are so unlike that traces read *ma* could hardly be an indistinct *ša*.

³ *Lex*. 25.

⁴ *Keilinschr. d. Achäm.* 57 fn.

⁵ Foy, *KZ*. 35, 73—74, thinks it a neuter like the Av. *hīm* and *dim*, by extension from the masc. since in *o*-stem nouns the acc. masc. and the acc. neut. have the same termination; he adduces the same phenomenon in the carelessly written inscriptions of Artaxerxes, where *imam* has replaced *ima* as neuter, Art. Sus. a 3, Ham. 5. 7. For the other view, cf. Bartholomae, *Grundriss d. iran. Phil.* I, p. 239, § 421, n. 5.

Iyam is properly fem. sing. nom., not masc.; cf. Skt. *ayam* masc., *iyam* fem., Av. *aēm* (< *ayam*) masc., *īm* (< *iyam*) fem. *Iyam* in OPers. is fem. only Dar. Pers. d 6 and Sz. e 10, and is masc. in Bh. b 1, e 1, d 1, e 1, f 1, g 1, h 1, i 1, j 1, k 1, and in Dar. NR I, II, III, IV, XVII. The old nom. masc. **ayam* was remade to *iyam* under the influence of the initial of the masc. acc. *imam* and of the fem. nom. *iyam*. Then from the likeness of the two nominatives, *imam* became a fem. acc., as in Art. Pers. a 22 = b 29, *imam ustašanām*; this development was assisted doubtless by the fact that the enclitic acc. *dim* and *šim* were alike in the two genders. Then, Art. Sus. c 4—5 has even [*i*]mām *hadiš*, though *hadiš* is neuter, taking *ima* in Xerx. Pers. ca 10—11 = cb 18, da 16 = db 24, Sus. 2.

⁶ I take *aniya* here not in the sense of 'the enemy', but of 'the rest', referring back to *kāram*; Bh. 1, 94—96:

plural, though a singular in form. If *utāš[im]* be the correct restoration in Bh. 5, 26—27, it likewise refers to *aniyam*, 25, or to a word referring to *aniyam*, now lost in the gap in 26; but *aniyam* itself is a partial appositive to *Sak[ā]*, 25, if that be the correct restoration,¹ and is therefore a logical plural, so that *-š[im]*, 27, has a logically plural antecedent, as at Bh. 1, 96.

- § 56. *šām*: gen.(-dat.) plur., masc. or fem.; antecedents: *kāra*-, sing. in form, but logically plural, Bh. 2, 20. 83; 3, 31. 57. 85; 5, 8 [here restored merely].

Darius' army, or the armies of both sides, probably the latter: 2, 27. 37. 42. 47. 56. 62. 98; 3, 8. 19. 40. 47. 64. 69.

the commander and his army, 2, 20. 83; 3, 57. 85. *Uvajiyā*, masc. plur., 2, 13; 5, 12. 15² [these two are restorations merely].

dahyāva, fem. plur., 1, 14. 19. 23; Dar. NRa 18, 20.

In Dar. NRa 36—7 *-šām* has as antecedent the idea of *dahyāva* implied in *būmim*, 32.³

- § 57. *diš*: acc. plur., masc. and fem.; antecedents:

	[<i>vašnā Aura</i>]ma-	94
<i>zdāha kāram tyam Nadintabairahyā adam ajanam vasiy aniya āpi[y]a</i>	[<i>ahyat</i>]ā ā-	95
<i>pišim parābara</i>		96

“By the grace of Ahuramazda the army of Nadintabaira I smote mightily; the rest was driven into the water; the water bore it away”.

It is quite unnecessary to assume the meaning ‘enemy’ for *aniya*- in OPers., for in the phrase *hacā anīyanā*, Dar. Pers. d 11, e 20—21, the meaning is merely ‘the other fellow’, that is, any possible rival to the king; cf. *alter* in Horace’s (*Sat.* 1, 1, 40) *cum . . . nil obstat tibi, dum ne sit te ditior alter*.

¹ Or should 25 be restored [*kāram tyam*] *Saka[m av]ājanam*, instead of * * * * *Sak[ā av]ājanam*, as it appears in Tolman, *Lex.*?

² Bh. 5, 15—16:

<i>a[da]kaiy Uvaj[iyā] [atarsan] utā[š]ām Aurama-</i>	15
<i>zdā [manā dastayā] a[kunauš]</i>	16

is too largely restored to form a real point d’appui for an emendation to *-šām* in Bh. 4, 6, as an object (cf. Bartholomae, *AW.* 1726), despite the parallel idiom at Bh. 4, 35 *pasāva di[š Auramaz]dā manā dastayā akunauš* ‘afterwards Ahuramazda delivered them into my hand’, for in 5, 15, the *-šām* may be a partitive genitive as object, cf. Xen. *Anab.* 1, 5, 7 λαβόντας τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ στρατοῦ, 4, 5, 35 τῶν πύλων λαμβάνει.

³ *Dahyāva* is indeed found at the end of line 39.

Uvajiyā, masc. plur., Bh. 5, 17.

Sakā (or some equivalent word), masc. plur., Bh. 5, 33.

kāra-, masc. sing., collective, Bh. 1, 65.

imam dipim (fem. sing.) *imaivā patikārā* (masc. plur.), Bh. 4, 73. 74. 77. 78.

dahyāva, fem. plur., Dar. NRa 21¹; Bh. 4, 34. 35. 36.

§ 58. The last passage deserves examination: Bh. 4, 33—36:

<i>oātiy Dāraya[vauš xšā]yašiya dahyāva imā tyā hamīriy-</i>	33
<i>ā abavan drauga di[š hamīriy]ā akunauš tyā imaiy kāram adur-</i>	34
<i>ujiyašar pasāva di[š Auramaz]dā manā dastayā akunauš yaqā mām k-</i>	35
<i>āma avagā di[š akunavam]²</i>	36

“Says Darius the king: These (are) the provinces which became rebellious; the Lie made them hostile, so that those men deceived the people; afterwards Ahuramazda delivered them into my hand; as (was) my pleasure, so I did unto them.”

The first *dīš* refers quite clearly to *dahyāva*, and the second and third refer either to the same or to *imaiy* and *kāram* 34, like the *dīš* of Bh. 1, 65. The antecedent of *imaiy* 34 is the *IX xšāyaθiyā* of 32, listed separately in 7—31.

§ 59. *avaīy*, Bh. 4, 69, is an acc. plur. masc.³ with alternative sing. masc. antecedents, which are not exclusive the one of the other.

The text is, Bh. 4, 67—69:

<i>oātiy Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya tuvam [kā] xšāyaθiya</i>	67
<i>hya aparam āhy martiya [hya] draujana ahatiyy hyavā [zū]rakara **</i>	
<i>ahat-</i>	68
<i>iy avaiy mā dauštā [bīy]ā ufraštādiy parsā</i>	69

¹ *dīš* is here an acc., despite the apparent passive in the verb if we read *dātam tyā manā avadī[š] adāriy*; for *adāriy* differs from *adaršiy*, Dar. Pers. e 8, only in being a strong aorist instead of a sigmatic aorist. Dar. Pers. e 8, *imā dahyāva tyā adam adaršiy*, means ‘These are the provinces which I have brought into my possession’; Dar. NRa 21—22 means ‘The law which (is) mine, that brought them under its sway’. But *adāriy*, Bh. 2, 75. 90, is a true passive; the active form *adāraya* is transitive Bh. 1, 85 and Dar. NRa 41, but intransitive Bh. 2, 9 and 3, 23; the middle *ha[ma]dārayai[y]*, Bh. 1, 26, is transitive.

² Only in this passage is *dīš* orthotone; *daīy*, Bh. 5, 11, nom. plur. as acc., also is orthotone. But no other form of the stems *da-* *di-* *ša-* *ši-* appears except as an enclitic.

³ This translation is provisionally kept here; but cf. §§ 64—69.

"Says Darius the king: Thou who shalt be king hereafter, the man who shall be a deceiver or who shall be a wrongdoer, these do thou not befriend, punish (them) with severe punishment."¹

That *avaiy* is really an acc. plur. is shown by the idiom in Bh. 4, 55—56 and 74—75, *Auramazdā θuvām dauštā bīyā*, where *θuvām* is an unmistakable acc. The idiom of a direct object governed by a transitive phrase consisting of a verbal noun and the copula, is found in many languages, cf. Plaut. *Cas.* 406, *Quid tibi istunc tactiost?*²

§ 60. Of all this, the part which is of importance for our *-šim* Bh. 4, 6, is the following:

1. *sim* is a singular, not a plural, and may be of any gender, though the neuter is unlikely, and the feminine is not of frequent occurrence in the OPers. inscriptions because of the nature of the subject matter.
2. The pronoun with a collective singular antecedent may be in the singular (*šim*, Bh. 1, 96; 5, 26—27); or in the plural (*šām*, Bh. 2, 20. 83; 3, 31. 57. 85; 5, 8; *diš*, Bh. 1, 65).
3. The pronoun with alternative singular antecedents may be in the plural (*avaiy*, Bh. 4, 69).
4. The antecedent may be suggested by another noun in the context, but not itself expressed, as at Dar. NRa 36—37, where *šām* represents a *dahyāva* implied from *būmim*.

§ 61. This last phenomenon may be paralleled in other literatures. For example, in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, Act I, Scene 2, verses 68—73, the Queen says to Hamlet,

¹ See preceding ftn.

² The other pronouns do not offer peculiarities with reference to their antecedents, but two deserve mention because of their interesting forms.

Dar. NR XV and XXIX have *iyama* = *iyam*, with plural predicate nominative. But *iyama* is merely miswritten for *imaiya* = *imaiy*, because in I, II, III, IV, [XVI], XVIII the formula is in the singular. All these are the inscriptions above the national types of the empire.

Bh. 4, 90 has [*niyap*]*išam iya* [*d*]*ipi* * * *, and 89 has *i*[*ya*]*dipi* * * * . . . if in the latter place King-Thompson are right in saying that the vacant space after the *i* has room for one character rather than for two. May this *iya* not really be **i*, the original form of the nom. sing. fem. (Brugmann, *Gdr. d. vgl. Gram.* II², 2, § 349, p. 355), properly to be written *īy*? This form may have been to a certain extent proclitic like the Greek *ὀ ῆ*.

Good Hamlet, cast thy nighted color off, 68
 And let thine eye look like a friend on Denmark.
 Do not for ever with thy vailed lids 70
 Seek for thy noble father in the dust.
 Thou know'st 'tis common; all that lives must die,
 Passing through nature to eternity. 73

In 72, 't has no expressed antecedent, though it refers manifestly to 'death', an idea drawn from the preceding two lines.

Again, in the same play, Act IV, Scene 6, near the end, in Hamlet's letter to Horatio, we read: "Ere we were two days old at sea, a pirate of very warlike appointment gave us chase. Finding ourselves too slow of sail, we put on a compelled valour; in the grapple I boarded *them*: on the instant *they* got clear of our ship; so I alone became *their* prisoner". The italicized *them*, *they*, *their*, look back to an antecedent *pirates*, which is not to be found, but is suggested by the word *pirate*, used in the meaning of the ship and not of the men on board the ship.¹

§ 62. Since, therefore, the *šim* of Bh. 4, 6, has no antecedent expressed, we must seek that antecedent in the ideas suggested by the lines preceding the pronoun. Our *šim* is object of *ajanam*; what kind of an object is *ajanam* likely to take?

Forms of *jan* take the following objects:

kāram, Bh. 1, 89. 95; 2, 21. 26. 31. 36. 41. 46. 51. 55. 61. 69. 84.

87. 98; 3, 7. 15. 18. 39. 46. 63. 68. 86.

Vivāna and the army of Darius, Bh. 3, 58.

Bābiruviyā, Bh. 3, 88.

The phrase *jatā bīyā*, Bh. 4, 58. 78, governs a pronoun, *-taiy* *-tay*, denoting a person.

The passive participle *avajata*, Bh. 1, 32, has as its subject the name of a person.

¹ Caesar, *BC.* 1, 36, 1, uses *iis* to refer to the inhabitants of Massilia, implied from a preceding *Massiliam*. Sophocles, *Oed. Col.* 942, uses *αυτούς* to refer to a *πολίται* inferred from a preceding *πόλιν*, and in *Phil.* 1364, has *οἱ γε* meaning those at Troy, implied from a preceding *Τροίαν*. Euripides, *Bac.* 959, uses *αὐτὸ τοῦτ'* with the idea of the preceding sentence as its antecedent; the single word which comes the nearest to being the antecedent is the plural *ἐρκεσιν*. For these pertinent passages I am indebted to my friend and former colleague, Dr. E. S. McCartney, now of the University of Texas.

The forms of *ava+ā+jan* govern the following:

The name of an individual person, or a pronoun denoting the same: Bh. 1, 31. 31. 57. 59. 73. 83; 2, 5. 13; 4, 81; 5, 13.

kāram, Bh. 1, 51. 52.

martiyā tyaišaiy fratamā anušiya Bh. 3, 75.

The Susians, or a pronoun, Bh. 5, 11.

Sak[ā], or [*kāram tyam*] *Saka[m]*, Bh. 5, 25.

šim, referring to the logical plural *aniyam*, Bh. 5, 27.

Pati+jan, Dar. NRa 47, takes a collective singular object, *partaram*, 'the foe'.

Thus of all these, every one has as its object a word denoting a person or a group of persons; there is no idiom in OPers. which gives to the root *jan* a non-living object, such as in Tolman's 'waged them' (= battles), in Bh. 4, 6 for *adamšim ajanam*.¹

§ 63. So, in Bh. 4, 6—7, *adamšim ajanam*, the object of *ajanam* should be a person or persons, and is represented by the singular pronoun *šim*. The only word in the preceding context that can suggest this antecedent is the neuter plural *hamaranā* 'battles.' Manifestly this implied antecedent must be a singular, but with a collective meaning, so as to be a logical plural. Out of *hamaranā*, therefore, I extract a collective singular word meaning 'foe', to serve as antecedent of *šim*. What this word may have been, it is difficult to say; but we may suggest the frequent *kāra hamithriya*, or *partaram* (Dar. NRa 47, used collectively²), or even *aniyam* in its sense of 'rival' (Dar. Pers. d 11, e 20—21; see § 55 fn.) With this interpretation, the difficulty about *šim* no longer remains, and we may render the passage, "Says Darius the king: This (is) what I did; by the grace of Ahuramazda, in one-and-the-same year after that I became king, I fought nineteen battles; by the grace of Ahuramazda I smote the foe and took-captive nine kings. One was . . ."

¹ *Fra+jan* 'to cut off (ears and nose and tongue)', Bh. 2, 74. 79, falls into a different semantic class in this point, while *jan* 'to smite', *ava+jan* and *ava+ā+jan* 'to smite down, to slay', and *pati+jan* 'to fight against', lie very close together.

² If only *hamaram* had not been supplanted in Dar. NRa 47 by the corrected reading *partaram*, it would have been the obvious word for the implied antecedent, because of its etymological relation with *hamaranā*.

VII. Ufraštādiy, Bh. 4, 69.

§ 64. Bh. 4, 67—69:

<i>θātiy Dārayavauš xšāyaqiya tuvam [kā] xšāyaqiya</i>	67
<i>hya aparam āhy martiya [hya] draujana ahatiy hyavā [zū]rakara ** ahat-</i>	68
<i>iy avaiy mā dauštā [bīy]ā ufraštādiy parsā</i>	69

“Says Darius the king: Thou who shalt be king hereafter, the man who shall be a deceiver or who shall be a wrong-doer, these do thou not befriend¹; punish (them) *with severe punishment*”.

§ 65. The *ufraštādiy*, commonly translated ‘with severe punishment’, is interpreted as a loc. sing. to the fem. abstract substantive *ufrašti-*, plus the postposition *adiy*, = Skt. *adhi*.² Neither the substantive nor the preposition occurs again in the OPers. inscriptions, and a simpler explanation is here proposed.

§ 66. There are three other occurrences of the verb *fras-* ‘punish’,³ accompanied in every instance with the compound of the participle with *u-* (Skt. *su-*, Av. *hu-*) ‘well’. They are as follows:

Bh. 1, 22 *hya araika āha avam ufrastam aparsam* ‘who was hostile, him I punished well (-punished)’.

Bh. 4, 38 *mart[iya hya drau]jana ahatiy avam ufraštam parsā* ‘the man who shall be a deceiver, punish him well (-punished)’.

Bh. 4, 66—67 *hya viyanā[sa]ya avam ufrastam aparsam* ‘who injured (my house), him I punished well (-punished)’.

§ 67. We have every time, the object *avam*, the predicate adjective *ufrastam*⁴, and the verb *fras-* in the indicative or imperative as the main verb of the sentence. But in Bh. 4, 69 we find the object *avaiy* in the plural, and should expect the predicate adjective to be in the plural. This would be *ufraštā*,

¹ On the syntax, see § 59.

² The reading *ufraštādiy* is assured by King-Thompson. For the interpretations, see Bartholomae, *IE*. 12, 110, and Tolman, *Lex*. 76.

³ *Pati+fras-*, found Bh. 4, 42, 48, is too different in meaning to give any assistance for Bh. 4, 69.

⁴ The variation between *s* and *š* is readily explainable as the result of leveling. The root *prek-* will regularly become Iranian *fras-*, *prk-ske-* becomes Iran. *parsa*, *prk-to-* (Skt. *prṣṭa-*) becomes Iran. **paršta-*. Mixture of the various tense stems will easily give both *frašta-* and *frasta-*.

which we have!¹ The problem is with the *-diy* or *-adiy*, or *-ādiy*, enclitic to the *ufraštā*.

§ 68. A postposition *adiy* = Skt. *adhi*, is quite out of place. I propose that this is the emphatic particle *-diy*, = Av. *zī*, Skt. *hi*. Though this word does not occur elsewhere in OPers., it is no worse off in that respect than *adiy*, and the corresponding *zī* is common in Av., while the Av. representative of *adiy* is found in only one word, Gāthic *aīdy-ū-*, later *aīdy-ū-* 'helfend, nützlich, brauchbar, tüchtig zu —'. Thus *diy* has better Iranian support than has *adiy*. Its use in Bh. 4, 69 agrees admirably with the definition of Av. *zī* given by Bartholomae,² 'enkl. Part., hinter dem ersten Wort des Satzes; 3) *zī* steht in Sätzen, die b) eine Aufforderung enthalten'.

§ 69. Our passage therefore means, "these do thou not befriend; verily punish them well(-punished)".³ Herewith *ufrašti-* and *adiy* are removed from the OPers. vocabulary, and the enclitic *diy* claims a place.

¹ *Ufraštā* and *ufraštām* are in precisely the same relation to each other as *θakatā* and *θakatam*; curiously, the former of these was, precisely like *ufraštā*, long taken to be the loc. of an *-i*-stem, and, again like *ufraštā*, found its true place by a comparison with the singular form.

² *AiW.* 1693, 1695.

³ Weissbach, *Keilinschr. d. Achām.*, translates "bestrafe (sie) streng", though he gives no grammatical interpretation of the form. At 4, 38, he translates "den bestrafe streng", which in combination with the other suggests that he may have had nearly the view presented above.

*The Zakar and Kalamu Inscriptions.**—By CHARLES C. TORREY,
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The following translations and notes in spite of the late date at which they are presented may have some of the interest of early comments, since they were made in each case from the original publication of the inscriptions in photograph and facsimile, before I had seen any other publications in regard to them or had the benefit of any other study of them than my own. When the Zakar¹ Inscription was first published, by Pognon in 1908,² I had no leisure for studying it, and decided to leave it until the time when I should be able to read it with a class. This was also the case with the Kalamu Inscription, published in 1911 by F. von Luschan.³ It was not until somewhat later that my purpose was carried out and the two inscriptions were read by me. In the case of each inscription the class and I first read it using the original publication only, without taking into account any of the literature which had subsequently appeared. Afterward, we compared the results reached by others. The following translations and comments are those originally made by me on the basis of the initial publications; where they have been corrected or supplemented by the work of other scholars, I have in every case expressly indicated the fact, both in the translation and in the commentary.

Both inscriptions, and the Zakar Inscription in particular, have been very variously interpreted, otherwise I should not have presumed to offer my own results in this extended form. Where

* This article was first put in type by the printers of this Journal in the fall of 1915. See the Note on page 319.

¹ Regarding the possible ways of pronouncing this name, see below.

² *Inscriptions sémitiques de la Syrie, de la Mésopotamie et de la région de Mossoul*, par H. Pognon. Seconde partie. Paris, 1908.

³ *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, IV. Teil (Heft XIV der *Mitteilungen aus den Orientalischen Sammlungen der Kgl. Museen zu Berlin*). Berlin, 1911.

the unknown quantities are so many, and the possible readings apparently so numerous, the agreement or disagreement of scholars working independently of one another has correspondingly greater importance. For this reason it has seemed to me worth while to present my conclusions, reached as above stated, at sufficient length to show clearly both the extent of their agreement with the results reached by others and also the extent of their divergence from the interpretations hitherto given. Except, however, in the few cases in which my own results have actually been modified or added to by the work of others, it has not seemed necessary to record here the readings and renderings preferred by Nöldeke, Littmann, Lidzbarski, Lagrange, Halévy, Brockelmann, Praetorius, Peiser, Montgomery, and others, whose publications I have read with great interest and with whom I am glad to find myself so often in agreement.

1. *The Zakar Inscription.*

In the printed text which here follows, words or letters supplied by conjecture are enclosed in square brackets. A heavy dot over the letter indicates that it is wholly or partially obliterated, or uncertain, in the original.

Text.

(First Fragment.)

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|----|--|
| 1 | [נ]צבא זי שם זכר מלך [ח]מת ולעש לאלור [בחזוך] |
| 2 | אנה זכר מלך חמת ולעש אש ענה אנה ו[שמע א] |
| 3 | [ל]י בעלשמין וקם עמי והמלכני בעלשמין ב] |
| 4 | [ח]זוך והוחד עלי ברהרד בר חזאל מלך ארם ש |
| 5 | [ם] עשר מלכן ברהרד ומחנתה וברגש ומחנתה ו |
| 6 | [מלך] קוה ומחנתה ומלך עמק ומחנתה ומלך גרגם [ו] |
| 7 | [מח]נתה ומלך שמאל ומ[חנתה] ומלך מלו [ומח]נתה ותרי |
| 8 | [מלכ]י] --- [ומחנתהם ומלך] --- [ו]מ[ח]נתה] ושבע[תני] |
| 9 | [ה]מו ומחנתהם ושמו כל מלכיא אל מצר על חזוך] |
| 10 | והרמו שר מן שר חזוך והעמקו חרץ מן חרצה] |
| 11 | ואשא ירי אל בעלשמין ויענני בעלשמין וישל] |
| 12 | [ח] בעלשמין אלי ביד חזין וביר ערדן [ויאמר ל] |
| 13 | [י] בעלשמין אל תזחל כי אנה המלכותך ואנה א] |
| 14 | [ק]ם עמך ואנה אחצרך מן כל [מלכיא אל זי] |
| 15 | מחאו עליך מצר ויאמר ל[י] ----- |

16 כל מלכיא אל זי מחאו [עליך מצר] -----
 17 --- ושורא זנה זי] -----

(Second Fragment.)

- 1 --- [ומאש] חורך ק[סמ]ת
- 2 [אלפין] לרכב ולפרש
- 3 [לישמר] מלכה בגוה אנ
- 4 [ה] בנית חורך והוסף
- 5 [ת אליה] אית כל מחגת
- 6 --- נא ושמתה מלכ[תה]
- 7 [ושמ]תה אר[וקי ומלאת]
- 8 [אש] חסניא אל בכל גב
- 9 [וב]נית בתי אלהן בכל[ל]
- 10 [ארק]י ובנית אית ---
- 11 --- [ואית אפש ו]הוש
- 12 [בת אלה]יא בית [ממ]
- 13 [לכתי ו]שמת קדם [אל]
- 14 [ור] נצבא זנה וכות
- 15 [בת ב]ה אית אשר ידי [ע]
- 16 [ש] מן יהגע אית א[ש]
- 17 [מי] זכר מלך חמ[ת ול]
- 18 עש מן נצבא זנה ומ[ן]
- 19 [י]הגע נצבא זנה מן [ק]
- 20 [ר]ם אלור ויהנסנה מ[ן]
- 21 [אש]רה או מן ישלח ב[ה]
- 22 ידה [י]ה[שת]תה -----
- 23 ---- [בע]לשמין ואל
- 24 [ור] --- ושמש ושהר
- 25 ----- [ואלהי שמינ]
- 26 [ואלהי] ארק ובעלע
- 27 [ל] יהכה אית אשא ואית
- 28 [ראשא ויסחו] ש[ר]שה

It is a pleasure to testify to the extraordinary accuracy and skill of Pognon's facsimile drawing. Without it I should often have been at a loss, and I do not know of any place at which it can be corrected.

Translation.

(First Fragment.)

¹ The stele which Zakar, king of [Ha]math and Laaš, erected to ALWR [in Ḥazrek].¹ ²I am Zakar, king of Hamath and Laaš, whom, whenever I am in distress, ³ Baalšamain [hears] and supports.

Now Baalšamain made me to rule in ⁴ Ḥazrek. And Bar-Hadad, son of Hazael, king of Aram, united against me ⁵th[ere] ten kings: Bar-Hadad and his army, Bar-RGŠ and his army, ⁶the king of Qūē² and his army, the king of 'Emeq and his army, the king of Gurgum ⁷[and his ar]my, the king of Sam'al and his a[rm]y, the king of Mēliz [and his a]r[my], the two ⁸kings of and their armies, and the king of and his army.] And they fell [upon me suddenly, ⁹t]hey and their armies; and all those kings laid siege to Ḥaz[rek], ¹⁰and raised a wall higher than the wall of Ḥazrek, and dug a trench deeper than [its] moat.

¹¹Then I lifted up my hands to Baalšamain, and Baalšamain answered me, and Baalšamain ¹²[sent word] to me by seers and by men expert in numbers(?); [and thus to me said] ¹³Baalšamain: Fear not, for I made thee ki[ng], and I will ¹⁴sta]nd by thee, and I will rescue thee from all [these kings who] ¹⁵have made siege against thee. And he said to [me] ¹⁶all these kings who have made [siege against thee] ¹⁷.. and this wall wh[ich]

(Second Fragment.)

¹ [And of the men(?) of] Ḥazrek I appointed ²[2000(?)] for charioteers and horsemen ³[to guard] her king in the midst of her. I ⁴[buil]t up Ḥazrek, and adde[d ⁵to her] all the district of ⁶ and made it her[?] possession, ⁷and I made it my(?) land(?). [Añd I filled(?) ⁸with men(?) all] those fortresses³ on every side. ⁹[And I bu]ilt temples in all ¹⁰my lan[d]; and I built ¹¹and, and [caused ¹²the god]s(?) [to dwell(?)] in [my capital-¹³city(?)]. And] I placed before

¹ Since the Hebrews reproduced the vowel of the last syllable as *a*, while the Assyrians transcribed it with *i*, it is likely that the native pronunciation was *ē*. The name is hardly Semitic.

² Original rendering altered, see note.

³ Original rendering altered, see below.

[AL¹⁴WR] this stele, and w[r¹⁵ote upon] it that which my hands [had ¹⁶done.]

Whoever destroys the n[ame] ¹⁷of ZKR, king of Ham[ath and ¹⁸La]aš, from this stele, or whoever ¹⁹destroys this stele from ²⁰[befo]re ALWR, or removes it from ²¹its [pla]ce, or whoever puts forth against [it] ²²[his hand, there shall] de[st]roy him ²³... [Ba]alšamain and AL²⁴[WR] and Samaš and Sahar ²⁵..... and the gods of heaven ²⁶[and the god]s of earth; and with a tornado ²⁷[they shall smite him, both the] foundation and the ²⁸[head, and they shall tear out his] root.

Notes to I.

In the following notes I have omitted the things which are sufficiently evident, or in regard to which there has been substantial agreement among those who have commented on the inscription.

1. It is quite useless to attempt to determine how the name of this king was pronounced. It might have been *Zakar* (like Nathan, etc.), that is, the shortened form of a name corresponding to Zachariah; or *Zakir*; or *Zakkūr*; and there are still other possibilities. Since, however, it is necessary to pronounce the name in some way, is it not simplest and best to adopt for convenience the two *a*-vowels, and say "Zakar"?

The missing word at the end of the line is probably **בחור** "in Ḥazrek", since Zakar had made this his capital-city, and the inscription in its latter part implies that the stele in honor of **אלור** was erected there.

2. The traces of the character at the beginning of the second line are ambiguous. The letter intended is presumably **א**, not **י**.

אש in this line is not **איש**, but the relative pronoun. The language of the inscription is a mixture of Aramaic and Canaanitic very similar to what we find in the Hadad and Panamu inscriptions from Zenjirli. The relative pronouns **אש**, **אשר** (II, 15), and **י** here stand side by side. Similarly, classical Hebrew used contemporaneously, for a considerable period, the three relative pronouns **אשר**, **ש**, and **י**.

ענה might be either active or passive participle, according as the verb is used transitively or intransitively in this dialect. The force of the participle here is that of a general condition, the conclusion of which is contained in the two(?) participles

immediately following. For the missing verb, שָׁמַע (participle) may be supplied conjecturally, as a good possibility.

3. קָם is best regarded as participle, the form as in Hebrew. The whole sentence, "When I am in distress, Baalsamain hears me and stands by me", resembles very closely the sentence at the beginning of the Byblus inscription, where King Yahaumelek, after giving his name and title, continues: "And I call upon my Lady, the Mistress of Gebal, and she hears my voice", וקרא אנך את רבתי בעלת גבל ושמע קל.

4. The letters at the end of line 3 and the beginning of line 4 certainly formed the word בַּחֲזֹרֶךְ. Whatever may have been the territory included in "Hamath and Laaš", it is certain that the royal residence of King Zakar was Hazrek, and with this city the whole inscription is concerned.

5. The missing letter at the beginning of the line is ם, which with the ש at the end of the preceding line formed the word שָׁם, there"; namely at Hazrek which has just been mentioned.

The number of kings in the coalition against Zakar is given as *ten*. As will be seen from the note on line 8, the actual enumeration mentioned probably *ten* though possibly *nine*.

6. It is quite likely that the end of line 5 and the beginning of line 6 originally stood thus: וּמִלֶּךְ קוּה. [I at first read קנה**, and supposed this to be the name of a king in which the first element was presumably the name of a god. It had seemed to me probable that line 5 ended with the ן, and that there was not room for three letters in the missing beginning of line 6. As for the ambiguity in the form of the letter, compare for example the ן in מֶן in line 14. But Lidzbarski is evidently right in reading Qūē, the familiar name of a place in proximity to the others in this list.]

7. מֶלֹז is of course Melitene, the "Mēlid" which appears in lists of these same cities in the inscriptions of Tiglathpileser III. See Rost's edition, pages 12 and 26.

The ח in the latter part of this line is obviously a part of the word וּמַחֲנֵתָהּ.

8. The only characters in this line which are entirely preserved are the three, שָׁבַע, near the end. Just preceding them is the

¹ The characters here are illegible, but ן seems to me much more probable than כ.

shaft of a letter which was probably ך (compare the corresponding stroke in the same letter just above this one, in line 6). Still farther to the right are the shafts of three letters which from their angle and relative position certainly belonged to the word [ו]מ[ח]נ[ת]ה[ה].

It is to be presumed that King Zakar named *all* the kings of the coalition formed against him; and the word just restored, ומחנתה, "and *his* army", shows that up to the very end of the list he continued to name individual kings, instead of including a number of them in some common formula. We may assume that line 8 contained 34 or 35 letters (lines 6 and 9 had 33; line 7 had 35 or 36). In the vacant space from the beginning of the line to the (partially preserved) word ומחנתה there is easily room for 21 letters, measuring according to the line above. At the end of this space stood of course "and the King of * * *" (a name of two or three letters). Preceding this was either "and their armies" or "and his army" (in the latter case, with only *nine* names, we should have to suppose that "ten" in line 5 was merely a round number). It is perhaps easiest to restore as I have suggested in my conjectured text and translation, but other ways are obviously possible. We might conjecture, for instance, ומחנתהם * * * ו * * * ומלכ * * *, supposing two petty kingdoms so closely connected that they were commonly named together. There is plenty of room for either restoration, and the conjectures which secure the number *ten* seem preferable.

It is evident from the context that this line ended with a finite verb; and the letters, or parts of letters, which are preserved make it practically certain that the verb was ושבעתני (or, possibly, ושבעתני written *plene*). This *šaf'el* form has not hitherto been found, so far as I am aware, but the root בעת in one stem or another, is widely used in just this meaning: "attack suddenly, fall upon (an enemy) unexpectedly", and the like. In late Hebrew, the verb is used in this sense only in the *hif'il*; in Biblical Hebrew, it is the *pī'el* which means "fall upon, assail, overwhelm". So also in Jewish Aramaic, it is the *pa'el* which is thus employed, see for example the Targum of Ps. 18, 5. In Syriac, both *pe'al* and *af'el* are used alike (*improvisò invasit*); while in Arabic, بغت has this meaning in the I. stem. The especial fitness of a *haf'el* or *šaf'el* to express this idea needs no comment.

9. It is a question whether the ה of the pronoun המו stood at the beginning of this line or the end of the preceding. There appears to be room for it here, however.

11. At the end of the line, after בעלשמן, there is space for three or four letters; at the beginning of the next line there is space for one only. The missing verb presumably signified either "send word" or "reveal". Supposing the consecutive imperfect to have been employed (by no means a *necessary* supposition, even with the two verbs just preceding and the ויאמר in line 15), the easiest and most plausible conjecture is וישלח. Observe that this verb with the meaning "send a message" is found in classical Hebrew construed with אל and ביר, as here; for example, in Jer. 27, 3.

12. At the end of this line, after עדרן (either עדרן or—more probably—עדרן), there is room for six, possibly seven, letters; at the beginning of the next line there is space for one letter, hardly for two letters. We may conjecture either ויאמר לי, or וכה אמר לי; or possibly כה אמר לך. the quotation of the oracle beginning at this point. That אמר was construed with ל, rather than with אל, is made probable by line 15.

13. The last remaining characters in this broken line obviously formed the beginning of the word המלכתך, compare line 3. The remainder of the line can also be filled out with approximate certainty, the only possible doubt being this, whether the imperfect or the participle of נס was employed. There is room for only one letter at the beginning of line 14.

14ff. It is possible to supply the most of what is missing in the remaining lines which have been partially preserved. But it is quite useless to conjecture what the inscription contained after line 17, or to decide whether this episode of the "ten kings" was continued much further. The story of Zakar's deliverance may have been narrated at some length, or (as oftener happens) the bare fact of rescue by Baalšamain may have been stated in a single sentence.

Notes to II.

In the second fragment of the inscription, the normal line contains about fourteen letters. It is evident that we have here the conclusion of the inscription which began on the broad face of the stone, and commemorated the battle of the ten kings; and it also appears that the account of this battle was merely one

item in a considerable list of achievements which are chronicled. King Zakar erected this stele to preserve the record of his reign, as he says in II, 14—16 (if I have restored the text correctly), “I have inscribed upon it that which my hands have done”. It is thus very much like the Moabite Stone, with its record of the reign of King Meša', beginning with the story of deliverance from the king of Israel and his allies.

In lines 1—8 we have the conclusion of a section dealing with political achievements: the strengthening of Hazrek, the increase of the territory under her control, the building or equipping of numerous fortresses in the land, and possibly much more of the same kind. Lines 9—13 seem to be devoted to the building of temples and sanctuaries; and thereupon lines 13—16 mention once more the erection of this stele in the sanctuary of ALWR. Finally, in lines 16—28, we have the usual imprecation invoked at considerable length upon the one who changes, mutilates, removes, or otherwise disturbs the stele. The most of this concluding section has either been preserved or can be restored with probability.

1 Here we seem to have faint but sure traces of the word חֲזַרְךָ, followed by the letter ק. At the end of the line appears the lower extremity of a stroke which might have belonged to the letter ת. As has just been remarked, this section of the inscription dealt with the strengthening of Hazrek and other fortresses. The clause which is contained in lines 1—3 may be plausibly restored in some such way as this: [ומֵאִשׁ חֲזַרְךָ קִסְמַתָּהּ [אַלְפִּין] מְלָכָה בְּגוּוֹה לְרֶכֶב וּלְפָרֶשׁ [לְשֹׁמֵר] “And of the men of Hazrek I appointed two thousand as charioteers and horsemen, to guard her king in the midst of her”. This gives each line the requisite number of letters. קִסְמַתָּהּ seems the most probable reading, though קִבְּצָתָּהּ or קִמְמַתָּהּ might also be conjectured. Of course the phrase רֶכֶב וּפָרֶשׁ might also mean “chariots and horses”, compare the double usage in Hebrew. Instead of לְשֹׁמֵר, some other verbal noun meaning “protect” or “strengthen” might have been used.

4. The missing beginning of the line may be restored as follows: [הִתְבַּנִּיתָ], though some other verb may have been used. The beginning of line 5 is beyond doubt so far as its meaning is concerned, but it is not certain what preposition (עַל, אֶת, or לְ) was used.

6. At the head of this line stood a proper name. That it was the name of a city or district, rather than that of a king, is evident from the use of the word **מַחֲנֶה** (from **חָנוּ**). The name ended in **א**, contained five or six letters, and may have begun in line 5. The suffix in **וּשְׁמָתָהּ** might refer either to **מַחֲנֶה** or to the proper name. At the end of the line is the noun **מַלְכָּת**, "dominion, possession". The final letter was undoubtedly a suffix, either first person singular or third person feminine referring to **Ḥazrek**.

7. The **תָּה** would seem to be the ending of a verb with suffix, similar to **וּשְׁמָתָהּ** in the line above. Possibly the same verb was used here also. Three, possibly four, letters are missing at the beginning of the line. The word beginning with **א** is most probably **אָרָה**, with the suffix either of the first person or of the feminine singular. The line may be filled out conjecturally with the verb **וּמְלֹאָתָאֵשׁ**. If that is done, **אֵשׁ** is probably to be supplied at the beginning of line 8. [I at first read **סְנִיָּא**, "enemies", in line 8, in spite of the obvious difficulties in the way—and, I might add, in spite of the protest of some of the members of my class; who, however, could propose nothing better. It was not until I read Lidzbarski's note that I saw how **חֲסִנִּיָּא**, "fortresses", is made probable both by the context and by the trace of the letter **ח** which can be seen in the facsimile.]

8. It is worthy of remark how well this summary statement: "I filled all these fortresses with men" (see note on line 7) corresponds to the conjectural restoration of lines 1—3.

9-12. It is of course possible that Zakar's account of his services to the gods was confined to a single line, but more probably lines 10—12 furnish some details continuing the general statement in line 9. My restoration of line 12 (with the end of 11 and the beginning of 13) is pure conjecture, and many other ways of dealing with the few remaining letters might be found; but the conjecture has the merit of supposing a logical and natural order in this part of the inscription. After the introductory statement in 9, lines 10 and 11 name (as I believe) two famous sanctuaries in the kingdom; then the king tells how he dedicated (or built) temples in the capital-city, **Ḥazrek**; and thereupon returns, in the most natural way, to the mention of this stele erected in **Ḥazrek** to **ALWR**.

10. The word at the beginning of the line can hardly have been anything else than **אָרְקִי**, "my land". The two words fol-

lowing the repeated אֵית in 10 and 11 must have been nouns of mutually similar character. In all probability they were the names of famous sanctuaries; compare the very frequent occurrence of such names, in just such a context as this, in the Babylonian-Assyrian inscriptions.

11. On אִפֶּשׁ see the note above. For the end of this line and the beginning of the next I have conjectured וְהוֹשַׁבְתִּי, "and I caused to dwell, inducted"; compare the use of the same verb, describing the dedication or building of temples to gods, in lines 16 and 17 of the Ešmunazar Inscription.

12. בֵּית מַמְלַכְתִּי, or its equivalent, is certainly desirable here, in order to designate the place where this monument was erected.

15. Regarding the relative pronoun אֲשֶׁר see the note on I, 2. In an inscription in which the Canaanitic element is so strongly marked, אֵית אֲשֶׁר is certainly to be expected. אֵית would be noticeable. For the end of the line I have conjectured עָשָׂו. A truly Aramaic verb may have been used, and a feminine form employed; but it seems to me more likely that the whole phrase, אֵית אֲשֶׁר יָדִי עָשָׂו, was a standing Canaanite formula borrowed by these Aramaeans, like several other formulas in this inscription.

16. The verb הִנֵּעַ, here and in line 19, cannot mean merely "disturb" or "injure"; if from $\sqrt{\text{נע}}$, what is intended is an injury so drastic as to amount to destruction, and "destroy" is the meaning required in both places. The word beginning with נ. at the end of the line, is either אֲשֶׁמִי, "my name", or else simply אִשֶּׁם, "name". For the orthography with initial נ. compare the Hadad Inscription, line 16. Four crimes are named, in the most natural order: (1) obliterating the king's name; (2) destroying the monument; (3) removing it from its place; (4) injuring it in any way whatever. The king was careful for the safety of the monument, but most of all for his own property right in it. So also frequently in other inscriptions; see my note on the Byblus Inscription and a building inscription of Assurbanipal, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, XXVI, 78.

20. The verb הִנֵּס, whether *haf'el* or not, means simply "remove". I cannot see, either here or in the Nerab Inscription, any plausible connection with the late Heb.-Aram. אָנַס.

22. At the beginning of the line stood יָדָה; then followed, presumably, a verb (imperfect tense) with suffix. There is

barely room for יה'שח^התה, and the top of the first ה can be seen in the photograph. There is space for five or six letters at the end of 22; and for four, before ל[בע], at the beginning of 23, but it seems useless to conjecture what stood there.

24. Observe the order; the moon-god is usually named before the sun-god, in the old Aramaic inscriptions known to us.

26. The restoration ובעל^לעל, "and with a whirlwind", seems to be absolutely certain. Thus the gods destroy those of whom no trace is to be left behind. So Mohammed, in the Koran, repeatedly tells how a wicked man, or tribe, was wiped out of existence by a *tornado*. Compare also the well known passage in the *Midrash Echa*, narrating the sudden disappearance of the infant who was supposed to be the Messiah: there came whirlwinds (עלעלין) and snatched him away, so that he was never seen again (Dalman, *Dialektproben*, 15, 13).

27. We have here either א'שנ, "foundation", or א'שנ[ר], "head". This was preceded by אית, before which stood a verb meaning "smite", which may have had the suffix of the third person singular.

28. For the first word in this line we must conjecture either ראשנ or אשנ (or its equivalent), according to the restoration of the preceding line. After this stood presumably ויסחו, "and may they tear out". Compare line 9 of the first Nerab Inscription, also the imprecations in the Ešmunazar Inscription, lines 11 and 22, and especially line 14 of the Teima Inscription.

2. The Kalamu Inscription.

I append the following briefly annotated translation of the Kalamu Inscription, made at the same time, and also before seeing any other text, translation, or treatment of the inscription than what is given in the original publication in Vol. IV of the *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*. Suggestions or corrections since derived from later publications I have in every case indicated as such, both in the translation and in the notes. My own rendering very closely resembles the one given by Lidzbarski in his *Ephemeris*, III, 218 ff., and therefore few notes are needed.

Translation.

¹I am Kalamu, the son of Ḥayyā. ²Gabbar ruled over Ya'dī, and accomplished nothing; ³likewise BMH, and accomplished

nothing;¹ so also (my) father Ḥayyā, and accomplished nothing; so also (my) brother ʿŠeʿil, and accomplished nothing. But I, Kalamu, man of integrity—that which I accomplished⁵ no one (even) of their predecessors had done.

My father's house was in the midst of mighty kings,⁶ and every weapon humbled them. And I was in the midst of the kings as though I were eating⁷ my beard, or even were eating my hand. The king of the Da[m]unim(?) was mighty against me, and I hired⁸ against him the king of Assyria. A girl was sold for a sheep, and a man for a garment.²

⁹I, Kalamu, son of Ḥayyā, sat upon the throne of my father. In the presence of the former¹⁰ kings the *Muškabīm* had gone about like dogs; but I—to one I was a father, to another a mother,¹¹ to another a brother. He who before me had not seen a sheep, him I made the owner of a flock; who before me had not seen an ox, him I made the owner of¹² cattle, of silver, and of gold. He who from his youth up had not seen a coat, in my day was clothed in fine linen.¹³ And I took the *Muškabīm* by the hand, and gave them an affection (for me) like the affection of the fatherless for his mother.

Whoever of my sons¹⁴ sits (on the throne) after me, and does damage to this inscription, may the *Muškabīm* not honor the *Baʿrīrīm*, and the *Baʿrīrīm*¹⁵ not honor the *Muškabīm*! And whoever shall destroy this inscription, may there destroy his life Baal Šemed the god of Gabbar,¹⁶ Baal Ḥammān of BMH, and Rekeb-El, the Lord of the House!

Notes.

Line 1. I choose "Kalamu" as the simplest vocalization, which also has the support of analogy in Panamu. It does not seem likely that the name is Semitic.

2. Vocalize כן (not כִּן) in all three places. I think Lidzbarski is mistaken in regard to this word. I at first read כנה "his son", in spite of the obvious difficulty of this reading. Lidzbarski's note convinced me that the proper name כמה is the true reading; and in a photograph of the restored monument which I have recently seen the doubtful letter seems to be plainly כ. אב "(my) father" and אח "(my) brother," as here connected, probably had no possessive pronominal endings in pro-

¹ Translation slightly altered; see the note.

² Original translation improved in this sentence, see note below.

nunciation, but the phrases were a kind of compound proper name: "Father Ḥayyā" and "Brother Še'il," just as in English and other modern languages. This is perfectly natural in Semitic also, and perhaps especially in the semi-humorous colloquial style in which the whole inscription is conceived. Lidzbarski (*Ephemeris* III, 226 f., cf. 234) thinks that spoken suffixes of both 1st and 3d pers. are usually omitted in the writing of this inscription. This does not seem to me to be true in any case; see the notes below.

4. שאל is a Semitic name, at all events. The vocalization is quite uncertain. Even the fact that this dynasty was presumably Aramaic does not settle the question. Kalamu's designation of himself as בַּר הַמֶּת is just like what we find in other inscriptions. [I am interested to see that Littmann and Lidzbarski supply the same letters to fill the gap, though interpreting them differently.] מַאֲשׁ is מֶה אֵשׁ "that which".

5. In הַלְפָנֵיהֶם the second ה is not the result of a blunder. The suffix refers to the kings from Gabbar to Še'il, and the whole word therefore refers to the kings of *former* dynasties. Kalamu would hardly have committed the *faux pas* of boasting that he "did more" than those who had "done *nothing*"!

6. The imperfect tense in יִרְלֵל[ה] expresses customary or continued action. So also in line 8. כִּמְאֵשׁ like מַאֲשׁ in line 4; on the pronunciation see below, line 10.

7. אֵכֶלֶת, lines 6 and 7, is perfect tense, active voice, 1st pers. sing. "Eating the beard" or (stronger) "eating the hand" seems to have been proverbial for the condition of one who is reduced to the last extremity. This being the case, there is no need to suppose suffixes to וָקֵן and יָד. It is plain from every part of this inscription (though the fact has not received the attention it deserves) that we are dealing with the idioms of a language with a long literary history. It is also very important to keep in mind the unusual personal element in this royal composition, and the peculiar mood in which King Kalamu is speaking, in both halves of the document. It is certainly with studied purpose, and in keeping with his own habit, that he expresses himself in a whimsically humorous, almost jocose way, even in such stern passages as lines 6 f., 8, and 14.

The proper name in this line might easily be either Damuni(m) or Dunani; see the names from this same region, expressly designated as *Aramaean* peoples, in Rost, *Tiglathpileser*, 24, 56.

The word is written with ' presumably because the name of the land (like Ya'di) ended in *i*.

8. The same use of the imperfect tense as in line 6; see the note there. [I at first rendered this clause in a way very closely resembling that defended by Brockelmann (*Sitzungsber. der K. Preuss. Akad.*, LIII, 1144 ff.), but the first sight of Littmann's rendering (*ibid.*, 977 ff.) convinced me. I was inclined at first after seeing Lidzbarski's argument in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 13. Jan., 1912, to cancel אנך at the beginning of the line, but after further study I returned to my former opinion, that the text is right as it stands. Lidzbarski claims (*Ephemeris* III, 230) in support of his view, that the inscriptions of Tabnit and Ešmunazar "weisen beide mehrere Fehler auf". This is a mistake. The Tabnit Inscription contains no error at all; the only error in Ešm. is the careless writing of מלכת in lines 9 and 11. But it must be remembered that *these lines had been carved twice*. The first time they were inscribed, around the head of the sarcophagus, no mistake whatever was made. It was only when the beginning of the inscription was repeated, on the same sarcophagus, that the stone-cutter made his harmless slips. See further ZA. XXVI, 80—86.] The picturesque use of the present participle, שֹׁכֵר, at the end of line 7, seems to me perfectly natural. It is good classical style.

9. לִפְּן here, and פִּן in line 11 (twice), probably had no vocalic ending. Cf. Assyrian *lapān*.

10. יתלכִן was my own independent reading. It likewise seemed plain to me, from the first, that מִשְׁכְּנֵם and כְּעִרְרֵם designated the two classes or divisions which constituted the people of Kalamu's kingdom, the names having been given originally, perhaps, in jest. Obviously, from the etymology combined with lines 10—13, the מִשְׁכְּנֵם were the *unfortunate* class, those who had been "prostrated", either through subjugation or by other circumstances. It is equally plain that the class called כְּעִרְרֵם (of course the Syriac word came immediately to mind) had the upper hand and were in more tolerable circumstances. Other facts made certain or probable by the inscription are these: (1) The contrast between the two classes is thought of as permanent; they are always present in the kingdom, and will continue to exist side by side. Every future king will have them to deal with. (2) The Muškabīm had been slighted (at least) by the kings of the Kalamu dynasty. (3) This class

constituted a large part, probably the larger part, of the community. Otherwise, it would make little difference whether they "honored" the Ba'rîrîm or not. (4) It is evident from the semi-humorous imprecation in line 14 that Kalamu himself had had considerable trouble from the friction between the two classes.

• כם with following dot suggests the pronunciation *kam*. So very likely *kam aš* in line 6 (otherwise Lidzb. *Ephem.* III, 234, 21). The enclitic and redundant use is interesting.

In the לַמִּי of this line and the following, מִי is the interrogative pronoun used as an *indefinite*: "To any one (of them) you please I was a father", etc. This is a thing which happens very easily in many languages, the interrogative becoming first an indefinite relative (like מִי in lines 11—15 of this same inscription) and then a genuine indefinite. There are excellent analogies in Semitic. In Assyrian, the indef. pron. *mamma(n)* is simply the reduplicated interrogative. In Syriac, the phrase כֵּן וְכֵן, "such and such a one, any one you please", would be used in just such a context as this. In Arabic, it is possible to say مَرَرْتُ بِمَنْ فَحَسِنَ, "I passed by this or that generous person". This last example is an especially close parallel, but the explanation of לַמִּי is certain in any case.¹

13. I cannot see that Lidzbarski's translation here is justified. In spite of his footnote (*ibid.* p. 234), which is misleading, תַּמְךָ never means "stützen"; nor do I see how לִידֵךְ could mean "an der Seite" here. שָׁת is perf. 1st pers. sing. (cf. כָּת in lines 6 and 10 f.). הַמַּת is one of the *two* objects of the verb שָׁת. Cf. Ps. 21, 13, etc., and see Ges.-Kautzsch § 117, 5, bβ. If it had been the subject, some other verb would have been used.

14. נִזְקָב like نَضَّرَبَ فِي, etc. A natural construction for this verb, though not known heretofore. It seems to me quite certain that יִשָּׁב and יִזָּק are *imperfects*, as we should expect; see יִשְׁתָּה in line 15, and cf. Hadad line 15 f., etc. יִזָּק is probably *qal* stem, otherwise we should expect יִהְיוֹק. It is a very common thing for the simple stem of a Semitic verb to have both

¹I think that Lidzbarski is mistaken (*ibid.* III, 64) in proposing to emend the כֵּן וְכֵן of the Cilician boundary inscription to כֵּן וְכֵן אֵת. The reading is idiomatic as it stands.

the active and the passive signification. Arab. نقص is one good parallel.

15. ראש is not "his head", the word is not thus intended, but is an indefinite adverbial accusative. Arab. رأس "ganz und gar" is the exact equivalent; this is "capital punishment." Such a phrase as "root and branch" could be used in this place.

16. Kalamu invokes the chief gods of his dynasty: those introduced by Gabbar and by BMH, and finally the one who was the god of their whole family, רכנאל. Cf. not only Panamu 22 but also BarRekub 5.

An Aramaic Inscription from Cilicia, in the Museum of Yale University.—By CHARLES C. TORREY, Professor in Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

The ancient Aramaic monument described in the following pages was brought to the United States recently¹ by an Armenian merchant, and was purchased in 1915 by Colonel Isaac M. Ullman of New Haven for the Museum of Yale University. It is a block of yellowish gray flint, said to have been cut out of a cliff above the river Cydnus, in the neighborhood of the village Kesejek Keoyew, about fifteen miles northeast of the city of Tarsus. A portion of the surface of the rock was prepared to receive the inscription, a rectangular area measuring 18 by 12 inches being chiseled out, somewhat roughly, to a depth of perhaps half an inch. The letters, measuring from 1½ to 2 inches in height, were incised and then filled in with red paint, after the well-known fashion.

The rock has weathered somewhat, in spite of its hardness, and portions of the inscription have suffered accordingly. Not one of the characters has entirely perished, however, though several of them are nearly obliterated. In the only cases of this nature where more than one reading would be possible, the remaining traces are of such a character as to make it quite certain what letter was intended. The text of the whole inscription is thus pretty well assured. In the accompanying facsimile drawing, made from the stone itself, I have attempted to indicate the relative distinctness of the remaining letters or portions of letters. Solid black means that both incision and paint are plainly to be seen. The partly shaded portions are those in which either the painting or the incised line is unmistakably clear, but not both. Where the drawing is in outline, only ambiguous traces, or no traces at all, can be seen. It is perhaps needless to remark that some of the lines and furrows which in

¹ This article was first put in type by the printers of this Journal in the fall of 1915. See the Note on page 319.



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the photograph look like plain marks of the engraver's tool are not such in reality.

The language of the inscription is Aramaic, and the characters employed are all of a familiar type. On the palaeographical evidence—always somewhat precarious—the monument should be dated in the fifth century B. C. Of the inscriptions hitherto published, those most nearly resembling ours in the forms of the characters used are the Memphis inscription, CIS II, 122, dated 482 B. C., the Teima stele, CIS II, 113, belonging to the fifth century, and the Cilician hunting inscription, Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, Plate XXVI, 3, probably also dating from the fifth century. It is worthy of remark, moreover, that in the series of coins issued by the Persian satraps in Cilicia in the first quarter of the fourth century (Pharnabazus, Datames; the coins all minted in Tarsus) the Aramaic legends show an alphabet of a distinctly and uniformly later type than that which is seen in our inscription and in the hunting inscription (just mentioned) of this same region. The characters which are significant are 𐤀, 𐤁, and 𐤇, the last-named in less degree than the others. The later forms referred to were developed in Egypt, by scribes writing on papyrus, as early as the beginning of the fifth century; they even appear on one stone monument known to us, the sandstone stele erected at Assuan in the year 458 B. C. (see *Repertoire d'épigraphie sémitique*, Nr. 438). The forms of 𐤀 and 𐤁, especially, were admirably adapted to the lapidary style, and took firm hold wherever they were introduced. Beginning with the Cilician coinage of 379—374, they are the forms almost exclusively used in every variety of the Aramaic alphabet, in all the territory between Egypt and Mesopotamia. They are totally absent, neither of them being even suggested, in the hunting inscription and on our stone from Tarsus, as well as in the inscription on the boundary stone from this region published by Montgomery in this Journal, 28 (1907), 164—167.¹ We shall therefore hardly err in dating all these monuments as early as the fifth century B. C.

Accompanying the inscription, originally, was the "image" (פִּתְכָר) which it celebrates. But according to the testimony of a native of the region who has seen the stone *in situ*, there is at present no trace of any image or sculptured symbol in the

¹ The characters of this last-named inscription (on which see also ZA. XXVI, 90f.) appear to belong to a slightly later stage of development.

neighborhood. Possibly it has been overlooked, but more probably it has perished. The above-mentioned native asserted that there was a small Turkish garrison across the river, whose sharpshooters occasionally took a shot at this distant mark. Certain spots on the hard surface of the block were said by him to be the traces of well-aimed bullets. It is barely possible that the image of the god came to its end in this manner. The disappearance of the symbol or sculpture, while the inscription remains, has its parallel in the case of the Nabatean inscription in Petra, discovered by Sverdrup and published by me in this *Journal*, 29 (1908), 197—202, since there the “stelae” of the two gods were no longer to be found. Another instance of the kind is the Nabatean inscription Nr. 58 in the Jaussen-Savignac collection (*Mission archéologique en Arabie*, p. 216); see also Dalman, *Neue Petra-Forschungen*, p. 97.

Text and Translation.

פתכר זנה הקם ננשת
 קדם אדרסון לגננה
 נפשי זי לה ומן ביש
 יעבר עם פתכר זנה
 ויבעה לה שחר ושמיש

This image NNŠT erected
 before ADRSWN, because he protected
 my spirit, which is his. Whoever evil
 does to this image,
 Sahar and Šamaš will require it of him.

Notes.

Line 1. The Persian word פתכר, “image”, chiefly familiar through its use in classical Syriac, has not hitherto been found in any Semitic text approximating the age of this one. The omission of the determinative ending *-ā* (also in line 4) is very remarkable. We have, indeed, נצב זן in the Hadad and Panamu inscriptions from Zanjirli; but the peculiar dialect of these two monuments is too remote to afford a satisfactory parallel.

The two proper names in the inscription are apparently not Semitic, but Cilician. No name corresponding to either of them has been found elsewhere, and the problems of pronunciation and signification are likely to remain unsolved. The first part of the name ננשת might be the *Nan(a)* which as a divine name

is so widespread in Asia Minor.¹ From Cilicia, aside from the typical forms *Náva*, *Návas*, *Návη*, with numerous variations, we have the allied forms *Narwó*, *Nḥwis*, *Nués* (?), *Nevápios*, *Nevápis*, etc.; see J. Sundwall, *Die einheimischen Namen der Lykier* (Beiheft XI. zu *Klio*, 1913), pp. 165 ff., 288; Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*, 341 f. Or, instead of supposing ננ to contain the divine name, we might regard it as representing the appellative *nēni*, "uncle" (Sundwall 273). "Ein besonderes Charakteristikum der kleinasiatischen Namensgebung ist indessen die Verwendung von Verwandtschaftswörtern als Personennamen" (*ibid.* 272). The שת might then represent the element *stta*, which is extensively used as an ending in proper names, appearing in Greek as -στα, -στης, -στις, etc. (*ibid.* 196). One of the names of this kind which has been found in Cilicia is ΟυσΤΙς, masculine, the first element in which is the *uwe*, *uwa*, "family" (?), which also appears as Οας, etc., and has been found combined with Nana in one of the characteristic double names, *NavasOas* (*ibid.* 237, 265). We have therefore some ground for conjecturing *Nanašt* as approximately the pronunciation of the name in our inscription.²

3. The reading of the name in this line is not quite certain. There is room for doubt as to the two letters רר; though since the shaft of the one is distinctly shorter than that of the other, and ר throughout the inscription is shorter than ר, I have little hesitation in reading them as I have indicated.³ The ך is somewhat mutilated, but hardly to be questioned nevertheless. The ך, finally, is an indistinct character, for only slight traces of the incision can be seen, and but little paint remains. It seems plain that the name of the god must include these six letters.

No divine name corresponding to אררטון is known. We are reminded, however, of the deities and demigods worshipped

¹ Also known in Greece; thus, the inscription from the Peiraeus, CIA. III, 131, Ἀπρέμιδι Νάνα, and a few others. See Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*, 355 ff.

² There are other less likely possibilities, which need not be considered here at length. The שת might be connected with the Cilician god Ουσταος (Sundwall, 236), or even with the far more familiar Σάδων.

³ It is interesting to see how, in the series of Cilician coins above mentioned, dating from the early part of the fourth century, an attempt was made to distinguish between these two letters. Not the length of the shaft, as formerly, but the shape of the head was now used as the criterion; see Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, Plate IX, A, Nos. 2, 3, and 4.

under the names Ἀδραστος and Ἀδράστεια, names widespread in Asia Minor (see Pape-Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*) and probably originating there; see especially Buckler and Robinson, "Greek Inscriptions from Sardes", in the *Am. Journal of Archaeology*, 1912, 29 f. The first element of the name is probably the *adra* which appears in Adrastus, etc. (Sundwall, 45 f., cf. 87);¹ compare also the Cilician *nomen relativum* Ἀδρασσεύς, from *adr(a)-aza* (*ibid.* 46). Other possibilities are too remote to need mention here. For the ending -ων (?) we may compare Σαπτηδων, Σανδων (*zāta*), both Cilician names, also Σωζων (*zuzā*), name of a Lycian-Pisidian god, to be found probably in the Cilician city-name Σωζοπετρα; as well as many other names of persons (Δαρων, Βρυων, Κανων, Κομων, Νονων, Πουσων, etc.).

After the final ך of the name just considered, the stone shows a deep furrow, which seems to have obliterated a character in this line as well as part of the ך in the line below. The missing character appears to have been ל; the extremity of its upward stroke can still be seen above the furrow, and the shape of the fracture also suggests this letter. The following letter, if ג, stands at a very unusual angle. The next to the last letter in the line is hardly ו; apparently the top of a ו has been lost, for a bit of the stone has been chipped off at just this point. With my reading לננה compare the אנן (*af'el*) so often used on the Palmyrene tesserae for the "protection" sought from the god, also the occasional use of the *pe'al* in Jewish Aramaic (like the *gal* גלן in Hebrew). The whole phrase is like לחי נפשה in CIS II, 114.

3. נפשי זי לה is unusual, but the reading seems assured. Note ביש instead of באש.

5. Redundant ו, as in Kalamu 12 and often elsewhere. "Will require it (acc.) of him (לה)"; the idiom which is frequently employed in Syriac with the verb תבעע, for example. Sahar and Šamaš, as in the boundary stone inscription published by Montgomery (where Baalšamain was also included).

¹ This element *adra* has by some been regarded as Semitic (see references in Buckler and Robinson, *l. c.*), but without good reason. It may be added, that the three place-names Adramyttium, Hadrumetum, and Hadramaut, which because of their striking resemblance have frequently been treated as mutually equivalent (references *ibid.*), are in reality of quite diverse origin.

Studies in Semitic Grammar.*—By FRANK R. BLAKE, Ph.D.,
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I. Apparent Interchange between ה and ח in Semitic.

There are quite a number of cases in the Semitic languages where we find cognate words or forms appearing now with ה and now with ח. Sometimes both forms occur in the same language, sometimes ה appears in one and ח in another. For example, we have in Hebrew both חַי and הַי 'how'; in Biblical Aramaic הַי in Arabic اِنْ 'if'; in Hebrew and Biblical Aramaic, a causative with preformative ה in Arabic, Ethiopic, and Syriac, one with preformative ח.

Some of these changes are undoubtedly phonetic, i. e., due to the operation of some law of simple sound change, as, e. g., is the Cockney interchange between *h* and the glottal catch; or resulting from the combination of sounds that the word presents.

The most important cases of phonetic interchange of *h* and ' are the following:¹

- a) In Assyrian an original Semitic *h* regularly becomes ', e. g., Heb. הָלַךְ, Ass. *alâku* 'go'.
- b) An initial ' seems to have become *h* in some Old Arabic dialects, e. g., *hin*, *hiâka*, *hamâ* for اِنْ, اِيَّاكَ, اَمَّا.
- c) In some Aramaic dialects and in modern Syrian Arabic an ' is dissimilated to *h* on account of the presence of another ' in the word, e. g., Syr. Ar. *ha'rab* < 'a'rab < اَقْرَبَ 'bring near', Syriac ܐܬܪܒܐ < *h'atâ'a* (*t* = *t'*) 'sin', Mandaic *hattiqâ* < 'attiqâ (*q* = *k'*) 'old'.

* This article was first put in type by the printers of this Journal in the summer of 1915. See the Note on page 319.

¹ Cf. Delitzsch, *Assyrische Gram.*² § 52, and Brockelmann, *Grundriss d. vergl. Gram. d. semitischen Sprachen*, vol. i, pp. 45, 240, 242f.

Many of the cases of interchange between *h* and ' , however, are apparently not phonetic, but result from special causes in each case, among which analogy plays a very important part.

The chief cases of this apparent interchange are the following, viz. :—

- a) Heb. **הֵיךְ הֵיךְ** 'how': here **h** is the original consonant, **ה** of **הֵיךְ** being due to analogy of the interrogative particle **הֵי**. Similarly the Targumic interrogatives **הֵיךְ הֵיךְ** 'which' for **הֵיךְ הֵיךְ** which also occur, are probably the result of the same analogy.
- b) Syr. **ܐܢܬܐ**, **ܐܢܬܐ** and **ܐܢܬܐ** 'they': the difference in initials may be due to confusion between personal pronouns with **h** initial and a series of accusative forms consisting of the particle **ܐܢ** + suffix, such as occurs in Talmudic **ܐܢܐܢܐ** 'them';¹ or, inasmuch as the forms with **h** are employed as verbal object, the **h** may have become **h** or been lost completely after an immediately preceding verb, as, e. g., in English, 'I saw 'im (him)'.
- c) Arab **هـ**, Heb. and Bib. Aram. **ה**, interrogative particles: two different particles,² perhaps ultimately identical in primitive Semitic.
- d) Hebr. **אם**, Syr. **ܐܢܐ**, Arab. **أَمْ**, Eth. **አመ** *emma*, Bib. Aram. **ה** 'if': the **ה** of Bib. Aram. is due to the influence of the interrogative particle **ה** or perhaps is a combination of this particle and **אן** (cf. Hebr. **האם**), the change originating in the case of 'in 'whether' in the indirect question.
- e) Arab. **هَـ**, Heb. **הֵנָּה**, 'behold'; **h** is original, **ה** is due to the influence of demonstrative particle *hâ*.³
- f) Hebr. **אָז**, Bib. Aram. **אָז**, Syr. **ܐܢܐ** 'then': **h** is original, the **ה** of the Syriac forms is probably due to

¹ Cf. Barth, *Pronominalbildung*, Leipzig, 1913, p. 19.

² **h** as interrogative particle seems to occur in **ܐܢܐ** 'verily' = **ܐܢܐ**, and perhaps in some other particles, cf. my paper *The Interrogative Particle h in Hebrew*, *AJSL*, vol. xxxiii, No. 2, Jan. 1917, pp. 146-148.

³ So Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, vol. i, p. 501 a. In Hebrew the *ê* of **הֵנָּה** instead of *â* is perhaps due to the analogy of the synonymous particle **הֵנָּה**.

some analogy with the demonstrative pronouns with initial ה, הָ, הַ 'this' etc. What the *i* is is not clear.¹

- g) Heb. הקטיל, Bibl. Aram. הקטל; Arab. أَقْتَل, Syr. اَعْبَد, Eth. አቀጥሎ here we have two different causative particles.²
- h) Loan words; *h* is sometimes prefixed to borrowed words beginning with a vowel, possibly an attempt to represent initial vowel without glottal catch, e. g., Heb. הִכָּל, Bib. Aram. הִכָּל, Syr. هَكَل from Ass. êkallu (Sum. e-gal) Jew. Aram. הפריק from Greek Ἀφρική.³
- i) There are a number of nouns and verbs having *h* in one language and ' in another, e. g.,

Syriac ܚܕܢܐ Arabic إِبِل 'herd of camels'

Hebrew הפך 'turn' Arabic أَفَكَ 'change'

Arabic سَهَف 'thirst' Hebrew שאף 'gasp after,' etc.

In each case one form presents the original consonant, and the other form is probably modified as the result of some special analogical influence which is often not apparent.

There is a decided tendency among Semitic grammarians towards explaining all interchange in sounds as the result of a phonetic change, ignoring wholly or in part the important role played by analogy in every living speech. That many of the interchanges herein discussed are not the result of phonetic change has, I think, been well established. It is not unlikely that a closer study of many other sporadic changes of vowels and consonants would yield similar results.

II. The Etymology of the Aramaic particle אִיהִי אִית.

One of the most important of the Semitic particles is the one that appears in Hebrew as יִי, in Assyrian as išu, in Arabic as

¹ A similar *i* is found in many demonstrative adverbs, cf. Brockelmann *Grundriss*, vol. i, § 108 *passim*.

² Cf. Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, vol. i, p. 520 G. Phœnician יקטל probably represents the form אִקטל i. e., 'iqtil < 'aqtil, the syllable 'i being written with *i* somewhat as in Syriac forms like ܝܕܐ 'hand' (pronounced ʾidā), cf. *op. cit.*, p. 525 top.

³ Cf. Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, p. 243, Anm.

لَيْسَ = *la-isa*, all used under certain conditions to render the verb 'to be'. With these particles the Biblical Aramaic אִיִּשׁ, Syr. ايس are regularly identified, the *š* being considered *š*¹ (= Aram. *t*, Arab. *th*), and the *s* of Arabic ليس being explained as due to irregular sound change.¹ The difficulty presented by the initial consonant, which is ' in Hebrew and Arabic, and probably also in Assyrian, but נ in Aramaic, has been consistently passed over as of no moment, as an instance of a sound change which is often found in Semitic, in spite of the fact that no such phonetic law as Aram. נ = Heb. and Arab. ' can be shown to exist.

The particles שׁ and אִשׁ, however, are probably not identical. The *š* of שׁ is not to be considered *š*¹ but *š*³, like *š* in לִשְׁנָא, *lišānu*, لِسَان. The particle אִשׁ is best identified with Hebrew אִשׁ, the *nota accusativi*, the difference in meaning being such as could easily develop in the case of particles of a pronominal character, and the only other difference between the two being in the quantity of the vowel, as Hebrew *ē* is a secondary development of short *i*. Both שׁ and אִשׁ with their related forms are apparently the result of the combination of shorter particles of a demonstrative character, originally perhaps four in number, viz., *iâ*, 'i or 'î, *t*, *š*³, which were combined in various ways to make *notae accusativi* or quasi-verbs = "to be".²

While it is impossible of course to unwind with certainty the tangled skein of phonetic and analogical changes that the various forms of שׁ and אִשׁ present, the following suggestions may help to throw some light on the matter.³

Originally the demonstrative particles *iâ* and 'î were combined with both *t* and *š*, viz., *iâ-t*, *iâ-š*, 'î-*t*, 'î-*š*, all used in a general demonstrative sense.⁴ When these particles stood before pro-

¹ Cf. Professor Haupt's note on pp. 50, 51 of Müller and Kautzsch, *The Book of Proverbs* (= SBOT, 15), Leipzig, 1901; and Brockelmann, *Grundriss d. vergl. Gram. d. semitischen Sprachen*, vol. i, p. 235 *ø*.

² In Barth, *Pronominalbildung*, Leipzig, 1913, p. 95, this explanation is given for the various accusative particles, but not for שׁ.

³ For some examples of the workings of analogy in the case of pronouns, cf. my *Contributions to Comparative Philippine Grammar*, JAOS, vol. xxvii, 1906, pp. 337—396 *passim*.

⁴ In South Semitic 'î and 'îâ are combined to make similar demonstrative words, viz., Arabic لَيْسَ ('îiâ < 'î-îâ), Ethiopic ከይ (kîiâ from 'î-îâ

nominal suffixes, the long vowels being in open syllables were retained; when they were used before nouns the long vowels, thus standing in closed syllables, were shortened, giving rise to the forms, *'iat*, *iaš*, *'it*, *'iš*. Finally the series of forms with initial *i*, viz., *'iāt*, *iāš*, *iāt*, *iāš*, and the series of forms with initial *'*, viz., *'it*, *'iš*, *'it*, *'iš*, mutually influenced one another, so that we have a third series of forms resulting from analogy, viz., *'ât*, *'âš*, *'at*, *'aš*, *îit*, *îš*, *îit*, *îš*. It is by no means necessary of course to suppose that all of these forms were actually made, but all of them are certainly possible.

The form **iāt* is found in Assyrian in the oblique forms of the personal pronouns *iāti* etc., where the *t* is always followed by a vowel and *â* is hence preserved. In Aramaic ܐܝܬ we have the same form, the long vowel being preserved here in a closed syllable following the analogy of the forms with suffix, e. g., ܐܝܬܐ where it stands in an open syllable.¹ The Aramaic particle *uât*, which occurs in the Hadad inscription, in Modern Syriac, and in the Syriac prepositions ܐܘܬܐ, ܐܘܬܐ, ܐܘܬܐ,² is probably a special modification of **iāt*, perhaps developed originally after a verbal form ending in *û*, *-û-iāt* > *-û-uât*.

The form **iāš* is found in the Assyrian oblique cases of the personal pronouns, viz., *iāši*, etc., under the same conditions as *iāt*.

with initial *k* of uncertain origin). The particle *'i* seems to occur alone as a *nota accusativi* in Syriac imperfects with suffix of 3 sg., e. g., ܐܝܬܐܝܬܐ *'he will kill her*'. The particle *t* alone has the same force in Mehri, e. g., *qabham-t-ey* 'they dishonored me'. Cf. Barth, *Pronominalbildung*, pp. 91—95; Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, vol. i, p. 315.

The particle *š* seems to occur without combination with other demonstrative particle in the first and second persons of ܠܝܫܐ 'is not', e. g., ܠܝܫܐܬܐ, which are perhaps based on a form ܠܐܫ * composed of negative *lâ* + *š* demonstrative, just as ܠܐܬܐ 'is not' is made up of negative *lâ* + demonstrative particle *t*; cf. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, London, 1863-93, vol. 7, p. 2683, cols. 1 and 2; Wright-DeGoeje, *Arabic Grammar*, Cambridge, 1896-98, vol. 1, p. 96, rem. *b*, vol. 2, p. 105, rem. *e*; contrast Brockelmann, *op. cit.* p. 190 b α.

¹ Long vowels in originally closed syllables are not uncommon in Aramaic, uniforming analogy being responsible in most cases as here, cf. Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, vol. i, p. 64 r.

² Cf. Barth, *Pronominalbildung*, p. 95.

The form **'it* occurs in Aramaic אִתִּי, אִתִּי (perhaps also in Punic *yth*), the long *i* being retained in the forms ending in a consonant before nouns, after the analogy of the forms with suffixes, e. g., אִתְּךָ etc., as in the case of אִתִּי above.

The form **'iš* has apparently been preserved in Hebrew אִישׁ, אִישׁ (II Sam. 14, 19; Mi. 6, 10; Prov. 18, 24) used in the same sense as אִישׁ, tho why the vowel is not shortened in the closed syllable is not clear.¹

In the second series of forms with short vowels, **iat*, **iaš* have apparently not been preserved. The form **'it* is found in Hebrew אִתִּי (*i* being changed to *ē* under the influence of the accent). The form **'iš* is perhaps to be found in Syriac ܐܝܫ, ܐܝܫ, pl. ܐܝܫܐ, 'matter, thing', and in Arabic اِس (اَس, اِس) 'foundation, basis' (but cf. Ass. *uššû*),² possibly also in Assyrian *išu* (see below).

In the series of analogical forms, *'āš*, *'at*, *'aš*,³ *īit*, *īiš* apparently do not occur. The form **ât* is represented by Hebrew אֵת which is used only with pronominal suffix, the long vowel (*ô* for original *â*) thus always standing in an open syllable.⁴ The form **īit* occurs perhaps in Arabic لَيْتَ 'would that' (*lāitā* < *lā-īit-a*; *la* = verily, *īit* 'that', *a* adverbial ending).⁵ The form **īiš* is found in Hebrew אִישׁ (< *īiš*), Arabic لَيْسَ (*laisā*

¹ It is not impossible that Heb. אִישׁ 'man', which has no etymology, is ultimately derived from this demonstrative form. Egypt. *z* (formerly read *s*) 'man' is identified by Prof. Sethe (so Dr. Ember informs me) with the demonstratives, Arab. ذَا, Heb. הַזֶּה, etc.; on the other hand Lithuanian *pats* 'originally 'lord, husband' means now 'he himself'. So it would seem not beyond the bounds of possibility that a word meaning 'that one' used by wives of their husbands should come to have the meaning of 'husband, man'.

² Cf. Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, Oxonii, 1868—1901, vol. i, p. 403, col. 1; and Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, vol. i, p. 56, cols. 1 and 2.

³ If it were not for the fact that many Arabic words have forms with all three vowels *a*, *i*, *u* without difference of meaning اِس might be regarded as derived from the form *'aš*.

⁴ The Hebrew אֵת. Syriac ܐܬܐ 'sign' are perhaps ultimately identical with the particle *'ât*.

⁵ Contrast Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, vol. 1, p. 137 c.

< *lâ-iš-a*; *lâ* 'not', *iš* 'that', a verbal ending),¹ and probably also in Assyrian *išu* (< *išu*) stem of the verb *išû*.

Where the Phenician *nota accusativi* אִית is to be placed is not clear. Probably it is the same form as Old Aramaic אִית (i. e., *'i-î-t*).² Later Punic *yth* may be a contraction of this form or a representative of the form **'it* (see above). Phen. אִת without ' may be simply a careless spelling for אִית. Assyrian *attu* used before pronominal suffixes to make emphatic possessive pronouns is also problematical.³

III. The Multiplicative Numerals in Aramaic and Hebrew.

In the Aramaic dialects the multiplicative numerals are expressed by הַר 'one' followed by the cardinal in the form used with masculine nouns, e. g., הַר שְׁבַע 'seven-fold'; in Syriac the cardinal may also be preceded by the preposition ܐܢܝܢ, e. g., ܐܢܝܢ ܬܝܢ 'two fold'.

In these constructions the הַר before the simple numerals is to be considered a construct state, the expressions meaning 'a two-fold one,' 'a seven-fold one', etc. The expressions may be used adverbially, e. g.,

הַר שְׁבַע 'seven times' (Dan. 3, 19).

ܐܢܝܢ ܬܝܢ 'double' (Ex. 22, 7).

ܐܢܝܢ ܬܝܢ 'seven-fold' (Gen. 4, 24).

or substantively or adjectively, e. g.,

עַל הַר תַּרְיִן 'on the basis of a double one, double' (Onkelos, Ex. 22, 3).

ܐܢܝܢ ܬܝܢ 'a double break' (Jer. 17, 18).

In Syriac, the construction with ܐܢܝܢ is apparently later than the one without. The meaning of the original construction here

¹ The form لَيْسَ which occurs as an affirmative of لَيْسَ in such expressions as مِنْ حَيْثُ أَيْسَ وَلَيْسَ, مِنْ أَيْسَ وَلَيْسَ, 'from where he is or is not', (cf. Lane, *op. cit.*, vol. vii, p. 2685, cols. 1 and 2) is probably some form like 'is or 'is (< 'iš or 'iṣ) changed to 'ais thru analogy with the diphthong ai in laisa.

² Cf. Barth, *Pronominalbildung*, p. 94.

³ Cf. *op. cit.* pp. 23, 95.

is becoming dim, and the force is freshened up by the use of — , probably in the sense of 'multiplied by.'

In Hebrew the multiplicatives so far as they are not rendered by a circumlocution with a noun meaning 'time', are ordinarily expressed by a form ending in *-aim*,¹ but in a few passages we have a construction that is exactly the same as the Aramaic idiom just discussed. This is the construct chain פִּי שְׁנַיִם 'a face of two, two faced, two sided, two-fold' which occurs three times used as a substantive meaning 'a double portion' followed by the preposition בְּ used partitively, e. g.,

$\text{וְהִי-נָא פִי-שְׁנַיִם בְּרוּחֲךָ אֵלַי}$ 'let me have a double portion of thy spirit' (II Ki. 2, 9 cf. Dt. 21, 17).

$\text{פִּי שְׁנַיִם בָּהּ יִכָּרְתוּ}$ 'a double portion, two parts, of it shall be cut off' (Zech. 13, 8).

IV. Mixed Constructions in Hebrew and Aramaic.

A great deal has been written about the modification of separate words and forms resulting from the influence of other words or forms which have some point in common with them, in other words, about analogical changes in the domain of morphology (e. g., Heb. אֲנִכִּי *ānôkî* for **ānôku* = Ass. *anâku*, under influence of suffix *-î* 'my', etc.) but little, so far as I know, has been written about changes in construction due to the influence of analogy.

Generally speaking such changes take place when the same idea or similar ideas may be expressed by different constructions. Here in many cases a new construction or constructions may arise consisting of a mixture of the original constructions.

Examples of such mixture in English are, e. g.,

explain it to (mixture of *explain it by* and *ascribe it to*);
in order not to avoid (mixture of *not to have* and *to avoid*);
to hear to a thing (mixture of *to hear a thing* and *to listen to a thing*);

put on the same equal (mixture of *put on the same level*,
put on an equality, *make equal*); etc. etc.

The object of the present paper is to point out some examples of a similar character in Hebrew and Aramaic.

¹ Cf. my paper, *The dual ending -aim in the Hebrew multiplicative numerals*, *AJSL*, vol. 33, no. 2 (Jan., 1917), pp. 148, 149.

(1)

In Hebrew the ordinal numerals are usually expressed either by the ordinal used as an adjective, or by the cardinal in the genitive after the noun, e. g.,

בִּשְׁנָה הַתְּשִׁיעִית }
בִּשְׁנַת תִּשְׁעַת } 'in the ninth year'.

It is possible, however, to say also

בִּשְׁנַת הַתְּשִׁיעִית 'in the ninth year' (II Ki. 25, 1; 17, 6).

Here we have a mixture of the two constructions above, the speaker or writer beginning with one and ending with the other. This construction occurs also in Jer. 46, 2; 51, 59; 28, 1 *Kt.* (4th): Ezr. 7, 8 (7th): Jer. 32, 1 *Kt.* (10th).

(2)

In Hebrew after an oath the statement that is emphasized is introduced sometimes by כִּי 'verily', sometimes by אִם 'if'. כִּי is the proper particle for example after חַי יְהוָה 'as the Lord lives', אִם the proper particle for example after כֹּה יַעֲשֶׂה יְהוָה 'the Lord do so to . . .', e. g.,

כִּי יֵשֶׁר אַתָּה חַי יְהוָה כִּי יֵשֶׁר אַתָּה 'as the Lord liveth, thou art upright' (I Sam. 29, 6; cf. 14, 39).

כֹּה יַעֲשֶׂה יְהוָה לְךָ "אִם-תִּכְחַד מִמֶּנִּי דָבָר 'the Lord do so to thee . . . if thou hide anything from me' (I Sam. 3, 17).

Constructions like כֹּה יַעֲשֶׂה יְהוָה לְךָ and כִּי חַי יְהוָה are due to a mixture of the two constructions above, חַי יְהוָה and כֹּה יַעֲשֶׂה יְהוָה having come to be regarded as equivalent expressions, e. g.,

אִם-יִקַּח חַי-יְהוָה "אִם-יִקַּח 'as the Lord liveth [= may the Lord punish me] if I take it' (II Ki. 5, 16; cf. II Sam. 11, 11; I Sam. 14, 45).

כֹּה יַעֲשֶׂה יְהוָה לִי "כִּי הָמוּת יִפְרִיר בֵּינִי וּבֵינָךְ 'the Lord do so to me . . . [= I solemnly swear] only death shall part me and thee' (Ru. 1, 17; cf. I Sam. 14, 44; I Ki. 2, 23).

From such sentences as those in the first example אִם develops the meaning of a negative after any oath or asseveration and

its negative אִם-לֹא the force of a strong affirmative.¹ These particles therefore often replace the conjunction אֲשֶׁר or כִּי 'that' after a verb or phrase meaning 'swear', and the preposition מִן after the expression "הָלִילָהּ לִ" 'far be it from . . . to', e. g.,

וְנִכְרְתָה בְרִית עִמָּךְ אִם-תַּעֲשֶׂה עִמָּנוּ רָעָה 'and let us make a covenant with thee [that] thou wilt not hurt us' (Gen. 26, 28—29; cf. Gen. 14, 23; 21, 23; I Sam. 3, 14; Dt. 1, 34f.; אִם-לֹא Gen. 24, 37;² Is. 14, 24).³

הָלִילָהּ לִי אִם אֲבָלַע וְאִם אֲשָׁחִית 'far be it from me to swallow up or destroy' (II Sam. 20, 20; cf. Job 27, 5).⁴

(3)

In Biblical Aramaic the construction—

וּבָעוּ דָּנִיֵּאל וְחִבְרוּהִי לְהַתְקַטֵּל 'and they sought Daniel and his companions to kill them' (Dan. 2, 13)

is apparently the result of a mixture of ideas. The same idea might be expressed by the following constructions, viz.:

לְמַקְטֵל "וְ" וּבָעוּ דָּנִיֵּאל וְחִבְרוּהִי 'they sought to kill D. and his companions',
לְמַקְטֵל הֵנוּ "וְ" וּבָעוּ דָּנִיֵּאל וְחִבְרוּהִי 'they sought D. and his companions to kill them',

וּבָעוּ דָּנִיֵּאל וְחִבְרוּהִי "וְ" לְהַתְקַטֵּל 'D. and his companions were sought to be killed'.

Now the active plural of a verb is often used in the sense of a passive, so the writer of the passage, after beginning the sentence in the active construction, felt the phrase "וּבָעוּ דָּנִיֵּאל וְחִבְרוּהִי" as the equivalent of "וְ" וּבָעוּ דָּנִיֵּאל וְחִבְרוּהִי, and so finished the sentence according to the passive construction.

¹ From this use is derived the use of these particles as independent adverbs meaning 'not' and 'verily', cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Heb. Gram.*²⁸ § 149 e.

² Contrast with Gen. 24, 3 where אֲשֶׁר is used after הִשְׁבִּיעַ.

³ In the last three examples אִם and אִם-לֹא are preceded by לְאָמַר e. g., in the first, לְאָמַר אִם. Such cases form a transition category between the other examples and those cases in which the particles are used as independent adverbs in independent clauses, cf. n. 1.

⁴ For examples of מִן after הָלִילָהּ cf. Gen. 18, 25; 44, 7; 17; Jos. 24, 16.

(4)

In Biblical Aramaic a final clause may be expressed just as in Hebrew either by ל + infinitive or by ו + finite verb, e. g.,

מִן־שֵׁם לְכֹס טַעַם בִּיתָא דְנָה לְבָנָא 'who commanded you to build this house?' (Ezr. 5, 3).

“לֵהֵן חֲלָמָא אֲמַרו לִי וְאִנְדַּע דִּי” ‘therefore tell me the dream that I may know that . . .’ (Dan. 2, 9).

In three passages we have what seems to be a mixture of the two constructions, e. g.,

וּבִעָא “דִּי זְמַן יִנְתֵּן־לָהּ וּפִשְׂרָא לְהַחְוִיָּה לְמַלְכָּא ‘and he asked that time be given to him that he might make known the interpretation to the king’ (Dan. 2, 16).

Here וּפִשְׂרָא לְהַחְוִיָּה לְמַלְכָּא is a mixture of

פִּשְׂרָא לְהַחְוִיָּה לְמַלְכָּא and

וּפִשְׂרָא יַחְוִיָּה לְמַלְכָּא

Cf. also Dan. 2, 18; 5, 15.¹

The same mixed construction is found in Hebrew, especially in late passages, e. g., וּלְתַת ‘in order to give’ Ex. 32, 29; וּלְגַדֵּלם ‘in order to educate them’ (Dan. 1, 5), etc.²

Similarly in Syriac, where ܠ + infinitive and ܐ + finite verb are equivalent final constructions, we find occasionally final clauses in which the verb is in the infinitive after ܠ introduced by the final conjunction ܐ,³ e. g.,

ܐܢ ܕܢܚܝܬ ܐܢܬܐ ܕܢܚܝܬ ܐܢܬܐ ܕܢܚܝܬ ܐܢܬܐ ܕܢܚܝܬ ܐܢܬܐ ܕܢܚܝܬ

‘if thou desirest to learn these things with diligence.’

¹ Contrast Torrey, *Notes on the Aramaic Part of Daniel*, Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, vol. xv, July, 1909, p. 257.

² Cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Heb. Gram.*²⁸ § 114 p.

³ Cf. Nöldeke, *Syriac Grammar* (transl. by Crichton), London, 1904, § 286.

*The Home of Balaam.**—By W. F. ALBRIGHT, Johns Hopkins University.

In 1850 Joseph Dérenbourg, in his *Fables de Loqmân le Sage*, following the suggestion of Ewald and Rödiger, identified the pre-Islamic prophet, Loqmân, mentioned in the thirty-first sura of the Qurân, with Balaam.¹ Loqmân seems to be a translation of Balaam, as both Heb. *balâ'* and Arab. *lâqama* mean *to swallow*. Translations of proper names from Hebrew into Arabic are not infrequent; *e. g.* the modern *Tell el-Qâdî* represents the ancient *Dan*. In the same way, the modern name of Megiddo, which means *garrison*, is *Lejjun* = Lat. *legio*.² The Mohammedan commentators say that Loqmân belonged to the tribe of 'Ad, and lived at Elath in Midian. Other reports concerning him, *e. g.*, that he was a Nubian freedman, and was born in the tenth year of David's reign,³ are late inventions.

Nineteen years later Nöldeke⁴ came to the conclusion that Balaam ben-Be'or was ultimately identical with Bela' ben-Be'or, recorded as the first king of Edom in the archaic list Gen. 36. Both of these combinations are accepted by Eduard Meyer.⁵

It has been reserved for Professor Haupt, however, in his monograph on *Midian und Sinai*,⁶ to set the personality of Balaam in a clearer light. Both Midian and 'Ad seem to denote the Sinaitic Amphictyony, *i. e.* the religious confederation of worshipers of Yahweh, which sprang up around the North-Arabian Sinai in the 13. cent. B. C.⁷ From this region came

* This article and the two following were first put in type by the printers of this Journal in the summer of 1915. See the Note on page 319.

¹ Cf. *Ency. Brit.*, s. v. *Luqman*, and IN* 378.

² Cf. Haupt, *MuS* in ZDMG 63, 506, l. 15.

³ Mas'ûdî 1, 110 (*Les prairies d'or*, Paris, 1861).

⁴ Nöldeke, *Untersuchungen zur Kritik des AT* (1869) p. 87.

⁵ IN 376—380.

⁶ ZDMG 63, 506—530.

⁷ Cf. Haupt, *Armageddon*, JAOS 34. 412 ff., n. 12.

the Edomites, and their offshoot, the Jews. The evil reputation of the Midianites of the south, reflected in the OT, is due to northern, Israelitish, memories of the raids which preceded their final settlement in southern Palestine.

The Israelites themselves had entered northern Palestine during the great Khabir-Hebrew migration, some two centuries before. At that time they were idolaters; they were forced by David, about 1000, to embrace Judaism, but after the disruption of the kingdom, c. 930, they relapsed again into idolatry. The Angel of Yahweh, who blocked the way of Balaam,¹ was an ancient Israelitish deity. Subsequent editors have often substituted *Angel of Yahweh* for the names of ancient heathen gods, because, according to the early Judaic conception, foreign gods were angels commissioned by Yahweh to govern the foreign nations.²

All scholars agree that we have in the legend of Balaam the remnants of at least two separate stories, reflecting the northern (Ephraimitic) tradition, and the southern (Judaic) version. The northern tradition has, of course, been much modified by Judaic editors. For instance, *Moabites* has been inserted in the place of *Edomites*. The reference to the Amorites at the beginning of Num. 22 seems to be an editorial link, connecting the episode of Balaam with the account of the fight against the Amorites.

Balaam was an ancient Edomite sage. The reading *Aram* in Num. 23, 7 is simply a corruption of *Edom*, a confusion which is common in the OT. The Koranic *Iramu*, or *Aramu*, which, according to the commentators, was situated south-east of Elath, apparently owes its existence to the same misunderstanding. The two passages in Num. 22, 5, and Deut. 23, 5, where the alleged Aramean home of Balaam is more definitely located at Pethor, represent late glosses.

This localization may perhaps be due to a popular etymology of Pethor, connecting it with Heb. פִּתְרוֹן, *interpretation of dreams*,³ which exhibits a ת in Hebrew, while in Assyrian and Aramaic we have a ש (*pašâru*, פִּשַׁר). Instead of the place-name ש gives in Num. 22, 5 פִּשְׁוֹרָא, *hariolus*, whereas in Deut.

¹ It may be interesting to note in this connection that Arab. *lâqama* has also the meaning to *block the way*.

² Cf. Haupt, *Armageddon*, n. 15.

³ Cf. Haupt, *Proverbs* (SBOT), p. 51, l. 14.

23, 5 ש has פִּתּוֹר. In the latter passage G omits the name altogether. So it would seem that in Deut. 23, 5 the פִּתּוֹר of the Hebrew is a post-Septuagintal gloss, based upon the passage in Num. In connection with ש פִּשּׁוּרָה it may be noted that the Arabic translation from ש published by Lagarde,¹ expands to العَرَفُ المَعْبَرُ للأحلام, the *diviner, the interpreter of dreams*.

פִּתּוֹר has long been identified with the Assyrian *Pitru*. If this be correct, we should vocalize פִּתְרִי, the ו being due simply to dittography of the ר as is so often the case.³ This disposes of the objections which are frequently raised to this view.⁴ The dittography of the ר may have been favored by the presence of the ו in צָפוֹר and כְּעוֹר immediately before.

Pitr is mentioned by Shalmaneser III (860—825),⁵ who informs us that it was situated at the confluence of the Euphrates and the Sâjûr, in the district of *Bît-Adin*. Tho its site has not yet been examined, *Pitr* seems to have been a place of some antiquity. Shalmaneser states that it had been conquered by the Arameans in the reign of Ašûr-irbi (c. 1000). On the great list of Thutmosis III (c. 1500) No. 280, *Pdrw*, is doubtless *Pitru*.⁶

Bît-Adin is, of course, the Hebrew בֵּית-עֵדֶן.⁷ The district seems to be mentioned again by Tiglathpileser IV (746—727)⁸ and, still later, Ezekiel mentions it as עֵדֶן, which corresponds to the 'tn of the Egyptian monuments.⁹ Thanks to the data furnished by the Assyrians, its geography is relatively well-known.¹⁰

The site of Til-Barsip, the capital of Beth-Eden, was discovered by Campbell-Thompson in 1911 at the mound of *Tell el-Ahmar*, on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, almost

¹ Lagarde, *Materialien zur Kritik und Geschichte des Pentateuchs* (Leipzig, 1867) I, 171.

² MuS 515, n. 11.

³ Cf. Haupt, JBL 32, p. 161, n. 4, and p. 165.

⁴ Cf. Gressmann, *Mose und seine Zeit* (Göttingen, 1913) p. 320, n. 3.

⁵ Cf. Obelisk 1, 38 ff. (KB 1, 133).

⁶ Max Müller, AE p. 267.

⁷ בֵּית-עֵדֶן means *House of Delight*, characterizing the beauty of the country. The same name is applied to the *ager Damascenus*; see Haupt, OLZ 10, 306.

⁸ Cf. Schiffer, *Keilinschriftliche Spuren* (Beiheft zu OLZ 10) p. 27.

⁹ AE 281, 291.

¹⁰ Cf. Delitzsch, BA 6, 1, 22, and Schiffer, *op. cit.* p. 26.

directly opposite the mouth of the Sâjûr. The identification of the site is rendered certain by an inscription of Shalmaneser's discovered there.¹

If we bear in mind that the cuneiform equivalent of פֶּתוֹר, or rather, פֶּתֶר, was situated in the district of בֵּית-עֶרֶן, the *crux* at the conclusion of the gloss in Num. 22. 5 becomes clear. Instead of פֶּתוֹרָה אִשֶּׁר עַל הַנָּהָר אֶרֶץ בְּנֵי-עַמּוֹ = *to Pethor, which is on the river of (?) the land of the children of his people*, we must evidently read, פֶּתֶרָה אִשֶּׁר עַל הַנָּהָר בְּאֶרֶץ בְּנֵי-עֶדֶן = *to Pitr, which is on the Euphrates, in the land of Beth-Eden*. The only change of any consequence is the substitution of a פ for the כ, and in the cursive script which we find on the papyri of the 5. cent. B. C. these letters are often much alike.²

The Hebrew idiom for *inhabitants of Beth-Eden* is not בְּנֵי עֶרֶן, but simply בְּנֵי עֶדֶן. Similarly, Assyrian *mâr Agusi* is equivalent to *ša bit Agusi*.³

It is true that כֶּסֶף I read here בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן and that this reading has been adopted by the majority of expositors. If this were correct, we should have a fifth home of Balaam, representing a fifth theory, according to which he was not an Edomite, or a Midianite, or an Amorite, or an Aramean, but an Ammonite. However, the term הַנָּהָר cannot be applied to one of the insignificant wadies of Ammon: The reading עַמּוֹן is obviously a conjectural emendation, on the part of the translators, of the unintelligible עַמּוֹ.

Our gloss may date from the 5. cent., or may even be later. The fragments of the *Romance of Akhîqar*, found at Elephantine, bear witness to the respect entertained for Mesopotamian sages by the Jews of the 5. century.⁴ In passing, it is interesting to observe the striking resemblance between the magical rites ascribed to Balaam and Mesopotamian practises, as has been pointed out by Daiches.⁵

As stated above, Balaam was an ancient Edomite sage, and the Israelites whom he was called upon to curse were idolaters.

¹ Cf. PSBA 34, 66 (1912). For sketch-map see PSBA 33, facing p. 172.

² Cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch²⁸, *Schrifttafel*, col. 13.

³ Cf. Ungnad, OLZ 9, 224.

⁴ Cf. Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus Elephantine*, pp. xxi ff. Cf. also Halévy, *Revue Sémitique* 20, 153 ff.

⁵ *Assyriologische Studien H. V. Hilprecht gewidmet* (Leipzig, 1909) pp. 60 ff.

In the same way, as Professor Haupt has shown, the Israelitish hero, Gideon,¹ was an idolater, whereas the Midianites whom he defeated were worshipers of Yahweh. The present form of the old Israelitish traditions, which we find in the OT, has been worked over by Judaic editors, just as the traditions of South Arabia were conformed to Mohammedan standards.

¹ Circa 1100 B. C.; see IN 381.

* Note the following abbreviations: AE = Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*; AJSL = *American Journal of Semitic Languages*; BA = *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*; IN = E. Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*; JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*; JBL = *Journal of Biblical Literature*; KB = *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*; MuS = *Midian und Sinai*; PSBA = *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*; SBOT = *Sacred Books of the Old Testament*; ZDMG = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.

The Conclusion of Esarhaddon's Broken Prism.—By W. F. ALBRIGHT, Johns Hopkins University.

Eduard Meyer, in the first edition of his *Geschichte des Altertums*, which is now appearing in a French translation, calls Esarhaddon the most sympathetic figure in Assyrian history.¹ He gave the impetus to the literary and archaeological research which was the glory of his son's reign. This new interest in the past brought with it imitation of ancient models, and archaistic tendencies in literature. In the royal inscriptions we find old geographical names substituted for the current nomenclature. Melid, or Kummukh, appears as Khanigalbat; Muṣr and Kûs become Magan and Melukha. In his conquest of Egypt Esarhaddon may well have been emulating the example set by Narâm-šîn of Akkad, more than two millenniums before.

Leading Assyriologists have often doubted this fact, but Professor Haupt has shown that these two names, Magan and Melukha, actually denote Egypt and Éthiopia. Magan means *Land of the Ship-barrier*, referring to the first cataract, which formerly blocked navigation between Egypt and Nubia, whereas Melukha is the Sumerian equivalent of the modern Sûdân, the *Country of the Blacks*, literally, *Land of Black Servants*.²

One of Esarhaddon's most interesting inscriptions is the so-called Broken Prism, which describes the events attending his accession. This familiar designation is now hardly appropriate, since Meissner³ has shown that the text is virtually complete, thanks to the numerous fragments from various sources which have come to light during the past few years. The most important part of the text has been republished by Delitzsch, AL⁵, p. 79, with the addition of seven new lines from VA 3458.

Meissner discusses these lines briefly, and gives some renderings. Lines 26—27, *idâ'a ittanaszarû tebû arkî'a kalûmîš idâkakû uṣallû bêlûti*, he translates: *Sie traten auf meine Seite*

¹ E. Meyer, GA¹ *p. 474.

² OLZ 16, 488 ff. Cf. Haupt, *Die altbabylonische Invasion Aegyptens*, OLZ 17, 342, and *Sumerian me older than ge*, OLZ 17, 454.

³ OLZ 17, 344 ff.

indem sie aufstanden und hinter mir her wie junge Lämmer weideten¹ und um Herrschaft baten. Prof. Haupt renders, *They followed me like lambkins, subdued, and entreating my lordship.*

In l. 30 occurs the word *xamma'ê*, which has been rendered *bandits*, or *villains*. Weidner,² however, presents a cuneiform vocabulary, in which *LUGAL-IM-GI* is equated with *šar xa-am-mi-e*, and explained by *šarru ša ana emûquišu ittákalu*, i. e., *a king who trusts in his own power*, in contradistinction to one who relies upon the gods and is supported by them. *Xammû*, accordingly, is the equivalent of our *usurper*. The word may possibly be connected with حوى to take possession of, seize, *usurp*.³

In l. 32 it is stated that the usurpers fled to *KUR-NU-ZU*. This is naturally not a geographical name *Nuzu*, with the prefixed determinative for country, but the Sumerian phrase for *unknown land*, like *MU-NU-ZU*, unknown year,⁴ and *KUR-NU-GI*, the Land of No-return.⁵ From Meissner's article it appears that he had reached the same conclusion, but he reads *mât lâ idû*, instead of *mât lâ uddî*, which is preferable, according to Prof. Haupt, on the basis of the parallel phrase *ašar lâ uddî*,⁶ recorded in Delitzsch's HW.

I subjoin a revised translation of Esarhaddon's Broken Prism, as published in AL⁵, 79, based upon the interpretation given in the Assyrian Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University during the session 1914—15. So far as I know, a translation of the last paragraph, from the new Berlin text, has not been published.

Our passage places us in a very dramatic situation. Esarhaddon has just received word of his father's death and his brother's rebellion. Thereupon the king says:—

¹ Meissner reads *i-tak-ka-lu* for *i-dak-ka-ku*, but admits that his reading is doubtful.

² OLZ 17, 501. Cf. Zimmern; ZA 25, 199 ff.

³ For Arab. ح = Assy. x cf. حَرْش, *forest* = *xuršu*, mountain; حَفَر = *xapâru*; حَكَم = *xakâmu*. On the other hand Assy. iġu (for ħiġu) corresponds to خاص يَكْصِيص (OLZ 16, 494). For و = Assy. m. see ZA 2, 273.

⁴ Babylonian Chronicle III, 16.

⁵ According to CT 15, 43, a, Im-dugud (Zû) nests in a *KUR-NU-ZU*, in this case Mt. Xašur.

⁶ II R 48, rev. col. II, 45. The reference in HW 305b is incorrect.

Like a lion I raged; my liver cried out. To assume the sovereignty of my father's house, to invest¹ myself with the priesthood, I raised my hands to the gods, Asur, Sin, Samas, Bel, Nebo, Nergal, Istar of Nineveh, Istar of Arbela, and they acceded to my request. In their unwavering favor they sent a trustworthy oracle, saying, Go, tarry not! We shall march at thy side and slay thy foes.

Not for a single day did I wait; the van of my army I did not review; the rear I did not inspect;² my chariot-horses I did not prepare; provision for my journey I did not store up. The snow and cold of the month of Shebat, the severity of the frost, I did not fear. Like the fleet swallow³ I spread out my arms to overwhelm my foe. The road to Nineveh, difficult as it was, I swiftly traversed.

Before me, in the land of Khanigalbat, their whole army engaged the van of my force, seeking a decision of arms. The fear of the great gods, my lords, overthrew them; when they saw the advance of my mighty attack, panic seized them. Istar, mistress of the battle-charge, who loves my priesthood, stood by my side and shattered their bows; their serried line she pierced.

In a body they said, This is our king! By her exalted command they came over to my side, and followed me like lambkins, subdued, and entreating my lordship. The people of Assyria, who had sworn oaths by the great gods against me, came into my presence and kissed my feet. But when the usurpers, who had made insurrection and conspiracy, heard of the coming of my expeditionary force, they forsook the troops of their army, and fled to an unknown land.

¹ *Nipisa*, acc. to Prof. Haupt, may be connected with *nabasu*, red wool, so that it would mean primarily to invest with the scarlet robe. Cf. our *purple* = cardinalate. For the form of the inf. see Delitzsch AG² p. 173.

² Ungnad, in Gressmann's *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder* (Tübingen, 1909) p. 122, still renders, *Ich schaute nicht zurück*.

³ *Sisinnu*, i. e. *sisînu* = *sisênu* = *sisânu*, is connected with 𐎶𐎶 but it is doubtful whether the two are identical. As the comparison may rest upon the fleetness of the bird, the rendering *swallow* (cf. our *swift*) is possible.

* Note following abbreviations: AG = Delitzsch, *Assyrische Grammatik*; GA = *Geschichte des Altertums*; HW = Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*; OLZ = *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*; ZA = *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*.

Some Unexplained Cuneiform Words.—By W. F. ALBRIGHT,
Johns Hopkins University.

In a letter from Amenophis III to Kadašman-Kharbe of Babylon occurs the word *kamir*, used twice as the name of some functionary.¹ Bezold² compared *kamir* with Syr. כּוּמְרָא, and rendered *sage, sorcerer*. Peiser suggested that *kamir* meant *eunuch*, and his explanation is duly recorded in Muss-Arnolt's *Assyrian Dictionary*, but seems to have escaped the attention of Knudtzon and his co-workers. As the *kamir* is expected to establish the identity of a Babylonian princess in the Egyptian harem, he must have been a harem-attaché, so the translation *eunuch* seems reasonable.

In Arabic *kámara* means *to be virile*, which is illustrated by the native lexicographers in a number of ways. The *fem. pass. part.* مَكْمُورَةٌ denotes a woman who has had carnal knowledge of man, or as the *Lisân el 'Arab* states امرأة مَكْمُورَةٌ مِنْكَوْحَةٍ i. e. *mulier virum experta*. As Professor Haupt has shown in his paper *Assyrian ramku* = כּוּמְרָא *priest*,³ the cuneiform *kamir*, or rather, *kamîr*, is a *mas. pass. part.*, used in a privative sense, *unmanned, emasculated, eunuch*.⁴

In a letter from the Mitannian king, Tušratta, to Amenophis III, occurs the verbal form *utte'izzi*,⁵ which Knudtzon makes no attempt to explain. The context reads, *u ša axî'a irišu uktellimši ana Mane u itámarši kî imurši u utte'izzi danneš* = *And her whom my brother desired I showed to Mane, and he examined her. When he had seen her, he utte'izzi greatly.* The correspondence in form between *uktellimši* and *utte'izzi* is

¹ EA* 1, 15, 33.

² *Oriental Diplomacy* (London, 1893) p. 92.

³ AJSL 32, part one.

⁴ For a similar privative see Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, p. 103, on خَصِيَّة, testicle, and خَصِي, castrate.

⁵ EA 19, 22.

obvious. *Utte'izzi* is simply the Pi'el reflexive of *na'ādu*, to be exalted, the Ethiopic *né'da*, which is also connected with נֶאֱדָר, *skin-bottle*, properly, *inflated*, the Ass. *nādu*. Professor Haupt also proposes to read אֲנִי־רָהוּ instead of אֲנִי־רָהוּ Ex. 15, 2, in Moses' Song of Triumph.¹

The correct Babylonian form would be *uttâ'idši*, tho it has not been found elsewhere yet. *Uttê'izzi* must be rendered in an active sense, *he praised her*, like *uktellimši* and *uktebbidûši*, they honored her,² etc.

The phonetic change from *dš* to *zz* is not uncommon in the early period, tho it does not seem to occur after the Amarna age. Yet it has hardly received the attention it merits; Delitzsch does not record it, nor does Böhl, in his valuable treatise, *Die Sprache der Amarnabriefe* (Leipzig 1909). Ebeling, however, in his monograph, *Das Verbum der El-Amarna-Briefe* (BA 8, 2), considers it,³ but he mentions only one instance, *ukappazzu*,⁴ from *kabādu*. Several similar forms from the same root are found in the letters.⁵ In the Syrian correspondence the name of Qadeš on the Orontes, the scene of the famous battle between Rameses the Great and the Hittite monarch, Khattusil, is written *Qidši*, *Kinza*, and *Gizza*, etc.⁶ In Old-Babylonian we have, e. g., *ipkizzu* for *ipqidšu*, he charged him,⁷ *ušêrîzi*, for *ušêridši*,⁸ etc. *Tš* = *zz* in *irazzu*, for *iratšu*, his breast.⁹

In the latter instance *z* may be purely graphical for *s*; on the other hand this cannot be true in such forms as *lišânzu* and *šulmânzu*, or *Kinza*. Nor is it likely that this is a case like Syriac *š* for Persian *j* (*dš*).¹⁰ Apparently we have here a reciprocal assimilation.

Our passage may now be fully explained. The Egyptian special envoy, Mane, has been sent north to examine a Mitani-

¹ AJSL 20, 170, n. 58.

² EA 23, 21.

³ BA 8, 2, 43, l. 16 (1910).

⁴ EA 29, 31.

⁵ Especially in 23 and 29.

⁶ EA p. 1119.

⁷ Ungnad, VB 6, 238, 24. Cf. Schorr, VB 5, p. 544, s. v. *paqādu*.

⁸ Ungnad, *loc. cit.*, 159, 15.

⁹ Ungnad, *loc. cit.*, 238, 48. Cf. CT XV, 3, l. 6.

¹⁰ Bickell, *Kalilag wa Damag*, p. LXXIV.

nian princess, who has been considered a possible bride for his royal master. Her father now writes to Amenophis, informing him that Mane has been favorably impressed with the maiden, has, in fact, praised her highly. Tušratta says: *And I showed her whom my brother desired to Mane, and he examined her. When he had seen her, he praised her highly.* The king takes advantage of this to point out that so charming a bride deserves a rich bridal gift in return. At that time the Mitannian Empire was struggling hard to maintain itself against the foes who eventually dismembered it, and Tušratta was chronically in need of funds.

Toward the end of the same letter Tušratta asks for gold with which to construct the *karašk* of his great-grandfather (Artatama).¹ Winckler² rendered *Feldzeug*, which he apparently used in the sense of *accoutrement*,³ and translated the passage *karaška ša aba abî'a eppuš*, Dein Feldzeug, welches mein Grossvater gefertigt hat. As the word is written *karaški* in l. 58, a derivation from *karâšu* is quite impossible, aside from the extraordinary meaning which this would yield. Then, also, *eppuš* is clearly *present*, so Knudtzon translates correctly, *Ich werde das karašk meines Grossvaters machen.*

Now, when Burnaburiaš of Babylon is in need of gold, he expatiates on the work of building and repairing temples in which he is engaged, and protests that after that is completed he will require no more.⁴ As the *karašk* is also a construction of some sort, the rendering *mausoleum*⁵ suggests itself. In building a mausoleum for his grandfather Artatama, Tušratta was following a widespread Anatolian custom.

Apart from the foreign words and forms in the Amarna despatches there are a good many Assyrian terms, even in the familiar religious literature, which still await explanation. In the *Šurpu*-series occurs the line *mamît ina qarçari mê šatû*, A spell incurred by drinking water from a

¹ EA 19, 44, 58.

² KB 5, 37.

³ *Oriental Diplomacy*, p. 92.

⁴ EA 7, 63; 9, 15; 11, 30.

⁵ The Assyrian word for *mausoleum* seems to be *kimaxxu*, which according to Jensen, is identical with the doubtful Syriac word ܩܡܚܬܐ (*Brockelmann, Lexicon Syriacum*, s. v.). HW renders *Sarg*, but this word is

çaṣar.¹ Also BA 2, 628, col. III, 2—5, *mê çaṣari tasiqîšunu*
karpāt masîtu ša BAR mê çaṣari tumtallî tattanášunu = Thou
 shalt give them water of the *çaṣar* to drink. A *masîtu* vessel
 of . . . shalt thou fill with water of the *çaṣar* and give them.
 II R 5, 17 *çaṣar* occurs as the name of a bird. In the Talmud
 צרצור denotes a bird distinguished by showy plumage. Arabic
 صرصر means *cock*, and Heb. צרזיר is translated ἀλέκτωρ in G.

Çaṣar in the above-cited passages may mean *water-cock*, used
 perhaps by metonymy for *water-spout*, in general, just as in
 English. In German *Hahn* is the common word for *faucet*,
 and this usage may be traced to the fifteenth century. In
 English the expressions *cock of a spigot* and *cock of a gun* are
 met with at almost as early a date.

In view of the sacral nature of ancient fountains, it is easy
 to see how drinking directly from the spout should have been
 taboo. Besides, experience may have taught the Babylonian
 priests that this practise involved the danger of contamination
 and infection. In the second passage cited *mê çaṣari* clearly
 means *water from the çaṣar*, which may have been selected
 because of its purity, tho it is quite possible that there were
 specially consecrated faucets for liturgical use.⁴

Talmudic צרצור is also a name applied to a vessel with a
 comb-like attachment, used for sprinkling. In *Kelîm* 2, 8 this
 comb is called המסרק של צרצור. According to Krauss,⁵ "On
 the wine-flask, or צרצור, was placed a perforated cover, which
 was called a comb, from the shape of the handle. The cover
 was presumably perforated in order that spiced wine might be
 poured out without opening the flask, thus preventing the loss
 of the fragrance. The teeth of the comb apparently slipped
 over the cover in such a way as to close it completely."

evidently a Sumerian compound of *KI* and *MAX*. (Cf. *KI-GAL*, Hades.)
 For Assyrian royal mausolea cf. Boissier OLZ 18, 4.

¹ *Šurpu* 3, 58 = Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion*, p. 14.

² Cf. Nöldeke, *Tiernamen mit Reduplikation* (*Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, pp. 107 ff.), p. 111. Nöldeke does not discuss צרצור as a birdname at all.

³ Cf. Peters, JBL 1914, 155.

⁴ Similar water-cocks are mentioned in the Mišna under the name of צרצור nipple. See Yôma, 3, 10.

⁵ *Talmudische Archäologie*, vol. II (1911), p. 281.

Of course Assyr. *garçar* cannot be identical with **צרצורא**, *wine-flask*, as the determinative for *vessel* is lacking in both passages. Moreover, the Assyrian object holds, or carries, water, not wine. Both seem to derive their name from the comb, crest, or handle, which surmounted them.¹

The vocabulary of the Babylonian Talmud has shed a flood of light on Assyrian lexicography. Assyriology, on the other hand, can explain a good many obscurities in the Talmud, but both must be used with caution.

¹Since this article was written, three years ago, I have been studying the question of lustratory arrangements in a Babylonian temple, and have found additional evidence for the above view.

* Note the following abbreviations: CT = *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*; EA = Knudtzon-Weber-Ebeling, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln* (VB 2); VB = *Vorderasiatische Bibliothek*. For other abbreviations see the list at the close of *The Home of Balaam*.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

AT ITS
MEETING IN NEW YORK, N. Y.

1915

The annual meeting of the Society, being the hundred twenty-seventh occasion of its assembling, was held in New York on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday of Easter Week, April 8th, 9th, and 10th, 1915.

The following members were present at one or more of the sessions:

Abbott	Dennis, J. T.	Hume, R. E.	Quackenbos
Albright	Dickins, Mrs.	Hussey, Miss	Rudolph, Miss
Banning	Edgerton	Jackson	Saunders, Mrs.
Barret	Edwards, Mrs.	Jackson, Mrs.	Sherman
Barton	Ember	Jastrow	Scheltema
Bates, Mrs.	Fagnani	Kent, R. G.	Schoff
Bendann, Miss	Ferguson, J. C.	Kyle	Scott
Bender	Gellot	Lyman	Smith, H. P.
Bewer	Gottheil	Margolis	Steele
Bloomfield	Grant	Moore, B. B.	Torrey
Breasted	Grieve, Miss	Müller	Vanderburgh
Brown, F.	Haas	Nies, J. B.	Ward, W. H.
Campbell	Haupt	Oefeke	Westermayr
Chung-huei	Hirth	Ogden, C. J.	Williams, F. W.
Clay	Hitti	Peters	Williams, T.
Cunningham	Hopkins	Prince	Yohannan

TOTAL: 64.

The first session was held in the Library of Columbia University, in Room 307, beginning at 3:15 p. m., the President, Professor Jastrow, being in the chair.

The Recording Secretary, Dr. George C. O. Haas, read in abstract the proceedings of the meeting in Boston and Cambridge, Mass., April 16th and 17th, 1914. [These have since been printed in the *Journal*, vol. 34, p. 435-444.]

The Committee of Arrangements presented its report, thru Professor Gottheil, in the form of a printed program. The succeeding sessions were appointed for Friday morning at half past nine, Friday afternoon at half past two, and Saturday morning at half past nine. It was announced that there would be an informal meeting of the members on Thursday evening in University Hall; that the members of the Society were invited to be the guests of the local members at luncheon on Friday at a quarter past one in University Hall; that the session on Friday afternoon would be devoted to papers dealing with the historical study of religion and to those of a more general character; and that the annual subscription dinner would take place on Friday at half past seven at the Hotel Marseilles.

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

The Corresponding Secretary, Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, presented the following report:

During the past year the correspondence of the Society has been of the same character and has been conducted along the same general lines as heretofore. Letters of acceptance have been received from the newly elected members, and there have been, as in the past, communications from various organizations and from scholars and investigators in the Orient.

The American Association for the Advancement of Science invited our Society to join with other learned bodies in holding a meeting in August, 1915, in California in connection with the Panama-Pacific Exposition; this agreeable invitation had to be declined because the annual meeting had already been set for April 8-10, in New York, and a second meeting was deemed impracticable. Letters were received also from the Asiatic Institute and from the Japanese Association of New York.

Among the communications from Oriental scholars in Asia, two from Persia deserve special mention. One of these was from a fellow member, Mr. Benjamin Burges Moore, depicting the conditions in that country as he found them on a journey from Mashhad to Teheran and down to the Persian Gulf; an account of his travels will shortly be published in a volume now in course of preparation. The other came from Col. J. N. Merrill, of the Persian Army of Fars, who is stationed at Shiraz, where

Mr. Moore met him. Col. Merrill sent photographs and descriptions of some of the less-known archeological remains around Pasargadae and Persepolis, with a mention also of the more familiar ones.

It is the sad duty of the Secretary to record that the Society has suffered a markt loss, during the past year, thru the death of several valued members.

Rev. SAMUEL HENRY BISHOP, D. D., recently General Agent of the American Church Institute for Negroes, died in New York City, June 13, 1915. He had been a member since 1898, and attended the meetings in New York.

ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER, Ph. D., LL. D., Professor of Semitic Languages in the University of Chicago, and author of many books on Assyrian and Babylonian literature, died in London, August 6, 1914. A member of the Society since 1886 and for many years one of the Directors, he took a deep interest at all times in projects looking to the advancement of Oriental studies in this country and abroad, and his publications contain a valuable store of material for scholarly investigation in his special line.

CHRISTOPHER JOHNSTON, M. D., Ph. D., LL. D., Professor of Oriental History and Archeology in Johns Hopkins University, died in Baltimore, June 26, 1914. Professor Johnston, who became a member of the Society in 1889, devoted himself specially to Assyriology and was generally recognized as an able and thoro worker in that field.

WINFRED ROBERT MARTIN, Ph. D., LL. D., recently Librarian of the Hispanic Society of America, died February 21, 1915, in New York. Dr. Martin, who was a man of wide knowledge and varied attainments, was for some years Professor of Oriental Languages at Trinity College. He joined the Society in 1889.

WILLIAM W. ROCKHILL, the distinguisht American diplomat, who had been a member of the Society since 1880, died in Honolulu, Hawaii, December 8, 1914. His diplomatic and public career is so well known as to require no mention here. He made important studies in rural Chinese; traveled twice in Tibet, visiting Lhasa in 1892 at the invitation of the Dalai Lama and later publishing the results of his explorations; and was interested as well in the history of the Ottoman Empire.

In presenting this report the Corresponding Secretary begs leave to resign from the office, which it has been an honor and a privilege to hold since 1908. The ever-growing duties of the office, together with pressing obligations in other official lines, compel him, to his profound regret, to withdraw. These feelings of regret are the greater because he has had, during these years of service, the fullest measure of co-operation from those associated with him in the work of the Society. To all these co-workers, among whom the present Recording Secretary, Dr. George C. O. Haas, is deserving of special mention, he wishes to express once again his hearty appreciation and gratitude.

The President exprest the general appreciation of Professor Jackson's faithful service and thankt him in the name of the Society for his efforts in its behalf. Tribute was then paid to several of the deceased members, Professor Hirth speaking of Mr. Rockhill, Professor Gottheil of Professor Harper, Professor

Haupt of Professor Johnston, and Professor F. W. Williams of Dr. Martin.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

The Treasurer, Professor F. W. Williams, presented the following report:

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS BY THE TREASURER OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR ENDING DEC. 31, 1914.

Receipts

Balance from old account, Dec. 31, 1913		\$ 511.99
Annual dues	\$1135.15	
Life membership	75.00	
Sales of the Journal	286.35	
Contribution for the Library	200.00	
Coupons from bonds	150.00	1846.50
		<hr/>
		\$2358.49

Expenditures

Sundry printing and addressing	\$ 58.05	
Lantern, Boston meeting	2.00	
Editor's honorarium	200.00	
Cataloguing and clerical assistance	493.56	
Postage of the Treasurer (2 years)	25.00	
Deposit in Savings Bank	200.00	978.61
		<hr/>
Balance to new account		1379.88
		<hr/>
		\$2358.49

STATEMENT

	1913	1914
Bradley Type Fund (N. H. Savings Bank)	\$3337.95	\$3503.11
Cotheal Fund (Prov. Inst. for Savings)	1436.12	1494.12
N. H. National Savings Bank deposit	234.61	448.07
2 Ch., R. I. & Pacific Ry. bonds	1780.00	1200.00
1 Virginian Railway Company bond	1000.00	980.00
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$7788.68	\$7625.30

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE.

The report of the Auditing Committee was presented with the Treasurer's report, as follows:

I hereby certify that I have examined the account book of the Treasurer of the Society and have found the same correct, and that the foregoing account is in conformity therewith. I have also examined the securities and compared the entries in the cash book with the vouchers and bank and pass books, and have found all correct.

NEW HAVEN, CONN., March 19, 1915.

CHARLES C. TORREY, *Auditor*.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

The Librarian, Professor Albert T. Clay, presented the following report:

The books of the Library have now been arranged on the shelves in accordance with the new scheme of classification mentioned in the previous report, and considerable progress has been made in the preparation of the card catalog. It was the intention to publish the catalog of the serials and periodicals this year in the *Journal* as the first instalment of a catalog of the entire Library, which is designed for the use of members of the Society; but, although the card catalog of this part of the Library has been completed, the copy has not been prepared for the press owing to the fact that the librarian of the Yale Library staff who had charge of this work was called to a library in the West.

The card catalog now includes about one-sixth of the books in the Library. It is our purpose to push this work, and every effort will be made to complete it during the coming year. If the Editors can spare sufficient space, the entire catalog will be printed in one issue of the *Journal*. If not, it will appear in sections, and reprints of the complete catalog will be prepared and supplied to members. This printed catalog will be as brief as is practicable. It has been necessary during the year to purchase a cabinet for the card catalog. About one hundred books have been bound, and it is highly important that others be sent to the binders at once.

It seems proper in this connection to mention that it has been possible to carry on the work of reorganizing the Library through the generosity of one of our members, Professor Jewett, who added liberally to the appropriation made by the Directors.

REPORT OF THE EDITORS.

The report of the Editors of the *Journal*, Professors Oertel and Torrey, was presented by Professor Torrey, as follows:

The publication of volume 34 (1914) of the *Journal* has been greatly hindered by the war. In July 1914 the printers had in their hands all the manuscript for this volume and enough in addition to make up half of the first part of volume 35. But the printing proceeded very slowly: the first two parts of the volume appeared, in a double number, in January 1915; the third part near the end of February. Proofs of the last articles in the fourth part have not yet been received (April 1915).

The Directors of the Society, by letters written in February, gave permission to the Editors to print one volume of the *Journal* in this country, at discretion. On consideration, it seemed to the Editor in charge (Professor Oertel having been in Europe since July 1914) that it would be better not to break through our present arrangement of publication until the need of doing so is more imperative than it is now. In particular it seemed important to give our printers ample notification of any such proposed step. It will be easy to bring our *Journal* up to date next year, by printing simultaneously abroad and in this country, if it proves to be necessary.

The Editors urge the members of the Society to send in manuscripts for the Journal, not only because there is a reasonable prospect that the printing will proceed more rapidly in future, but also because in this time of unusual difficulty the Journal needs and deserves your support.

All of the foregoing reports were severally accepted as presented.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS.

The following persons, recommended by the Directors, were elected members of the Society (for convenience the names of those elected at a subsequent session are included in this list):

CORPORATE MEMBERS

Mr. James Truslow Adams	Miss M. H. Gaeckler
Mr. William F. Albright	Miss Alice Getty
Mr. Shigeri Araki	Miss Belle da Costa Greene
Dr. Hubert Banning	Miss Ettalene M. Grice
Miss Ethel Beers	Mr. Philip K. Hitti
Miss Effie Bendann	Pres. James A. Kelso
Dr. Romain Butin	Rev. Dr. Frederick Lent
Mr. J. Dudley Carroll	Prof. J. F. McCurdy
Dr. Edward Chiera	Prof. Julius Morgenstern
Mr. Hwang Chung-Huei	Dr. William Frederick Notz
Mr. Roy Joseph Deferrari	Mrs. Charles F. Ostrander
Dr. Viccaji Dinshaw	Mr. P. D. Saklatvala
Rev. Walter Drum	Mrs. A. Saunders
Mrs. Arthur Cecil Edwards	Miss Margaret Thomas
Dr. John F. Fenlon	Dr. Arthur A. Vascalde

ELECTION OF OFFICERS FOR 1915-1916

The committee appointed to nominate officers for the year 1915-1916, consisting of Professor Barton, Dr. Nies, and Professor Edgerton, reported thru Professor Barton, as follows:

President—Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, of New York.

Vice-Presidents—Professor Richard J. H. Gottheil, of New York; President Francis Brown, of New York; Professor James H. Breasted, of Chicago.

Corresponding Secretary—Professor Franklin Edgerton, of Philadelphia.

Recording Secretary—Dr. George C. O. Haas, of New York.

Treasurer—Professor Albert T. Clay, of New Haven.

Librarian—Professor Albert T. Clay, of New Haven.

Directors—The officers named above, *ex officio*; Professor Charles R. Lanman, of Cambridge; Professor Maurice Bloomfield, of Baltimore; Dr. William Hayes Ward, of New York; Professor Hanns Oertel, of New Haven; Professor Charles C. Torrey, of New Haven; Professor James A. Montgomery, of Philadelphia; and Professor Leroy C. Barret, of Hartford.

The officers thus nominated were thereupon duly elected.

The business on the calendar being thus concluded, the President delivered the annual address, the subject being 'Older and Later Elements in the Code of Hammurapi'. At five o'clock the Society adjourned for the day.

SECOND SESSION.

The second session was opened on Friday morning, at 9:50 a. m., with the President, Professor Jastrow, in the chair. Communications were presented as follows:

Mr. W. F. ALBRIGHT, of Johns Hopkins University: The home of Balaam. — Remarks by Professor Haupt and Professor Müller.

Rev. Dr. A. YOHANNAN, of Columbia University, and Professor A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON: Notes regarding the tomb of Tamerlane. — Additional statement by Professor Jackson.

Professor A. T. CLAY, of Yale University: A Sumerian prototype of the Code of Hammurapi. — Remarks by Professor Haupt and Mr. Cunningham; reply by Professor Clay; remarks by Professor Müller.

Dr. E. W. WEST (deceased): A translation of the Pahlavi work 'Wonders of Seistân'. — Presented by title by Professor Jackson.

Professor M. BLOOMFIELD, of Johns Hopkins University: On the meaning and etymology of the Sanskrit root *varj*. — Remarks by Dr. Ogden.

Mr. B. B. MOORE, of New York: Notes of travel in Persia.

Professor M. L. MARGOLIS, of Dropsie College: Kohath, *Kaaθ*. — Remarks by Professor Haupt; question by Professor Bloomfield and reply by the author.

Professor J. D. PRINCE, of Columbia University: Hittite linguistic material in the Cuneiform Inscriptions. — Remarks by Professors Bloomfield, Müller, and Haupt.

Mr. W. H. SCHOFF, of the Commercial Museum, Philadelphia: The Eastern iron trade of the Roman empire. — Remarks by Professor Hirth, Dr. von Oefele, and Professor Torrey.

At 12:35 p. m. the Society took a recess until the time fixed for the beginning of the afternoon session.

THIRD SESSION.

The afternoon session was opened at 3 p. m., the President being in the chair. After the election of two corporate members (included in the list above), the President announced the appointment of Professor H. P. Smith to represent the Society at the 100th anniversary of the founding of Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa., June 19-24, 1915. The reading of papers was then resumed, in the following order:

Mrs. A. C. EDWARDS, of Columbia University: Relations between Shah Abbas of Persia and the Moghul emperors Akbar and Jahangir. — Question by Professor Hopkins and reply by the author.

Professor L. C. BARRET, of Trinity College: Greek and Hindu philosophy in their relation to the environments from which they sprang.

Professor J. H. BREASTED, of the University of Chicago: On the history of writing and the origin of the alphabet. (Illustrated with lantern slides.) — Remarks by Professor Müller, Dr. Kyle, and Dr. Nies.

Dr. T. WILLIAMS, of Columbia University: The sluice of Asia Minor: a historical note.—Remarks by Professors Bloomfield and Müller; reply by the author.

Rev. Dr. J. D. STEELE, of Passaic, N. J.: Notes of a visit to Constantinople, Palestine, and Egypt.

Professor P. HAUPT, of Johns Hopkins University: The cuneiform names of Damascus. — Question by Professor Clay and reply by the author.

Professor F. EDGERTON, of the University of Pennsylvania: Early Hindu cosmology and theosophy. — Remarks by Professors Hopkins and Bloomfield.

Dr. C. J. FERGUSON, of Peking, China: Chinese bronzes.

At 5:55 p. m. the Society adjourned for the day.

FOURTH SESSION.

The Society met for the fourth session at 9:40 a. m. on Saturday morning. The President, Professor Jastrow, was in the chair. The following communication was presented:

Professor R. G. KENT, of the University of Pennsylvania: Studies in the Old Persian inscriptions. — Remarks by Dr. Ogden and Professors Bloomfield and Jackson.

The Corresponding Secretary announst for the Directors that the next annual meeting would be held at Washington on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday of Easter Week, April 24th, 25th, and 26th, 1916. He reported further that the Directors had reappointed Professors Oertel and Torrey as Editors of the Journal for the ensuing year.

The Directors recommended amendments to the Constitution providing for a change in the manner of electing Directors and for the inclusion of the Editors in their number *ex officio*. It was proposed that Articles V and VII should be changed to read as follows:

ARTICLE V. The government of the Society shall consist of a President, three Vice Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, a Librarian, two Editors of the Journal, and nine Directors. The officers shall be elected at the annual meeting, by ballot, for a term of one year. The Directors shall consist of three groups of three members each, one group to be elected each year at the annual meeting for a term

of three years. No Director shall be eligible for immediate re-election as Director, tho he may be chosen as an officer of the Society.

ARTICLE VII. The Secretaries, the Treasurer, the Librarian, and the two Editors of the Journal shall be *ex officio* members of the Board of Directors, and shall perform their respective duties under the superintendence of said Board.

Upon motion the amendments proposed were adopted without a single dissenting vote.

The President then announst the following appointments:

Committee of Arrangements for 1916: Professor Hyvernât, President Fenlon, Dr. Casanoviez, and the Corresponding Secretary.

Committee on Nominations: President Francis Brown, Professor Margolis, and Mr. Dennis.

Auditors: Professors Williams and Torrey.

The reading of communications was then resumed, as follows:

Mr. F. A. CUNNINGHAM, of Merchantville, N. J.: Berosus and the date of the Deluge.

The President askt Professor Gottheil to take the chair for a time. The reading of papers was continued.

Mr. J. T. DENNIS, of Baltimore: Notes regarding some Oriental seals. — Remarks by Mr. Hwang Chung-Huei.

Professor C. C. TORREY, of Yale University: A Syriac analogue of the Flying Dutchman. — Remarks by Dr. von Oefele and Professor Edgerton.

Dr. C. J. OGDEN, of New York: Notes on the Svapnavāsavadattā of Bhāsa.

Dr. A. EMBER, of Johns Hopkins University: New Semito-Egyptian words. — Remarks by Professors Breasted and Haupt, Dr. von Oefele, Professors Jastrow and Bloomfield; additional remarks by the author.

On motion the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

The American Oriental Society desires to express its hearty thanks to the President and Trustees of Columbia University for the opportunity of meeting within its halls, to the New York members of the Society for their generous hospitality, and to the efficient Committee of Arrangements for the thoughtful provision made for the entertainment of the members.

The President resumed the chair and made a few concluding remarks. The Society adjourned at 12:05 p. m., to meet again in Washington on April 24, 1916.

The following communications were presented by title:

Mr. W. F. ALBRIGHT: (a) The conclusion of Esarhaddon's Broken Prism; (b) Some unexplained cuneiform words.

Professor G. A. BARTON: (a) Osiris and Tammuz; (b) Some observations on the new King-lists from Nippur.

Dr. F. R. BLAKE: (a) Mixed constructions in Hebrew and Aramaic; (b) The etymology of Aramaic *îth*, 'to be'; (c) The syntax of Hebrew numerals and numeral expressions.

Professor M. BLOOMFIELD: On the laugh-and-cry motif in Hindu fiction.

Professor C. E. CONANT: Grammatical notes on the Isinai language (Philippines).

Dr. V. DINSHAW: Deccan parallels to the Burj-Nāmah.

Professor F. EDGERTON: (a) Notes on the Sixth Prapāṭhaka of the Chāndogya Upaniṣad; (b) A critique of Hertel's theories on the Pañca-tantra.

Dr. A. EMBER: (a) A Semitic loan-word in Latin; (b) Semitic words surviving in Egyptian sign-values.

Professor E. W. FAY: Adversaria etymologica.

Professor R. J. H. GOTTHEIL: An old papyrus fragment with Arabic seals.

Professor P. HAUPT: (a) Arabic *samm*, 'poison'—Sumerian *šem*, ἄρωμα; (b) The Assyrian terms for 'sport'; (c) Hebrew *leḡ*, 'saucy', and *melîḡ*, 'interpreter'.

Professor A. V. W. JACKSON: Indo-Iranian notes.

Mr. W. S. KUPFER: Some questions relative to the Kautiliya Arthaśāstra.

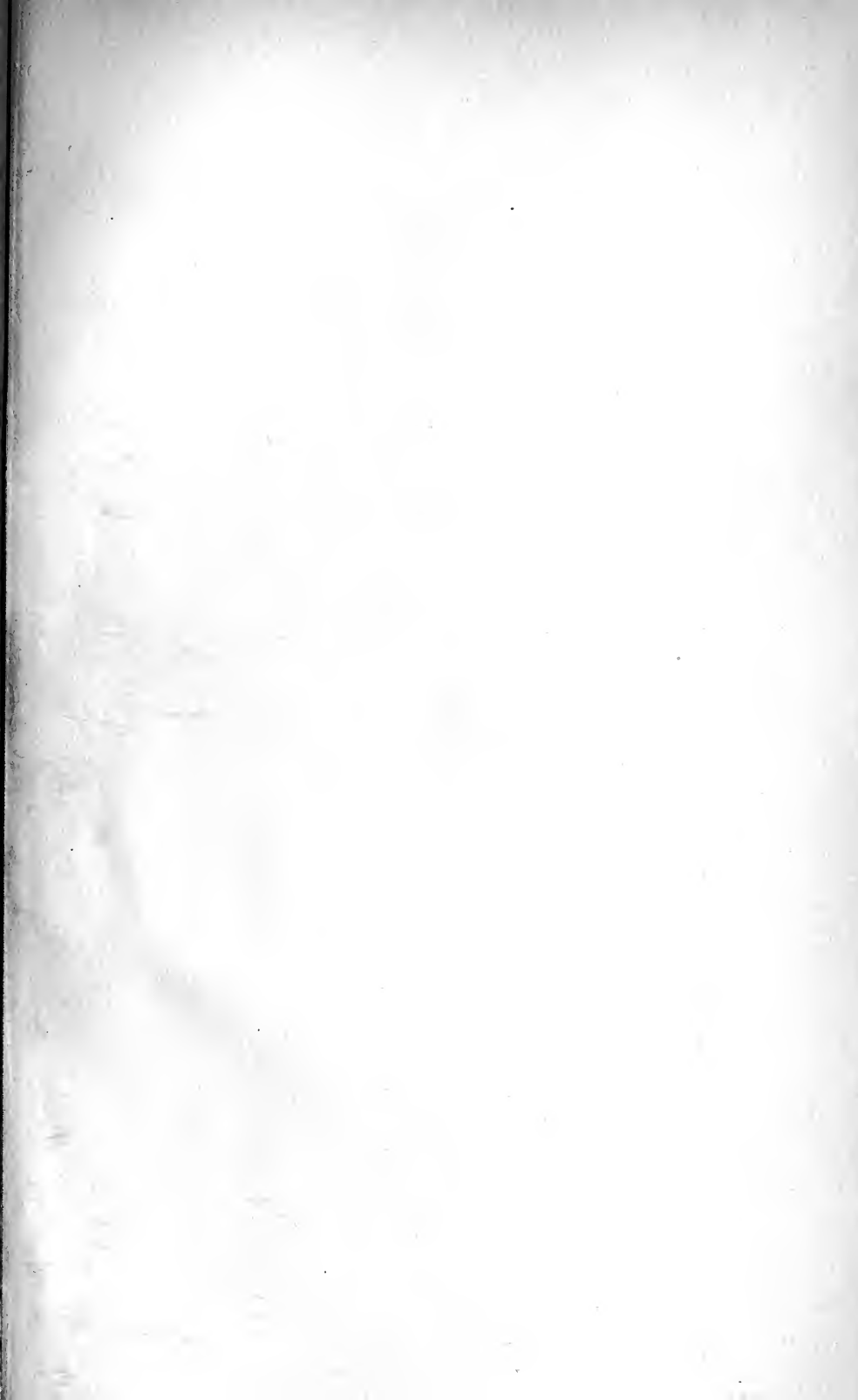
Mr. P. B. POPENOE: The propagation of the date-palm: materials for a lexicographical study in Arabic.

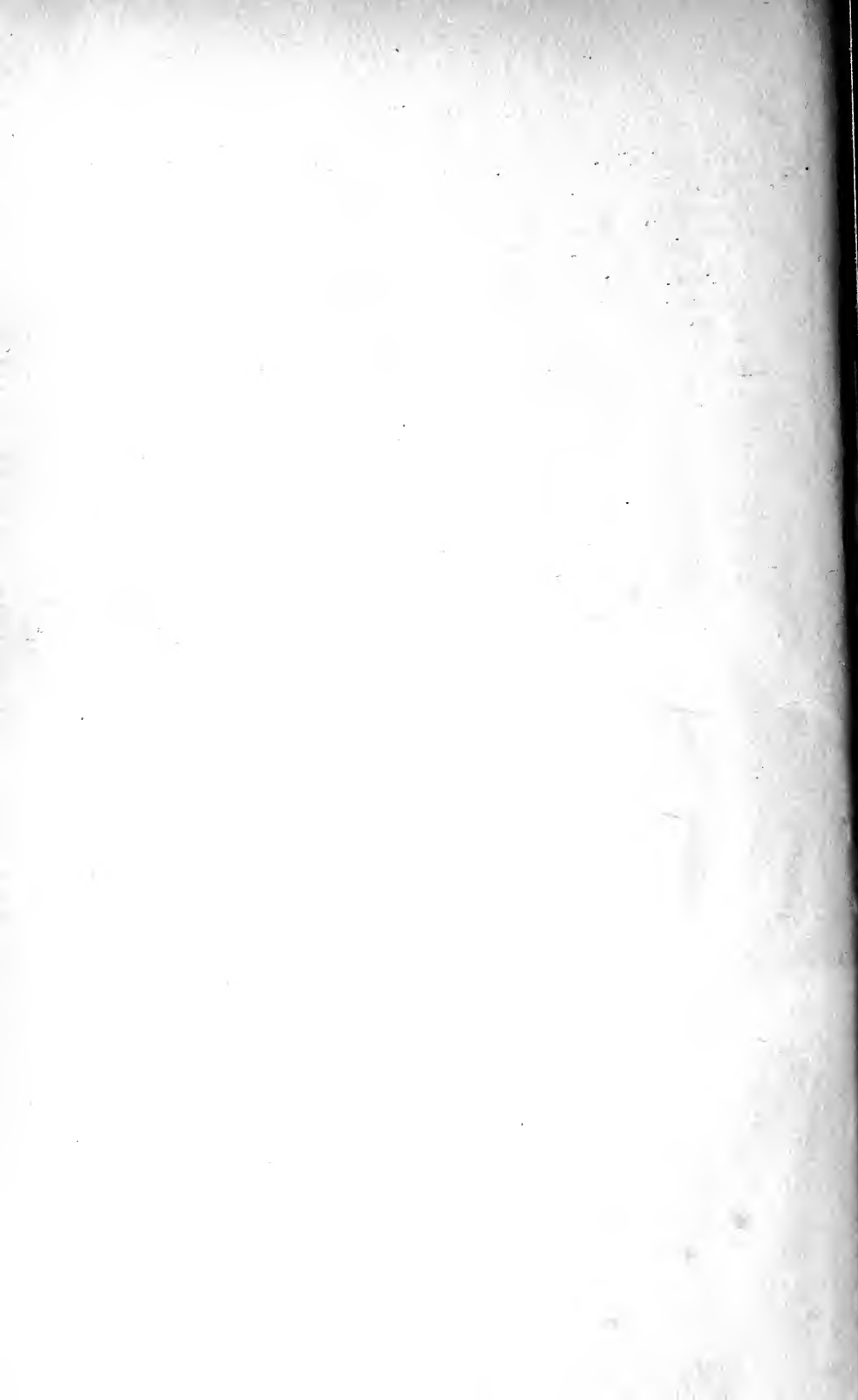
Rev. Dr. W. ROSENAU: Who are the Falashas?

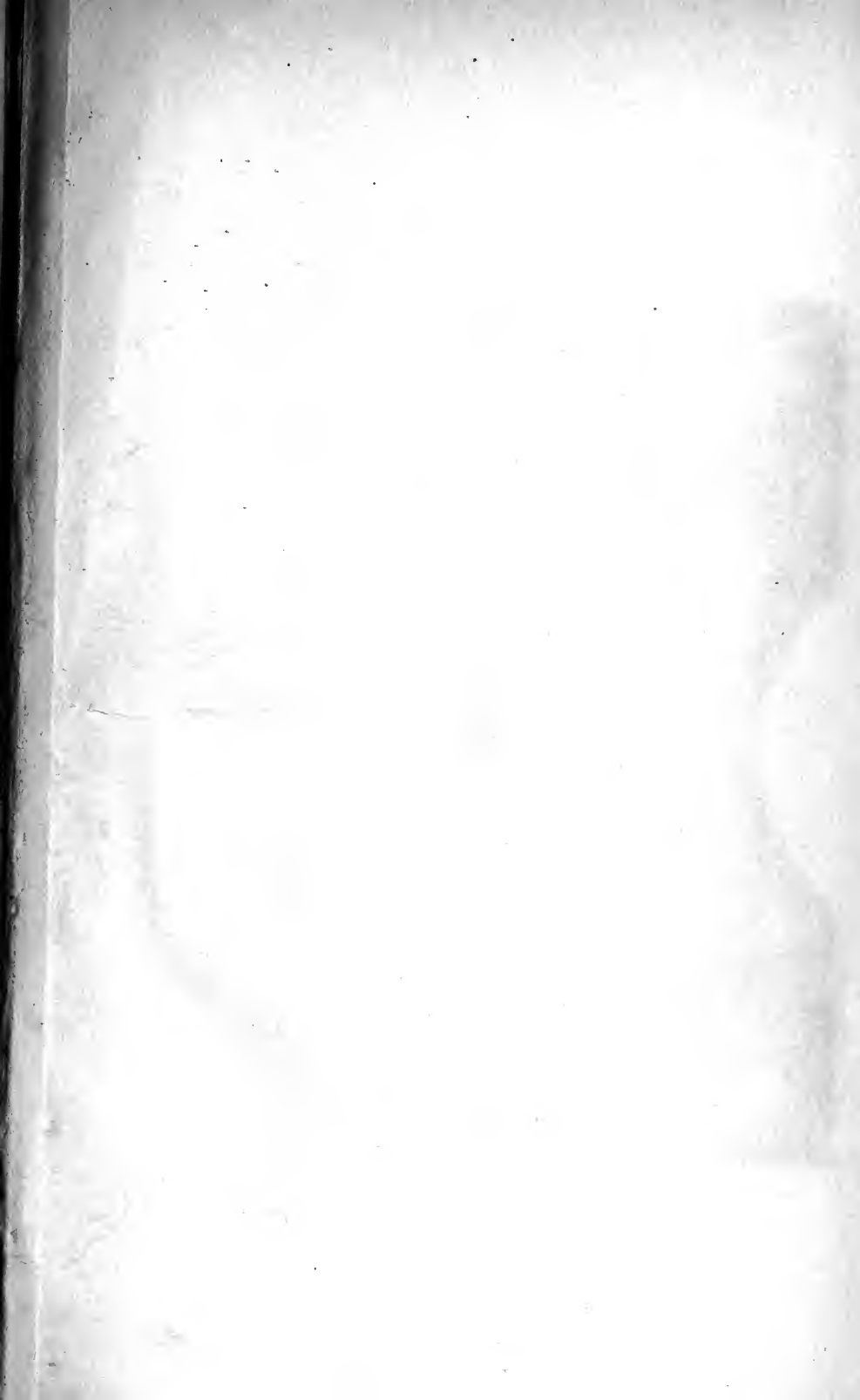
Capt. C. C. SMITH: Mindanao studies.

Professor C. C. TORREY: A new interpretation of portions of the Zakar Inscription.

Dr. W. H. WORRELL: Ink-gazing and similar practices among modern Egyptians.









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